THE HICOG SURVEYS

Volume VI

Reports 152 - 170

Volume VI

152. West German Public Opinion in re the Latest Russian Note (2 September 1952) 3848

153. Current West German Views on the War Criminals Issue (8 September 1952) 3853

154. West German Evaluation of the U.S. Air Force in Germany (15 September 1952) 3872

155. Present Level of West German Political and Economic Satisfaction: With Current Standings of the Major Political Parties (22 September 1952) 3947

155S. An Experimental Audience Reaction Study on the "Voice of America" (22 September 1952) 3990

156. West German Reactions to Visit of East Zone Delegation: With an Appraisal of Current Temper on the Unity Issue (3 October 1952) 4043

157. Are the Difficulties of Recent East Zone Refugees Breeding Disaffection with the West (13 October 1952) 4065

158. West Germans Appraise Their Present Day Press: I. Newspaper Readership and Preferences (14 October 1952) 4089

159. West Germans Appraise Their Present Day Press: II. Evaluations and Recommendations (15 October 1952) 4119

160. West Germans Appraise Their Present Day Press: III. Readership and Evaluations of the Neue Zeitung (16 October 1952) 4189

161. The Impact of the BDJ Affair upon American Prestige in Germany (30 October 1952) 4209

162. Have East Zone Catholics Been Demoralized by Communist Pressure? (5 November 1952) 4223

163. West German Reactions to the American Presidential Elections (15 November 1952) 4243

164. West German Audience Potential for a Projected Atomic Energy Exhibit (17 November 1952) 4263

165. An Appraisal of Pamphlets as a Medium of Influence in West Germany (22 December 1952) 4269

166. An Evaluation of the Effectiveness of the Marshallhaus Exhibit (23 December 1952) 4283

167. A Year-End Survey of Rightist and Nationalist Sentiments in West Germany (12 January 1953) 4296

168. The Year's Trends in West German Thinking on the Peace Contract and Political Party Preferences (15 January 1953) 4376

169. The Year-End Status of West German Confidence in the Strength of the Western Powers (28 January 1953) 4419

169S. Public Opinion in Western Europe: Attitudes toward Political, Economic, and Military Integration (January 1953) 4433

170. RIAS Coverage and Programming as Evaluated by East Zone Listeners (10 February 1953) 4554

03

WEST GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION IN RE THE LATEST RUSSIAN NOTE

Special Flash Report
Number 152
Series No. 2
September 2, 1952

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

It has become evident from past studies that rank and file West German reaction to Russian notes as such has settled down to a pattern of limited awareness, meager knowledge among those aware, and widespread distrust of anything labeled a Russian proposal. So in the present study these considerations were taken for granted and attention focused on less direct but possibly more significant lines of inquiry, i.e.

(a) How widespread in West Germany is a desire for a four-power conference?

(b) How susceptible are West Germans to the latest Soviet gambit of placing peace treaty negotiations first and free elections last on a conference agenda?

(c) Is West German support for the contractual agreement maintaining itself despite the Russian note and continuous Russian counterpropaganda?

Returns are based upon a "Flash" survey conducted throughout West Germany between August 26th and 31st, 1952. The sample embraced 400 cases and was of the representative probability type. As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of research.

MAJOR INDICATIONS

A. <u>The large majority of the West German people continue to express a desire for a four-power conference.</u>

"Would you favor it or not if the Western powers and Russia would join in a four-power conference on Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	
	June 4-11	August 26-31
	(786)	(398)
Favor it	75%	75%
Not favor it	8	10
No opinion	17	15
	100%	100%

The preceding is true despite the fact that a waning minority - now only a quarter of the population - consider such a conference at all likely to result in advantages for West Germany.

"Supposing in the near future a four-power conference on Germany would take place, do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for West Germany will result from it?" (Asked of all who did not express disapproval of a four-power conference).

	June 4-11	August 26-31
Advantages likely	33%	26%
Advantages unlikely	34	45
No opinion	25	19
	92%	90%

B. The current Russian-sponsored conference agenda of peace negotiations before free elections appears to carry no less appeal than the Western-sponsored contrary, when both are presented as alternatives without indications of sponsorship.

"In the negotiations on Germany between Russia and the Western powers, about what, in your opinion, should an agreement be reached first: about a peace treaty for Germany or about free elections throughout Germany?"

Peace treaty first	44%
Free elections first	41
No opinion	15
	100%

This pattern of reaction is accompanied by ignorance and error on the part of the majority as to what agenda order Russia prefers versus what order the West espouses.

"And about what does Russia want to reach an agreement first: about the peace treaty or about the free elections?"

Peace treaty (correct)	37%
Free elections	17
Don't know	46
	100%

"And how about America: what would America like an agreement about first: about the peace treaty with Germany or about free elections throughout Germany?"

Peace treaty	20%
Free elections (correct)	42
Don't know	38
	100%

And favoring of peace treaty negotiations before free elections derives to a large extent from such ignorance and error, as is evident from the cross comparisons below:

Respondent favors agreement first about:	In respondent's judgment Russia wants an agreement first about:				In respondent's judgment America wants an agreement first about:			
	Peace treaty	Free elections	Don't know		Peace treaty	Free elections	Don't know	
Peace treaty	20%	27%	53%	...100%	30%	29%	41%	...100%
Free elections	63	12	25		15	66	19	
No opinion	12	5	83		7	15	78	

But the most revealing indication of how West Germans favoring treaty before elections are being taken in, is the demonstration that when implications of such a choice are more clearly spelled out in the framework of questioning, respondents shift to insistence upon free elections first.

The first two tabulations below indicate overall results to the new line of inquiry, and the following cross comparison shows up the resulting changes in attitude.

"Are you of the opinion that the leaders of the East zone government have been elected by the population in free elections or not?"

Yes, in free elections	2%
No, not in free elections	82
No opinion	16
	100%

"Supposing a conference between Russia and the Western powers about a German peace treaty came about, should the Western powers in this case recognize the present leaders of the East zone government as representatives of the population of Eastern Germany or should the Western powers insist on free elections in the Eastern zone first?"

Recognize present leaders	7%
Insist on free elections	73
No opinion	20
	100%

	Respondent now favors:		
	Recognize present leaders	Insist on free elections	No opinion
Respondent earlier favored an agreement first about:			
Peace treaty	10%	67%	23%
Free elections	5	91	4
No opinion	2	39	59

Clearly suggested by the foregoing considerations:

(1) There is a distinct need for countering the surface appeal of peace negotiations first, and

(2) the appeal can be successfully dispelled by presenting the implications of the new Russian tack.

C. Despite the recent note and continuous Soviet counterpropaganda, increased rather than decreased support is currently evidenced for the contractual agreement.

"The Bundestag has yet to vote on the Germany Treaty. What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject it?" (Asked of all priorly indicating familiarity with the treaty).

	June 4-11	August 26-31
Accept it	33%	40%
Reject it	19	17
No opinion	21	14
	73%	71%

However, half among those currently expressing support for the contractual agreement indicate a desire for a four-power conference even if such would delay the Germany Treaty and integration with the West.

"Supposing a four-power conference would delay the Germany Treaty and our integration with the West, would you then be for or against such a conference?"

For it	19%
Against it	13
Against in any case	4
No opinion	4
	40%

03853

[redacted]

CURRENT WEST GERMAN VIEWS ON THE WAR CRIMINALS ISSUE

Report No. 153
Series No. 2
September 8, 1952

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

[redacted]

RESTRICTED

SUMMARY EXCERPTS

Do West Germans Approve Present Handling of War Criminal Issue?

... Only one in ten in West Germany express approval of the way the Western powers are at present handling the problem of German war criminals. Six times as many disapprove (59%), with the remainder expressing no opinion.

... Disapproval is most widespread among the opinion leading population strata - the men, the better schooled, and the better paid.

... The most frequently suggested remedy on the part of those disapproving of present treatment of German war criminals, is that they be released.

... These results - particularly the accompanying comments - add to the evidence from earlier studies that the Western powers have quite failed to convince the West German people of the validity and justice of the war criminal trials.

Are the Imprisoned Generals Guilty in German Opinion?

... On the more specific question of the guilt of German generals now held as war criminals, again only one in ten (9%) answer in the affirmative. Seven times as many (63%) hold that most of the German generals still prisoners of the Western powers are not guilty of the crimes for which they have been condemned.

... And again, adverse judgments bulk most widely among the more educated and informed opinion leading population elements.

... The opinions expressed as to why the German generals were imprisoned provide the most dramatic documentation to date of how far the Western powers have fallen short in their effort to convince the German people that their wartime leaders were treated in accord with the principles of law and justice.

Should Presently Imprisoned Generals be Used in New German Army?

... The predominant view among West Germans with opinions in the matter is that German generals now held prisoners by the Western powers should hold important positions in the new German army. Moreover, group comparisons suggest, this viewpoint is most widely in evidence among opinion leading strata of the general population.

... These officers have the necessary experience and/or capabilities, is the reason most frequently advanced for approving their use.

... Some of the reasons advanced for disapproving use of presently imprisoned generals in the new army echo Western principles. But many replies simply represented adverse judgments on the former generals' present efficiency, voiced by respondents who apparently would have no objection to using these former officers if they were deemed to be up to their old strength and skill.

Findings reported in the present study derive from a series of questions included in a "Flash" survey conducted throughout West Germany between August 26th and 31st, 1952 to ascertain immediate West German reactions to the latest Soviet note. The sample embraced 400 cases and was of the representative probability type. As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of research.

Since the 400 case "Flash" sample has been designed to obtain overall findings at maximum speed, at the sacrafice of detail, the population group breakdowns which are presented here are to be interpreted as only suggestive rather than conclusive in view of the severe limitation on the number of cases in the population subgroups.

03856

I. DO WEST GERMANS APPROVE PRESENT HANDLING OF WAR CRIMINAL ISSUE?

DISAPPROVAL OVERWHELMINGLY PREPONDERATES ...

Only one in ten in West Germany express approval of the way the Western powers are at present handling the problem of German war criminals. Six times as many disapprove (59%), with the remainder expressing no opinion.

Disapproval is most widespread among the opinion leading population strata - the men, the better schooled and the better paid; and in no population group examined does approval of Western handling rise even to the status of an appreciable minority, with the maximum obtained value 15 per cent approval registered among respondents of SPD political persuasion.

"Considering all you know, do you generally approve of the way the Western powers are at present handling the problem of the German war criminals or not?"

	WEST GERMANY (389)
Approve of it	10%
Do not approve of it	59
No opinion	31
	100%

	Approve of it	Do not approve of it	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	12%	70%	18%...100%	193
Women	8	47	45	205
Education:				
Elementary school	10	55	35	316
Beyond elementary	8	72	20	82
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	8	45	47	83
150 - 299 DM	12	52	36	131
300 - 399 DM	10	70	20	96
400 DM and more	6	73	21	78
Age:				
Up to 29 years	10	57	33	89
30 - 49 years	10	63	27	170
50 years and over	9	54	37	139
Party Preference:				
SPD	15	60	25	129
Coalition	7	63	30	123
Other parties	10	64	26	39
No party	6	63	31	51
Don't know	7	38	55	56

REASONS ADVANCED FOR DISAPPROVAL ...

Listed in some detail following are the reasons cited for disapproving Western power handling of German war criminals. The comments add to the evidence from earlier studies* that the Western powers have quite failed to convince the West German people of the validity and justice of the German war criminal trials.

"Considering all you know, do you generally approve of the way the Western powers are at present handling the problem of the German war criminals or not?"

IF "Do not approve of it":

"For what reasons don't you approve of it? (What do you object to?)"

WEST GERMANY

Soldiers have only done their duty; most of those who were sentenced were innocent: 23%

"They only obeyed orders, I think they are not war criminals, they were just soldiers like the others, too."
"These people have only done their duty."
"In most cases soldiers have only carried out orders, they should not be punished because of obeying orders."
"One should distinguish between a soldier's duty in times of war and a crime."
"Because many of them are imprisoned though innocent."

The sentences are unjust; other countries have also committed war crimes without being punished: 13

"Because punishable offenses have occurred in every army and the perpetrators have not been called to justice, equal right for all."
"Because there are war criminals in other countries too, who are not punished. I am thinking of phosphorous bombs dropped on housing areas."
"Because they did not act any more humanely (air raids, etc.), after all there was a war going on. but when we are doing the very same thing, it is not considered to be the same."
"What does war criminal mean? The Americans with their air raids were war criminals, too. They cannot be forgiven on this count."
"If it will be the other way round some day, they will have to act the same way."
"Just let's consider the Korean case, there has never been anything like this in the world's history."
"Sentences were not justified. It is not right to imprison them for life. Sentences were too severe."

* See (1) RAS Report No. 57, dated Jan. 12, 1951, entitled "Germans View the Remilitarization Issue - Has Western Policy Changed on German Militarism? - With Present-Day Attitudes on Nuremberg"
(2) RAS Report No. 63, dated Mar. 6, 1951, entitled "West German Reactions to the Landsberg Decisions"
(3) RAS Report No. 70, dated Mar. 30, 1951, entitled "Some Further Findings on West German Reactions to the Landsberg Decisions."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

The war came to an end long ago, prisoners should at long last be released, this would promote better understanding between the Western powers and Germany: 12%

"Seven years after the war one should forget about the expression 'war criminal'."
"One cannot detain prisoners of war that long after a war."
"The war was ended seven years ago, although we do not have a peace treaty."
"After so many years it is high time to end the imprisonment of these people and to stop treating them so cruelly, they will be psychological and physical wrecks."
"If the Western powers really want to help us, as they always pretend to do, they should have released the so-called war criminals long ago."
"They won't reach a better understanding with Germany because they still detain them."

The trials were not conducted according to law. Only German or neutral courts would have been proper: 7

"They have sentenced people according to laws which did not exist before the war, at least not in Germany."
"Germans should have had a voice in sentencing, or the court should have been neutral."
"Germans should be tried by German courts."
"It could not be proven that they were war criminals. If they really were criminals they should be sentenced by German courts."
"A country having waged war against Germany has no right to sentence German generals only because Germany has lost the war."
"Because at that time the trials were not conducted according to the law."

The prisoners must be released before Germany can make a defense contribution: 4

"If they expect us to set up a German contingent for a European army they cannot detain our generals and officers as war criminals even today."
"If they want to get a German defense contribution, they have to release the German generals first, there have to be equal rights."
"The Western powers have to release our generals first if they want us to participate in the defense of Western Europe."
"Release generals first, then raise an army."

Others: 5
"I was told that the war criminals received little food; that's not fair." Etc.

No opinion - No answer: 1

65%

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

SUGGESTED COURSE OF ACTION ...

As might be anticipated from prior comments, the most frequently suggested remedy - on the part of those disapproving of present treatment of German war criminals - is that they be released. Less frequently suggested is that the sentences be re-examined and revised - which for many of course would add up to release since they feel that all or most of the imprisoned are innocent.

"Considering all you know, do you generally approve of the way the Western powers are at present handling the problem of the German war criminals or not?"

IF "Do not approve of it":

"What should, in your opinion, the Western powers do about the problem of the war criminals?"

WEST GERMANY.

<u>They should all be released:</u> 25%

"The trials should be ended and the men sent home."
"Release them."
"They should send these people home."
"They should all be released."
"In my opinion there is only one possibility: release these people immediately and send them home."
"Release them without further trial."
"To release them all."

<u>The sentences must be re-examined and revised:</u> 10

"The Western powers should re-examine the sentences passed on the so-called war criminals in Nuremberg."
"Only those should be sentenced who really did something against the Geneva Convention."
"Submit the whole matter to a thorough revision."
"A just re-examination of the sentences."
"Revise the sentences."
"They should start the whole proceedings over again and investigate because terrible mistakes have been made."
"Revise the sentences and finally put an end to unjustified punishments."
"Just re-examination of the punishments."

<u>Only those who are guilty should remain in prison, those innocent should be discharged:</u> 10

"He who really has committed a crime should be sentenced."
"Real murderers should be hanged."
"Detain only real criminals, release the others."
"Final decision, that means discharge of those who are innocent."
"Sentences should only be put into effect as far as real criminals are involved."
"Sentence the people who have committed real crimes and discharge the others."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

The sentences must be re-examined by German or other courts of justice: 6%

"Re-examine the sentences together with German judges."
"Have the sentences re-examined with the assistance of German lawyers."
"Persons guilty of shooting hostages and guerillas can be sentenced only if among the Western powers there were no such crimes committed."
"Bring the cases before German courts."
"Bring the prisoners before German courts."
"Hand the prisoners over to German courts immediately and have them judged according to German law."
"They should immediately hand over the war criminals to German courts. Only they are authorized to judge these cases. I would like to quote Goering by saying that we are the ones who decide who are war criminals."

They should be released on the grounds of an amnesty: 5

"A generous amnesty should be carried out."
"An all-including amnesty, generally speaking."
"An act to end their detention."
"Grant a general amnesty for everybody."
"Grant a general amnesty and rehabilitate the Germans who have been unjustly punished."
"Grant a reasonable amnesty."

They should all be released because most or all are not war criminals: 4

"There are no war criminals at all, the Allies have invented this term."
"It is said that many are sentenced as war criminals who are innocent."
"In those cases in which the guilt is not positively proved and the punishment based on doubtful testimony, the sentence should be revoked."
"The Western powers should discharge all soldiers, a soldier who did his duty is no war criminal."
"The actions of officers and soldiers were generally inspired by the strategic considerations and the wish to gain a victory."

They should all be released because times and opinion have changed: 2

"They are no war criminals any more because the situation has changed fundamentally."
"Cancel the guilt as well as we did with their guilt, equal rights for both of us."
"They should forgive and forget and stop hating us."
"Five years of war have gone by, let by-gones be by-gones."

Others: 4

"Pray to the Lord that the others will become sensible."
"What else can we do?"
"Be charitable."

No answer - No opinion: 2

68%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

II. ARE THE IMPRISONED GENERALS GUILTY?

ONLY ONE IN TEN SAY MOST ARE GUILTY ...

On the more specific question of the guilt of German generals now held as war criminals, again only one in ten (9%) answer in the affirmative. Seven times as many (63%) hold that most of the German generals still kept prisoners by the Western powers are not guilty of the crimes for which they have been condemned

And again, just as with general dissatisfaction with treatment of German war criminals, judgments that most of the imprisoned generals are not guilty tend to be most widespread among the more educated and informed opinion leading population elements.

> "Are you of the opinion that most of the German generals who are still kept prisoners by the Western powers as war criminals are guilty of the crimes they were accused of, or are they not guilty?"

	WEST GERMANY
Guilty	9%
Not guilty	63
No opinion	28
	100%

	Guilty	Not guilty	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	10%	67%	23%...100%	193
Women	8	60	32	205
Education:				
Elementary school	10	61	29	316
Beyond elementary	6	74	20	82
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	5	54	41	83
150 - 299 DM	9	65	26	131
300 - 399 DM	12	65	23	96
400 DM and more	8	74	18	78
Age:				
Up to 29 years	8	63	29	89
30 - 49 years	9	65	26	170
50 years and over	9	63	28	139
Party Preference:				
SPD	15	62	23	129
Coalition	9	72	19	123
Other parties	8	64	28	39
No party	6	65	29	51
Don't know	-	46	54	56

WEST GERMAN VIEWS ON REASONS FOR IMPRISONMENT ...

Opinions on why German generals were imprisoned are tabulated in considerable detail below because they provide the most dramatic documentation to date of how far the Western powers have fallen short in their effort to convince the German people that their wartime leaders were treated in accord with the principles of law and justice.*

"Are you of the opinion that most of the German generals who are still kept prisoners by the Western powers as war criminals are guilty of the crimes they were accused of, or are they not guilty?"

IF "Not guilty":

"Why then, do you believe, have these generals been imprisoned?"

WEST GERMANY :

<u>To vent feelings of hatred and revenge against Germany:</u> 11%

"Out of revenge, to make it plain that they are the victors."
"Because there lives a man in the States called Morgenthau."
"In order to satisfy the feeling of hatred they housed against us in the beginning."
"Because they didn't manage to let off enough steam in Nuremberg."
"At that time all the world was hostile towards us, even the judges were our enemies."
"We were the defeated and the hatred they felt right after the war was partly responsible for this development."
"Because they fought against the other powers (Britain, the U.S., France) and inflicted losses on them, for this they get their revenge now."
"Because they hate us, what they do in Korea is in no way more humane, it's the same with the Russians."
"Out of a feeling of hatred and revenge, all they wanted was to humiliate us."
"Because they had fought against the Western powers, after the victory the Americans were all-powerful and gave way to feelings of revenge."
"At the end of the war their motive was mainly a feeling of hatred, now the situation is changed and the guilt of the generals is considered in a different light."
"They all were put behind bars, whether there was a case against a person or not, they wanted to suppress the Germans."
"Because they are Germans, they had been enemies in the war, that's the only reason."

* The methological point should not be overlooked here that the wealth of strongly adverse replies attests to the fact that respondents in these surveys are feeling quite free to state their views - however anti-occupation they might be on occasion.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

Because they fear the influence, the keen military minds and qualities of our generals: 11%

"Because they retained such a strong influence, they knew too much, they should be put out of the way."
"In order to isolate them, so that they couldn't exert any influence on the people."
"They are afraid that our generals will take over the command, they are bright boys, they will see to it that we'll get to the top again."
"They were considered to be too powerful, the Western powers were afraid of them. They might incite riots throughout the country, the generals I mean, they are the people with brains."
"They were afraid of their influence in the post-war period."
"They wanted to strip them of all power because they were afraid."
"Because they were dangerous to them. You've never heard of such a thing."
"The influence of the military leaders had to be eliminated, that was the triumph of the victors."
"The purpose was to deprive the caste of military leaders of their powers."
"Because they were the spiritual leaders of Germany, their influence had to be eliminated."
"I guess the Western powers feared they would become too dangerous to them."
"Because as things were at that time they were afraid that something might happen."

Because we were the defeated: 10

"Because we lost the war and for no other reason."
"Because we were the defeated, and as everybody knows, victors do what they please, there is no question of justice being done."
"Because we lost the war and were entirely at the mercy of the victorious powers."
"Because we lost the war. If we had won the war, things would have been just the other way round."
"They probably were put behind bars only because we were unfortunate enough to lose the war."
"After seven years they should consider granting an amnesty. Don't you think they felt too much the victors when awarding punishments?"
"In the first madness of victory measures taken were too severe."
"They are human after all, in the first mad rush the victors made quite a few blunders."

Because the generals carried out orders and performed their duty: 8

"The generals performed their duty, they carried out orders issued by the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht. Only a German or a neutral court would be authorized to pass sentence on them."
"Because they carried out or gave orders which were necessary considering the conditions of the moment. But both sides employ any means available."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

"Because they carried out orders, as any soldier would do."
"It was unjust, all they did was perform their duty."
"Because they only did what was their duty as soldiers."
"Maybe some of the generals acted in violation of the articles of law, most of them, however, just carried out orders."
"They were under pressure."

Because they wanted to brand some persons as the guilty ones, they needed scape-goats: 6%

"Because it was laid down in the Yalta agreement and others like it that somebody had to be branded as the guilty party, therefore they wanted to lay the guilt at somebody's door."
"Because they couldn't get at those who really were guilty, and somebody has to pay for the mess that others caused."
"They thought the generals were to blame for the massacre of the Jews, they blamed them for everything without checking up on facts."
"Because the Western powers blamed the generals for the outbreak of the war."
"They wanted to get at the commanding officers, they simply had to find a scape-goat."
"In order to lay the guilt at somebody's door, somebody had to be blamed."
"So that the others could cover up their own faults, they needed scape-goats."
"In 1945 they felt the day of reckoning had arrived, and as the proverb goes, "Rogues of a gang on one gibbet must hang," in some cases appearances were against a person and they didn't go to the trouble of checking up on facts thoroughly, the fact that all generals were considered to be Nazis proved that the members of Allied courts were pretty ignorant on this count."

For political reasons: 3

"Probably for political reasons."
"Because they fought the war for Hitler, purely for political reasons."
"Because they had a hand in politics."
"Political reasons."

Because the generals allegedly committed crimes (details): 3

"Because they are said to have killed foreigners."
"They are said to have issued orders regarding raids on enemy targets, missions against fighter units, bombings and so on. They were imprisoned because of alleged war crimes, execution of hostages, liquidation of guerillas."
"Allegedly because of war crimes, that means crimes committed by generals of other countries, too. I'm thinking of those numerous raids of terror, of the soldiers who were handed over to Russia through the Yalta agreement."
"Because in those countries in which they were in control they condemned people who had murdered German soldiers."

(Cont'd on next page)

03865

WEST GERMANY

(Cont'd from preceding page)

3%

Because their actions were judged wrongly at the time:

"Who can judge whether they were guilty or not? But I believe the majority of those men only wanted the best for their country, therefore they are not criminals but rather martyrs."
"They were branded as criminals, and that's unjust. They merely defended their country."
"They were sentenced wrongly. Who is in a position to be judge? And who will be tried the very next day?"

For fear that these generals might offer their services to other countries:

1

"Maybe they were afraid that some of the generals would go over to the East and would render valuable assistance to the Russians."
"It was believed that the generals might go to serve in the army of another country."

Others:

6

"Even though the brass hats have always behaved in an arrogant manner, still they are not guilty."
"Because one wanted to make a warning example out of these cases."
"I don't know for sure but I think it's unjust that the same person may act as judge and as prosecutor as well, as people say."
"Because they had to put up a show for their own country, they had to come up with some results."
"Because at that time they wanted to be agreeable to the Russians, since they still considered them to be their friends."
"Out of ignorance"
"Well, I could say something about this subject, but I probably would go too far."

No opinion - No answer:

7

69%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

III. SHOULD PRESENTLY IMPRISONED GENERALS BE USED IN NEW GERMAN ARMY?

YES - IN JUDGMENT OF PREPONDERANCE ...

The predominant view among West Germans with opinions in the matter is that German generals now held prisoners by the Western powers should hold important position in the new German army. Moreover, group comparisons suggest, this viewpoint is most widely in evidence among opinion leading strata of the general population.

"Do you think the German generals who are still kept prisoners by the Western powers should hold important positions within a new German army or not?"

	WEST GERMANY
Yes, they should	42%
No, they shouldn't	27
No opinion	31
	100%

	Yes, they should	No, they shouldn't	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	48%	34%	18%...100%	193
Women	36	21	43	205
Education:				
Elementary school	40	26	34	316
Beyond elementary	51	31	18	82
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	39	18	43	83
150 - 299 DM	44	28	28	131
300 - 399 DM	46	29	25	96
400 DM and more	42	31	27	78
Age:				
Up to 29 years	39	33	28	89
30 - 49 years	47	28	25	170
50 years and over	37	22	41	139
Party Preference:				
SPD	45	33	22	129
Coalition	50	24	26	123
Other parties	51	26	23	39
No party	32	33	35	51
Don't know	21	13	66	56

REASONS FOR FAVORING USE ...

These officers have the necessary experience and/or capabilities, is the reason most frequently advanced for approving the use of presently imprisoned German generals in the new German army. Very few, it will be noted, attach any reservations to the use of these imprisoned generals - again indicating that few look upon them as in any way malefactors despite the crimes of which they have been accused and convicted.

"Do you think the German generals who are still kept prisoners by the Western powers should hold important positions within a new German army or not?"

IF "Yes, they should":

"For what reasons should they play a part in the new German army?"

WEST GERMANY

The generals have the necessary experience: 24%

"A newly set up army without experienced leaders is worthless."
"In building up a new army, one should rely on the experiences of the old generals."
"The Western powers will not be able to achieve very much without Germany. I simply can't imagine a new German army without our old, experienced field officers."
"In case of war several generals have quite some experience, especially in Russia. There are no younger officers available for higher headquarters services."
"These generals have in any case sufficient background experience in the war business. Whom else could we trust, anyway?"
"They have so much experience gathered during two wars which the younger officers lack, of course."
"It can't go on like that, our situation would be improved by employing the old experienced people because they understand and know more than the younger ones."
"Their experience is needed for neither the Americans and Englishmen nor the Frenchmen have the faintest idea what went on in the East."

The generals have the necessary capabilities: 17

"Because they were efficient officers."
"Because their performance was outstanding and they would do a very good job in the building-up of a new army."
"These people know their job, have the qualities of a leader. We have no better generals."
"Because they are really the only ones who have the necessary capabilities."
"Because they are efficient."
"Because they are not blockheads after all."
"The really capable people are imprisoned, but we should not refrain from employing their experience in rebuilding the 'German Army'."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMANY

Use - but with reservations: 4%

"Because most of those men were soldiers with heart and soul and only very few of them were politically influenced."
"The experience of these generals - in so far as their actions were humane and correct - is valuable to us."
"A competent general who has not been proven guilty, should be given the chance for re-employment."
"They were capable as far as the military service is concerned. Should they, however, be guilty of something else, they should not be re-employed."
"He who served his penalty should not suffer any longer in the future."
"They should not be employed in active military service. Their experience, however, cannot be dispensed with in the establishment of a new army."
"For the setting-up of the new army only, thereafter however, young officers should take their place."
"Only those who will be needed should be released."

They didn't commit any crimes: 2

"Well, they didn't commit any crimes."
"Because most of them are not guilty."
"For justice and freedom."

Others: 4

"I think that many of those still detained enjoy considerable sympathy."
"The soldier must have confidence in his superiors, otherwise there will never be the right spirit capable of accomplishing something."
"They ought to be reinstated into the positions they are entitled to."

No opinion - No answer: 1

5270

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS FOR DISAPPROVING USE ...

Some of the reasons advanced for disapproving use of presently imprisoned generals in new German army echo Western power principles, it will be seen below. But many do not, and simply represent adverse judgments of efficiency by respondents who apparently would have no objection to using the former generals if they thought they were still up to their old strength and skill.

> "Do you think the German generals who are still kept prisoners by the Western powers should hold important positions within a new German army or not?"
>
> IF "No, they shouldn't":
>
> "For what reasons should they play no part in the new German army?"

WEST GERMANY

6%

They are too old and broken in spirit by their prison terms, younger people should take over:

"Because they are too old and worn out through imprisonment."
"Because they are too old and thus their way to conduct war is outdated, too."
"Because they are too broken in spirit through long prison terms."
"They are down and out today, as they have been imprisoned for such a long time, even the sturdiest character will break under the strain."
"They are old gentlemen who should take things easy."
"They are too old and have lost touch with current developments."
"If there is to be an army, then they should rather give the younger people a chance to become leaders, I don't think the old generals are of much use any longer."
"They should decide on new people, younger ones, younger ones are superior."

5

Mistakes should not be repeated; the generals are to blame for the mess we're in:

"Because there is no safeguard against these people repeating the old mistakes."
"Then things would be just as they used to be, brass hats always want war, just as under the Hitler regime."
"Then that bloody old mess starts all over again."
"Then they are at it again just as in old times, they will act in the same way as they used to do."
"It's the same generals who led us into Russia, advancing as far as the Caucasus, they don't deserve our confidence any more, they made nothing but blunders."
"Because they sent our men into battle to die in action, though they knew we had no chance to win."
"Many of them still doggedly kept on though it was no use any longer."
"Because these generals helped to plunge Germany into misery."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

I'm against a defense contribution (generally), we want peace: 46

"I reject any plan regarding a defense contribution."
"Because we want them to preserve peace if there is to be a new army another war will be brought on, that's all."
"We are fed up with war."
"There simply shouldn't be soldiers any more."
"Because I am opposed to a new German army."

A new German army should not be indoctrinated with Prussian principles: 3

"The generals have been raised in the traditional Prussian military academies, the officers who are to serve in the new European army should provide a guarantee for the army's democratic spirit."
"Personally I turn thumbs down on these former Prussian militarists because as to enforcing discipline and obedience they badly overdid it."
"We don't want to revive the old Prussian drill."
"Because they would re-introduce the old order of things - they should accept from the Americans the idea of personal liberties in the army."
"I am of the opinion that an army of today should be trained in a different spirit, therefore there should be new generals, too."
"They should see to it that a new "Wehrmacht" (former German army) is under no circumstances set up in the traditional German manner, the danger of such a development is extremely acute if the old generals are re-instated."

The generals themselves would refuse to participate in a new army: 3

"No soldier, regardless what rank, will want to rejoin an army after he was treated as a war criminal."
"They would refuse any offer, the Federal Government has done too little about the release of these people."
"I guess the generals wouldn't want to hold important positions, the victorious powers treated them very badly."
"They would be rather stupid if they would risk their necks for those guys who imprisoned them."

There is no room for war criminals in a new German army: 2

"There is no room in a new German army for those who have been accused of war crimes for through such a course cooperation would be hampered."
"Those German generals sentenced as war criminals did not act according to their own judgment but only carried out orders, therefore they are not qualified to serve in a new German army which may possibly be set up."
"There are enough generals available who have not been sentenced by military tribunals."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMANY

National-socialist influences may thus become stronger again: 2%

"Such a practice might help to spread national-socialist ideas to a greater extent once more."
"In order to prevent the Nazi generals having a say in matters once more."
"There is no reason why they shouldn't be released, they shouldn't be re-instated, however, I don't think you can re-educate them so they'll favor democratic principles, national-socialist ideas are still too strong with them."
"Because they were all out for the Hitler regime, the clock would just be turned back, they can't change their natures."

Others: 4

"The business of being a soldier, the way those things were handled in earlier times, is out for good."
"They led a pleasant life once while the enlisted men had a bad time of it, this time they shouldn't be allowed to enjoy the good things of life again." @
"Because they feel such bitterness against the Western powers, they would probably be governed by their feelings of hatred."
"As long as East and West Germany are not reunited the generals will refuse to participate in an army. I'm sure they won't fire on our brothers in the East."

No opinion - No answer: 1
30%

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

03872

WEST GERMAN EVALUATION OF THE U.S. AIR FORCE IN GERMANY

Report No. 154
Series No. 2

September 15, 1952

RESTRICTED
OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

03873

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	I
Summary of the Report	II - V
I. INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS	
The West German People Are Air-Minded	1
Contacts with U.S. Airmen in West Germany Are Limited	1
II. DO GERMANS THINK THE U.S. AIR FORCE CONTRIBUTES TO THEIR SECURITY	
Problems of a Politico-Military Nature Loom large	4
Preponderance Wants Allied Forces to Remain	5
More U.S. Air Units Recommended	5
Strong Support for A German Air Force	8
Advocates of A German Air Force Recommend Added U.S. Air Units	8
In A Future War, the Importance of Air Power Widely Acknowledged	10
The U.S. Air Force Could Be Counted on to Support German Troops	12
III. HOW DOES THE U.S. AIR FORCE COMPARE WITH OTHERS?	
Americans Rated Above Luftwaffe in World War II	17
At Present the American Air Force Unrivaled	21
And the U.S. Is Expected to Maintain Lead	21
West Berlin Rates U.S. Air Power Higher	22
Many Disappointed in Use of American Air Force in Korea	31
But Say the U.S. Air Force Outfought the Communists There	31
IV. HOW DO WEST GERMANS RATE AMERICAN AIRMEN?	
Preponderance Considers Germans Best in Fighting Qualities	38
American Airmen Considered Superior to U.S. Soldiers	41
And Their Behavior Compares Favorably with U.S. Troops	43

03874

Page

V. HOW DO WEST GERMANS FEEL ABOUT LIVING IN THE VICINITY OF A U.S. AIR BASE?

Residents of Air Base Communities Not Disturbed 47
But Many Others Would Object to Living Near an Air Base 47

VI. WHAT DO WEST GERMANS THINK ABOUT MASS BOMBING?

Past Experiences and Future Expectations 50
Bombing of Cities Never Justified 52
Bombing of Cities Condemned as War Against Civilians 53
Preponderance Does Not Hold Airmen Responsible, and Bears No Grudge 57

Appendix: RELATION BETWEEN BOMBING EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD THE U.S. AIR FORCE AND OTHER DEFENSE ISSUES

1. Paired Comparisons on Bombing Experiences and Attitudes Toward Bombing 64
2. Paired Comparisons on Bombing Experiences and Appraisal of the U.S. Air Force 65
3. Paired Comparisons on Bombing Experiences and Attitudes Toward Defense Issues 67

03875

PREFACE

The present report by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, on the West German evaluation of the U.S. Air Force in Germany and related defense issues, continues and amplifies a study previously made by RAS regarding German views on the Allied forces. The results of the prior study were reported on January 23, 1952, under the title, "The German Appraisal of the Allied Forces in West Germany.- with Recommendations for improved Citizen-Soldier Relations." The emphasis in the earlier survey was on the ground forces of the Western allies generally and those of the United States more specifically. Accordingly it was decided to round out the picture by a study dealing specifically with West German evaluations of the U.S. Air Force in Germany and defense issues as related to air power.

The survey on which the results herein reported are based was made during the last two weeks in May 1952, by the Reactions Analysis Staff. A stratified, probability sample of 1200 cases in West Germany and 200 cases in West Berlin was utilized. The sample is representative of the population, 18 years of age and over, in the U.S., British and French zones of Germany and in the three Western sectors of Berlin.

As usual in RAS surveys, interviews were gathered under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

03876

SUMMARY OF THE REPORT

I. German Appraisal of U.S. Air Force

THE U.S. AIR FORCE AS A MILITARY INSTRUMENT APPEARS TO BE HIGHLY REGARDED BY WEST GERMANS ...

The U.S. Air Force was best during World War II, is best now, and will be best five years' hence, according to the preponderance of West Germans who are prepared to make comparisons.

During the last war, the Luftwaffe was its only close competitor in German eyes. At present and for the future it has no near rivals, though the Soviet Air Force is the leading contender for second place.

Despite this high regard for the U.S. Air Force, or possibly because of it, its record in Korea has proved disappointing to many West Germans. In contrast, the Communist Air Force is said to have done better than anticipated. All in all, however, the preponderance believes the U.S. Air Force has outmatched Communist airmen in the Korean theater.

MATERIEL RATHER THAN PERSONNEL POINTED TO AS REASON FOR U.S. AIR LEADERSHIP ...

West Germans who say the U.S. Air Force was the best in World War II generally attribute this to one or the other of the following: 1) its technical advantages - better equipment, greater industrial output, etc.; 2) the vast number of planes at its disposal; 3) its type of planes, especially the heavy bombers; and 4) its unlimited fuel supplies.

Despite the fact that the U.S. Air Force is considered to have outmatched the Luftwaffe in World War II, German airmen are rated superior in combat qualities to the American by a ratio of about sixteen to one (64% for the Germans, 4% for the U.S., as best). For the distinction of second best in fighting ability, the British vie closely with the Americans in German opinion.

In contrast, whereas West Germans explain the excellence of the U.S. Air Force entirely on grounds of its material and numerical advantages, those who rate the Luftwaffe as best, attribute its superiority almost solely to the skill and courage of its airmen.

AS COMPARED WITH U.S. SOLDIERS ... however, American airmen are more favorably appraised both as to military qualities and behavior. Previous studies have shown that the U.S. troops in Germany have earned a reputation for good conduct, but that their standing as fighting men is relatively low in German opinion.

THESE FINDINGS SUGGEST ... that the U.S. Air Force is esteemed largely because it represents in German eyes those qualities which they associate most closely with American accomplishments: technological and industrial advance, speed, mass production and material wealth. This offers a possible explanation of the disparity between their appraisals of the Air Force as a whole and of its men. Possibly, the very size, equipment and organization of the U.S. Air Force not only lead many Germans to lose sight of the human factor but to minimize the role of the individual airman in what they see only as a gigantic, efficient, technological unit. In this connection, however, it is noteworthy that West Berliners who had the opportunity to see the Air Force in action during the air lift as well as during the last war, rate U.S. airmen, as well as the Air Force as a whole, more highly than do the West Germans.

03877

II. Appraisal of the Security Afforded West Germany by the U.S. Air Force

THE U.S. AIR FORCE WOULD BE A DEPENDABLE PARTNER IN THE EVENT OF WAR ... according to the majority.

Six in ten West Germans (91% in Berlin) say that American air units could be depended on to support any German divisions they were assigned to. Nor, in their opinion, would there be any likelihood that the U.S. Air Force would discriminate between German or, for example, British troops in the matter of air support.

THE SECURITY VALUE WEST GERMANS ATTACH TO U.S. AIR SUPPORT ... is further attested by their views on the relative importance of air and ground forces.

By a margin of about three to one, West Germans say it is more important for the U.S. to send more air than ground forces to Germany, should additions in strength be contemplated. The preponderance, it should be pointed out here, is opposed from security considerations to the withdrawal of Allied forces from Germany, though they divide on whether these forces should be augmented or remain at their present strength.

Moreover, the establishment of a German air force would not reduce the need for additional U.S. air strength in Germany, judging from the analysis of the findings. Though three quarters in West Germany (91% in Berlin) declare it is important for West Germany to have an air force when her army is set up, these same people are much more inclined than opponents of a German air force to recommend that additional U.S. air units be sent to Germany.

On a direct comparison between the military value of air and ground forces, air power again emerges as the more important in West German opinion. Four times as many assign primary importance to the air force in a war as consider the infantry of paramount value.

III. Reactions Toward the Use of Air Power

WEST GERMANS SET LIMITATIONS ON THE USE OF AIR POWER: BOMBING OF CITIES IS NEVER JUSTIFIED ... according to the majority.

Only a quarter in West Germany - but 46 per cent in Berlin - believe that certain circumstances justify air raids against cities. They say it is permissable to bomb cities with armament industries, with troop concentrations, or defended cities.

But seven in 10 West Germans (51% in Berlin) declare that even such circumstances would not justify bombing.

LIBERATION AS A GOAL ... would apparently not cause Germans to change their minds on the injustice of air raids against cities. Given the example of U.S. Air Force raids against enemy-held French cities during World War II, the majority continues to hold that such bombing was unwarranted.

WARFARE AGAINST CIVILIANS CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH BOMBING OF CITIES ...

The dominant view on the injustice of air attacks on cities is obviously related to the Germans' extensive experiences with mass bombing in the last war, and their expectations on what the future holds should there be another European war.

The large majority of respondents not only underwent air raids during the last war, but predict a repetition of the same if Germany is drawn into another war in Europe.

Accordingly, the Germans from past evidence apparently regard it as impossible to attack a city without carrying the war to the residents of that city. This in their minds is total war and as such inhumane and to be condemned.

BUT THOUGH U.S. AIRMEN WHO RAIDED GERMAN CITIES ARE CONSIDERED UNCHIVALROUS, THEY PERSONALLY ARE NOT CONDEMNED ...

It is important to note that whereas the West Germans largely declare U.S. airmen acted in an unchivalrous way when they bombed German cities, the preponderance does not hold them personally responsible for their actions.

THEY WERE ONLY FOLLOWING ORDERS ... is the main reason given by West Germans for not condemning American airmen who bombed them during the war. Primarily for this reason, most Germans assert they bear no ill-will toward U.S. airmen today.

THE INFLUENCE OF MASS BOMBING ON ATTITUDES APPEARS NOT CONFINED TO THE BOMBED, BUT IS GENERALLY DIFFUSED ...

Analysis of the data reveals that people who were directly subject to air attacks do not differ from those who were not, in any of the issues dealt with in this study. They are as strongly in favor of air power, rate the U.S. Air Force as highly and favor German participation in European defense as frequently as their compatriots who did not personally experience raids.

The probable explanation for the absence of important differences in attitudes between the bombed and the non-bombed is that air raids were so extensive and their consequences so apparent to all Germans, that the influence is diffused or generalized throughout the population.

IV. Attitudes Toward Living Near an Air Base

LIVING NEAR AN AIR BASE APPEARS MORE OBJECTIONABLE IN PROSPECT THAN IN REALITY ... judging from opinions gathered in this study.

The fraction (13%) now living in the vicinity of a U.S. air base finds it makes no difference whatsoever to the community.

On the other hand, the bulk of those who do not at present live near an air base state that they would have some objections to doing so, largely because they would dislike the noise and commotion or because they fear an air base would be an enemy target in the event of a war. Very few object for reasons associated with anti-American feelings, or specific to the U.S. Air Force.

[redacted]

I. INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS

THE WEST GERMAN PEOPLE ARE AIR-MINDED ...

Some introductory observations may be helpful in interpreting the findings detailed in this study. First: The West German people, the survey reveals, are distinctly air-minded. Their marked respect for air power does not appear to derive alone from their wartime experience with its destructive force. It also seems to be based, in part, on their admiration for technical and scientific developments, for speed and dash - all clearly exemplified by planes and pilots; in part, on their continued respect for the former Luftwaffe and those who manned it.

It may therefore be said that the present United States Air Force basks to a certain extent in the reflected glory of air power, as the Germans view it. The American Air Force today is accorded respect not only for its own accomplishments, but also because of the German memory of the wartime exploits of the U.S. airmen and their former foe, the Luftwaffe

CONTACTS WITH U.S. AIRMEN IN WEST GERMANY ARE LIMITED ...

A second preliminary observation is that the generally favorable appraisal of the present U.S. Air Force is made by a people who have little first-hand acquaintance with the airmen now stationed in Germany.

An initial measure of awareness was to ask respondents if they were able to distinguish a U.S. airman from a soldier if they saw him in passing. In reply to this inquiry, a quarter in West Germany (37% in Berlin) volunteer that they can do so by his blue uniform; additional fractions mention other distinguishing features, e.g. wings, insignia, etc. The large majority, however, say they are unable to tell the difference between members of the air and ground forces. And the great bulk of the West German public - including residents of both the U.S. Zone and West Berlin - state they rarely or never see a member of the U.S. Air Force. Only relatively small fractions of the population see airmen often.

"If you meet an American soldier in the street, how can one tell, in your opinion, whether he is an air force soldier or an infantry soldier? (What color is the American Air Force uniform?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
By the blue uniform	24%	18%	33%	18%	37%
By his uniform (color not known	12	12	10	20	6
Other details	4	4	6	3	7
Don't know	60	66	51	59	50
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Have you since the end of the war seen American Air Force soldiers at one time or another? (Fairly often or rarely?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Fairly often	9%	7%	13%	4%	14%
Rarely	19	16	25	15	31
Never	45	57	25	58	22
Don't know (I can't tell the difference; I can't remember)	27	20	37	23	33
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

However, as subsequent findings demonstrate, this lack of direct familiarity with the U.S. airmen in Germany does not mean that the preponderance of West Germans fail to express their opinions on the U.S. Air Force or on the strategic importance of air power. On the contrary, though the basis for their judgments may range from stereotypes or hearsay to factual reports, they are largely prepared to render their verdict.

R E S T R I C T E D

More frequently able than the population as a whole to recognize an American airman when they see him by his blue uniform are young people (under 24), veterans, particularly of the Luftwaffe, as well as men generally and the better educated. Those who know the uniform are also more likely of course to say that they see airmen, but in all cases they report seeing them infrequently rather than frequently.

"If you meet an American soldier in the street, how can one tell, in your opinion, whether he is an air force soldier or an infantry soldier? (What color is the American Air Force uniform?)"

	By the blue uniform	By his uniform (color not known)	Other details	Don't know	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	36%	12%	5%	47%...100%	545
Women	13	12	4	71	643
Education:					
Elementary school	21	12	4	63	958
Beyond elementary	38	14	4	44	229
Income (per month):					
Up to 149 DM	13	10	5	72	210
150 - 299 DM	26	9	5	60	447
300 - 399 DM	25	16	4	55	245
400 DM and more	28	18	5	49	221
Age:					
Up to 24 years	43	12	2	43	145
25 - 34 years	32	11	6	51	251
35 - 44 years	22	13	6	59	261
45 - 54 years	17	17	5	61	248
55 years and over	13	11	2	74	278
Party Preference:					
SPD	25	13	7	55	251
CDU/CSU	24	11	3	62	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	42	11	3	44	66
Other parties	23	12	10	55	82
No party	25	14	4	57	344
Don't know	13	12	3	72	231
Occupation:					
Professionals	43	8	2	47	61
Businessmen	23	18	4	55	123
White-collar workers	35	15	3	47	145
Skilled laborers	29	11	4	56	261
Semi-skilled laborers	19	11	6	64	152
Farmers	14	12	3	71	129
Unemployed	43	17	9	31	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	13	11	6	70	198
Religion:					
Catholics	24	11	6	59	525
Protestants	24	14	3	59	607
Origin:					
Natives	24	13	4	59	935
Refugees, Expellees	22	10	7	61	243
Veteran Status:					
No	17	10	4	69	229
Yes, not air force	39	13	6	42	261
Yes, air force	46	12	1	41	76
Yes, family member, not air force	19	13	4	64	550
Yes, family member, air force	13	15	5	67	111

RESTRICTED

03882

"Have you since the end of the war seen American Air Force soldiers at one time or another? (Fairly often or rarely?)"

	Fairly often	Rarely	Never	Don't know (I can't tell the difference; I can't remember	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	14%	29%	37%	20%...100%	545
Women	5	12	51	32	643
Education:					
Elementary school	7	17	48	28	958
Beyond elementary	15	28	33	24	229
Income (per month):					
Up to 149 DM	4	13	53	30	210
150 - 299 DM	9	19	43	29	447
300 - 399 DM	9	24	46	21	245
400 DM and more	13	23	41	23	221
Age:					
Up to 24 years	9	34	36	21	145
25 - 34 years	16	25	33	26	251
35 - 44 years	8	19	48	25	261
45 - 54 years	6	17	47	30	248
55 years and over	4	10	57	29	278
Party Preference:					
SPD	13	22	38	27	251
CDU/CSU	7	19	55	19	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	15	27	32	26	66
Other parties	10	21	48	21	82
No party	8	21	44	27	344
Don't know	6	12	46	36	231
Occupation:					
Professionals	10	32	30	28	61
Businessmen	15	17	43	25	123
White-collar workers	14	25	36	25	145
Skilled laborers	11	21	41	27	261
Semi-skilled laborers	5	20	48	27	152
Farmers	2	16	50	32	129
Unemployed	14	37	40	9	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	7	10	52	31	198
Religion:					
Catholics	10	19	46	25	525
Protestants	8	20	44	28	607
Origin:					
Natives	9	19	44	28	935
Refugees, Expellees	8	21	48	23	243
Veteran Status:					
No	4	16	47	33	229
Yes, not air force	14	32	34	20	261
Yes, air force	23	30	30	17	76
Yes, family member not air force	7	17	49	27	550
Yes, family member, air force	4	11	53	32	111

II. DO GERMANS THINK THE U.S. AIR FORCE CONTRIBUTES TO THEIR SECURITY?

Presented in this section are West German views on the role of the United States Air Force in German security. It goes without saying that the more the West Germans appreciate the defense role of the Air Force, the greater will be their understanding of its continued presence in their country following the formal ending of the occupation. In order to lend a wider perspective to their judgments on the security value of air power in general and the U.S. Air Force specifically, this section initially treats with their evaluations of current problems as related to defense issues.

PROBLEMS OF A POLITICO-MILITARY NATURE LOOM LARGE IN GERMAN OPINION ...

Overshadowing all other problems in West German opinion are those of a politico-military nature. Difficulties such as the refugee question, the housing shortage, high prices and unemployment which singly or in combination largely preoccupied most West Germans until recently now yield in importance to such Cold War problems as German unification, the avoidance of war, defense participation and so on. The West Germans' emphasis on politico-military issues with international implications rather than on domestic economic and social problems - as formerly - suggests a fairly thorough realization of those larger world issues that also contribute to the presence of the U.S. Air Force in Germany.

The tabular summary of replies to the query "What is the most important problem West Germany is facing today?" shows that among the public in both West Germany and West Berlin politico-military issues outrank economic and social problems by a ratio of three to one.*

	West Germany	Berlin
Politico-Military Issues	63%	67%
Reunification of Germany	20%	32%
Preservation of peace, avoidance of war	17	13
Defense participation	11	4
Contractual agreement	8	10
East-West tensions	7	8
Economic and Social Issues	24%	17%
Unemployment	8%	9%
Economic strains (general)	9	4
Housing shortage	3	1
Refugees	4	3
Miscellaneous - political, economic, social	7%	14%
Undecided; don't know	17	5
	111%**	103%**

** Some people named more than one problem.

* In a survey made in the summer of 1951, 51 per cent of West Germans mentioned economic problems as "most important", and 43 per cent named politico-military issues.

03884

PREPONDERANCE WANTS ALLIED ARMED FORCES TO REMAIN IN WEST GERMANY ...

Further indication that West Germans are well aware of the troubled times in which they live is that the majority of them are opposed, for security reasons, to the withdrawal of Allied forces from Germany. However, Germans who want the Allied troops to stay are of two minds on whether they should be augmented (29%) or remain at their present strength (29%). West Berliners more frequently than others recommend additional forces.

"Considering the question of West Germany's security, what do you think would be better for us: if the armed forces of the Western powers leave West Germany, if as many armed forces stay here as are here right now, or if more armed forces would be sent here?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Armed forces should leave Germany	20%	15%	24%	27%	8%
Armed forces should stay here in same strength	29	28	30	32	31
More armed forces	29	36	23	20	57
Undecided	22	21	23	21	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Now as in a survey made last winter on reactions to the Allied forces in West Germany, advocates of complete withdrawal as well as opponents of additional troops argue in similar fashion. Both stress two points: 1) the Allied forces cost too much, and 2) once West Germany has its own defense army, Allied troops or additional troops will not be needed.*

MORE U.S. AIR UNITS RECOMMENDED, IF ADDITIONAL ARMED FORCES PLANNED ...

Turning from West German appraisal of general security problems to the role of air power in German defense, the public appears widely agreed on its importance. As to the United States Air Force specifically, an initial indication of confidence is that by a margin of three to one West Germans recommend strengthening American air, rather than ground, forces in Germany should additions in strength be contemplated.

"Supposing the armed forces of the Western powers would not leave West Germany and the number of American forces in West Germany would be increased, what do you personally consider to be more important: if the Americans would send more land force or air force units to West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
More land force units	13%	14%	14%	13%	19%
More air force units	35	37	31	38	55
Equally large number for both	19	19	18	17	18
Equally small number for both	3	1	5	4	-
Undecided	30	29	32	28	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* See, "The German Appraisal of the Allied Forces in West Germany," RAS Report # 119, Series # 2, dated January 28, 1952. The division of opinions on this question was substantially the same in both surveys.

03885

WHO FAVORS AUGMENTED AIR UNITS? ...

The preference for additional air over ground forces though general to the population as a whole, is most frequently apparent both among those who are best informed about the Air Force (as tested by recognition of the uniform), and those who favor German participation in the European defense system. Even among Germans who would be pleased to see all the Allied troops leave, the preference is strongly for increased air strength-if the U.S. contemplates additional forces in Germany-though opponents of withdrawal support added air power more frequently. These findings are demonstrated in the paired comparisons below.

	If Additional U.S. Armed Forces in Germany, Preference is for more:			
	Ground Forces	Air Forces	Both	Undecided
Among those who:				
Can distinguish airmen by blue uniform	18%	46%	21%	15%..100%
Other than uniform	14	34	26	26
Cannot distinguish them	11	31	20	38
On German defense participation, are:				
Strongly for it	16%	47%	29%	8%
Somewhat for it	13	43	24	20
Somewhat against it	19	35	22	24
Strongly against it	14	29	17	40
Allied forces should leave	15%	29%	20%	36%
Stay, but at present strength	15	47	21	17
Stay, and increased	17	44	28	11

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Among all elements of the German people more support for additions to air rather than land forces is apparent. As compared with their opposite number the men and the wealthier groups are particularly of this view. Of interest is the finding that Luftwaffe veterans are somewhat less inclined than Wehrmacht veterans to place the stress on air power alone.

"Supposing the armed forces of the Western powers would not leave West Germany and the number of American forces in West Germany would be increased, what do you personally consider to be more important, if the Americans would send more land force or air force units to West Germany?"

	More land force units	More air force units	Equally large number for both	Equally small number for both	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	17%	43%	21%	2%	17%	100% 545
Women	11	28	16	3	42	543
Education:						
Elementary school	13	34	18	2	33	958
Beyond elementary	18	40	21	4	17	229
Income(per month):						
Up to 149 DM	9	26	18	2	45	210
150 - 299 DM	14	35	19	2	30	447
300 - 399 DM	11	40	21	3	25	245
400 DM and more	19	41	18	4	18	221
Age:						
Up to 24 years	20	33	20	2	25	145
25 - 34 years	16	36	23	3	22	251
35 - 44 years	11	39	15	3	32	260
45 - 54 years	15	35	16	4	30	248
55 years and over	10	32	19	2	37	278
Party Preference:						
SPD	15	42	20	4	19	251
CDU/CSU	20	36	23	1	20	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	15	47	20	3	15	66
Other parties	13	39	20	4	24	82
No party	10	37	17	3	33	344
Don't know	10	18	15	3	54	231
Occupation:						
Professionals	18	46	11	5	20	61
Businessmen	15	38	21	2	24	123
White-collar workers	17	39	20	3	21	145
Skilled laborers	15	37	20	3	25	261
Semi-skilled laborers	10	35	17	2	36	152
Farmers	10	25	18	2	45	129
Unemployed	20	34	29	3	14	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired;etc.	10	35	18	2	35	198
Religion:						
Catholics	14	36	18	2	30	525
Protestants	14	33	19	3	31	607
Origin:						
Natives	13	36	18	3	30	935
Refugees, Expellees	14	32	21	4	29	243
Veteran Status:						
No	11	35	20	2	32	229
Yes, not air force	18	45	18	4	15	261
Yes, air force	17	37	26	-	20	76
Yes, family member, not air force	14	29	16	4	37	550
Yes, family member, air force	11	38	18	3	30	111

STRONG SUPPORT FOR A GERMAN AIR FORCE EXISTS ...

The relative confidence West Germans display in air power as exemplified by the U.S., is additionally demonstrated by the importance they attach to the need for a German air force once West Germany has an army again. Large majorities both in West Germany and Berlin assert Germany should have an air arm, the preponderant view being that it is very important to have one.

"In case West Germany would raise troops for the defense of the West, should it then have an air force, too? (Do you consider this to be important or very important?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Very important	43%	46%	41%	39%	62%
Important	25	25	24	28	30
No, no air force	11	9	12	12	5
Undecided	21	20	23	21	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

ADVOCATES OF A GERMAN AIR FORCE ALSO RECOMMEND ADDED U.S. AIR UNITS ...

The Germans who want their own air force once their country is participating in the European defense system apparently envision this force as an addition to the air support offered by the U.S., not as a substitute for it. This is suggested by the finding that advocates of a German air corps more frequently than opponents also recommend additional American air units.

	If Additional U.S. Forces, Preference is for:			
Of those who say:	More infantry	More Air Force	Both	Undecided
It is very important to have a German air corps	17%	50%	23%	10%..100%
It is important to have a German air corps	14	42	20	24
Germany should not have an air corps	18	18	24	40

SUPPORT FOR A GERMAN AIR FORCE AMONG VARIOUS GROUPS ...

Strongest support for a German air corps is found among the people who also are very much in favor of West German participation in the European defense system. People in the higher status socio-economic groups, the better educated, upper income, and professional groups, as well as the men, also tend to consider such an air force essential. Veterans too stress the importance more frequently than non-veterans.

"In case West Germany would raise troops for the defense of the West, should it then have an air force, too? (Do you consider this to be important or very important?)"

	Very important	Important	No, no air force	Undecided	No. of cases:
Attitudes on German defense participation:					
Very much for it	75%	16%	5%	4%...100%	241
Somewhat for it	46	39	6	9	304
Somewhat against it	41	30	10	19	165
Very much against it	34	20	22	24	323
Sex:					
Men	61	22	8	9	545
Women	28	28	12	32	643
Education:					
Elementary school	39	26	11	24	958
Beyond elementary	60	24	7	9	229
Income (per month):					
Up to 149 DM	27	28	10	35	210
150 - 299 DM	44	25	11	20	447
300 - 399 DM	49	27	8	16	245
400 DM and more	54	25	9	12	221
Age:					
Up to 24 years	40	33	10	17	145
25 - 34 years	51	22	12	15	251
35 - 44 years	43	25	11	21	260
45 - 54 years	42	24	11	23	248
55 years and over	38	25	9	28	278
Party Preference:					
SPD	49	29	11	11	251
CDU/CSU	50	26	9	15	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	59	24	8	9	66
Other parties	49	20	13	18	82
No party	42	25	11	22	344
Don't know	26	22	10	42	231
Occupation:					
Professionals	66	16	8	10	61
Businessmen	51	28	8	13	123
White-collar workers	53	24	10	13	145
Skilled laborers	45	24	12	19	261
Semi-skilled laborers	40	26	9	25	152
Farmers	30	23	15	32	129
Unemployed	55	17	14	14	35
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	37	27	7	29	198
Religion:					
Catholics	44	25	10	21	525
Protestants	42	26	10	22	607
Origin:					
Natives	43	25	11	21	935
Refugees, Expellees	43	27	10	20	243
Veteran Status:					
No	42	25	11	24	229
Yes, not air force	63	21	8	8	261
Yes, air force	62	18	13	7	76
Yes, family member, not airforce	33	28	10	29	550
Yes, family member, air force	37	32	16	15	111

RESTRICTED

IN A FUTURE WAR, THE IMPORTANCE OF AIR POWER WIDELY ACKNOWLEDGED ...

On the basis of a direct comparison between the military value of air and land power, air forces are again selected as the more important by a wide margin.

"Of course, in a war the infantry as well as the air force are important; which do you, however, consider would be more important in a future war, the infantry or the air force?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Infantry	10%	10%	9%	7%	16%
Air force	43	39	46	48	51
Both equally important	31	32	30	33	29
Undecided	16	19	15	12	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Advocates of air power reason in a variety of ways, but give particular emphasis to two points: 1) an air force has greater striking speed and mobility; and 2) air power is the decisive factor in a war. On the latter point many Germans appear to be arguing from their own experience with saturation bombing in the latter months of the last war and from the Luftwaffe's decisive raids on smaller countries in the first phases of the war. Typical comments are listed below.

"For what reasons is the air force more important?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "air force" to previous question.)

	West Germany	Berlin
The air force has superior speed, mobility and striking power: Planes cause more wide-spread destruction in a shorter time than infantry forces; they are faster in attacking any kind of target in any location; the air force gets better results, it's a faster and more dangerous weapon; because they are able to destroy a whole country within a short time; first of all they're faster, second they are able to cause heavy losses to the enemy in a single raid; the effect is greater and felt more quickly than in the case of the infantry; the air force has a greater striking power, they can destroy the infantry within a short time; it gets to any place where it's needed more quickly; the effect is greater if the air force drops just a few bombs than if a whole infantry division goes into action; it's a more destructive weapon and thus a more effective one; it has an unlimited range of action and is hard to get at and because it is much more mobile; etc.	19%	21%
The air force will always be the decisive factor in a war: The air force decides the outcome of a war; if air force units are employed, a war will be ended within a shorter time; the outcome of a war depends on which party has air supremacy; the outcome depends on the air force only, ground battles belong to the past, much more progress has been made in aeronautics than in ground warfare; we have to reckon with air raids immediately a war breaks out, if we haven't got a sufficient number of aircraft, the war is decided right on the spot; any future war will be mainly aerial warfare; etc.	10	7

(con'td on next page)

03890

	West Germany	Berlin
The air force is important in atomic warfare: As previous experiences have shown, only because they can carry atom bombs; on account of the atom bomb and the progress made. for on thing; because of the danger brought on by atomic weapons, for one thing - atomic weapons will make all the difference; because of the atom bomb, if atom bombs are used that's the quickest way of destroying enemy infantry troops; because it is important in any future atomic warfare; first of all, the air force is inherently superior to the infantry, and second, they carry atom bombs which will decide any war; etc.	5%	10%
The air force can operate behind enemy lines and can upset supply system: They can strike at vital points behind enemy lines - this may be a decisive factor in a future war, as it proved to be in the last war; they can carry disorder into enemy supply lines; if the air force cuts off supply lines, the others have to surrender; in order to obstruct the supply routes of the enemy and to destroy war industries; etc.	5	8
The air force is important for reconnaissance purposes, it prepares the ground for the infantry: The air force is in a better position to watch enemy troops' movements; because the air force may be decisive in the field of reconnaissance, for instance, what should the infantry do without the air force?; they can drop air-borne troops in strategic points, thus the enemy will be prevented from getting into battle formation, in that way they are already half-way on the road to victory; the air force prepares the ground for the infantry - they simply cover enemy territory with bombs; they smash everything right at the start, later on other outfits move in; etc.	3	7
The air force has fewer casualties: You can do with a smaller number of soldiers, there won't be so many dead; it would mean to us that the number of casualties will be kept as low as possible; fewer young men would die, it's less rugged for air force people than for infantry soldiers; etc.	1	1
Others: We saw it during the last war; any soldier other than an airman will just be cut down by any plane; the party that has air supremacy, will control trade and those who direct trade policies will always carry their point in any political issue; infantry forces will be of no use any more, wars will get more cruel all the time, ever more people will be destroyed, things are moving faster now; in order to prevent bombing of cities; etc.	3	4
No opinion:	*	2
	46%**	60%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some people gave more than one answer.

03891

THE U.S. AIR FORCE COULD BE COUNTED ON TO SUPPORT GERMAN TROOPS ...

Considerations of the relative superiority of air over land power aside, the West Germans exhibit a marked degree of confidence in the U.S. Air Force in another and more exacting test. Six in ten say that an American air unit could be relied upon to support any German divisions they were assigned to. Nor would American airmen be inclined to withhold support because the troops happened to be German, according to the preponderance.

"Supposing an American air unit would be assigned to a German division to support it in combat - do you believe one could rely on this American support or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Could rely on it	58%	62%	55%	54%	91%
Could not rely on it	14	10	17	18	5
No opinion	28	28	28	28	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Would the American airmen, in your opinion, give more support to German troops than, for instance, to British troops or equal support or less support?" (Asked of those who said "could rely on it" or "no opinion" to the preceding question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Give more support to the Germans	4%	5%	2%	2%	7%
Give equal support to the Germans	51	55	47	50	80
Give less support to the Germans	6	3	10	5	4
No opinion	25	27	24	25	4
	86%	90%	83%	82%	95%

People who are for Germany's participation in West European defense more frequently than those opposed express confidence that American airmen could be relied on to support German ground troops. It is important to note, however, that even among opponents of defense participation, as many as half believe the U.S. Air Force would not fail to aid German troops.

On this issue also familiarity with the U.S. Air Force now in Germany increases confidence in their reliability. These relationships are presented on the next page.

	A U.S. Air Unit Assigned to Support German Divisions:		
	Could be relied on	Could not	Undecided
On German defense participation, say they are:			
Strongly for it	75%	10%	15%...100%
Somewhat for it	68	12	20
Somewhat against it	62	13	25
Strongly against it	50	20	30
Can distinguish U.S. airmen:			
By blue uniform	76%	14%	10%
By other than uniform	59	17	24
Cannot distinguish them	51%	13%	36%

	As Between British and German Divisions a U.S. Air Unit Would Give Germans:			
	More support	Same support	Less support	Undecided
On German defense participation, say they are:				
Strongly for it	5%	66%	4%	15%...90%
Somewhat for it	4	63	6	19 92
Somewhat against it	4	50	10	24 88
Strongly against it	3	43	7	24 77
Can distinguish U.S. airmen:				
By blue uniform	4%	64%	7%	10%...85%
By other than uniform	3	55	6	18 82
Cannot distinguish them	4%	45%	6%	33%...88%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON AIR FORCE RELIABILITY ...

Among all elements in West German society the belief is widespread that German troops could depend on support from any U.S. Air Force units assigned to aid them. Most frequently holding this view, however, are the opinion leading groups - the men, those with more than average education and in the upper income brackets. Also tending to share this position are young people in contrast to the old, veterans as compared with non-veterans, and refugees more than native Germans.

... "Supposing an American air unit would be assigned to a German division to support it in combat - do you believe one could rely on this American support or not?"

	Could rely on it	Could not rely on it	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	68%	14%	18%...100%	545
Women	50	13	37	643
Education:				
Elementary school	55	14	31	958
Beyond elementary	74	11	15	229
Income (per month):				
Up to 149 DM	45	14	41	210
150 - 299 DM	61	14	25	447
300 - 399 DM	62	14	24	245
400 DM and more	67	13	20	221
Age:				
Up to 24 years	64	12	24	145
25 - 34 years	64	15	21	251
35 - 44 years	57	15	28	261
45 - 54 years	61	13	26	248
55 years and over	50	12	38	278
Party Preference:				
SPD	68	17	15	251
CDU/CSU	67	12	21	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	70	18	12	66
Other parties	67	22	11	82
No party	54	12	34	344
Don't know	41	10	49	231
Occupation:				
Professionals	69	11	20	61
Businessmen	61	15	24	123
White-collar workers	71	10	19	145
Skilled laborers	63	13	24	261
Semi-skilled laborers	52	14	34	152
Farmers	47	18	35	129
Unemployed	54	29	17	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	55	14	31	198
Religion:				
Catholics	61	13	26	525
Protestants	55	14	31	607
Origin:				
Natives	57	15	28	935
Refugees, Expellees	66	9	25	243
Veteran Status:				
No	61	9	30	229
Yes, not air force	67	15	18	261
Yes, air force	70	16	14	76
Yes, family member, not air force	53	15	32	550
Yes, family member, air force	54	15	31	111

"Would the American airmen, in your opinion, give more support to German troops, than for instance, to British troops or equal support or less support?"

	Give more support to the Germans	Give equal support to the Germans	Give less support to the Germans	No opinion	Not asked		No. of cases:
Sex:							
Men	5%	61%	4%	16%	14%	100%	545
Women	2	43	8	34	13		643
Education:							
Elementary school	4	48	6	28	14		958
Beyond elementary	4	64	7	12	13		229
Income (per month):							
Up to 149 DM	1	41	5	13	40		210
150 - 299 DM	4	51	8	13	24		447
300 - 399 DM	3	58	4	14	21		245
400 DM and more	4	59	6	14	17		221
Age:							
Up to 24 years	2	58	5	13	22		145
25 - 34 years	3	54	7	15	21		251
35 - 44 years	3	48	6	16	27		261
45 - 54 years	5	54	7	14	20		248
55 years and over	5	45	5	10	35		278
Party Preference:							
SPD	5	60	6	16	13		251
CDU/CSU	3	59	5	11	22		214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	3	66	2	17	12		66
Other parties	6	49	7	23	15		82
No party	4	50	8	12	26		344
Don't know	*	33	6	11	50		231
Occupation:							
Professionals	3	63	7	11	16		61
Businessmen	2	58	8	15	17		123
White-collar workers	3	65	4	11	17		145
Skilled laborers	5	56	7	13	19		261
Semi-skilled laborers	6	45	3	14	32		152
Farmers	3	36	8	19	34		129
Unemployed	-	48	3	26	23		35
Not employed: pensioners; students;retired;etc.	3	47	5	12	33		198
Religion:							
Catholics	3	54	7	13	23		525
Protestants	4	48	5	14	29		607
Origin:							
Natives	3	51	6	15	25		935
Refugees, Expellees	4	54	7	8	27		243
Veteran Status:							
No	2	55	4	10	29		229
Yes, not air force	4	61	4	15	16		261
Yes, air force	5	58	8	16	13		76
Yes, family member, not air force	3	44	8	14	31		550
Yes, family member, air force	6	54	5	14	21		111

* Less than one half of one per cent.

DOUBTERS ARE GENERALLY UNFRIENDLY TOWARD THE U.S. ...

The fraction which asserts that the U.S. air units could not be counted on to support German troops argue from a generally anti-American position. Few of them refer specifically to the Air Force, as may be noted in their comments.

"Why could one not rely on American suppport?" (Asked of those who answered "could not rely on it" in initial question.)

	West Germany	Berlin
Americans are cowards, they'll let us down (if they encounter resistance): The Yanks will withdraw, if they meet with any tough resistance - therefore you can't rely on them; all of a sudden the Americans may let us down, if the going gets rough, they aren't so brave; if things come to a head, the Americans will beat it, you can't rely on them; those airmen will get back to safety - if they'd meet an enemy superior in numbers, they'll beat it to be safe; if they get into a tough spot, they'll take to their heels; if things go wrong, you can rely on them as little as you can rely on the French, they'll scram; etc.	3%	2%
Americans would not be defending their own country: The Americans will think: it's not our country, after all, why should we risk our necks; I guess because the Americans don't care too much about Germany; they won't be too eager to defend our country, it's not their home country, after all; it's not their homeland they are defending, only if it's your own homeland will you go all out to defend it; etc.	2	3
Americans can't be trusted (generally): I don't trust them farther than I can see; I don't trust the Yanks, they only think of themselves; I have no liking for the Americans, they are generally unreliable and slack (I mean they aren't conscientious, they are too casual; etc.	2	-
Americans would let Germans pull the chestnuts out of the fire: They'd first send our troops to the front line, and then follow after, I guess; they'd let our boys stick it out at the front, they themselves would take it easy behind the lines; etc.	1	1
Americans were our enemies once: During the Third Reich they were our enemies, after all; they have been our enemies for such a long time - I don't think they can get used to changed conditions so quickly; because we'll never get along - the resentment is too bitter, especially on our side on account of the bombing raids - people won't forget that in a hurry; etc.	1	-
Others: Because the Americans don't make fine soldiers; if there should be an air force at all, then we want a German air force; only if American infantry troops join in the fight, too; they only have their own advantages in mind; etc.	4	*
No opinion/ No answer:	1	-
	14%	6%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some people gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

III. HOW DOES THE U.S. AIR FORCE COMPARE WITH OTHERS?

Shifting from appraisal of the security afforded Germany by American air power to evaluation of the quality of the U.S. Air Force and airmen, the West German reaction also tends to be favorable on the whole, especially as regards the Air Force as a military organization without reference to its personnel.

On three different counts the American Air Force is rated better than others, including the former Luftwaffe.

AMERICANS RATED ABOVE THE LUFTWAFFE IN WORLD WAR II ...

As to the relative excellence of various air forces during World War II, the Americans are placed first, with the German Luftwaffe its only close competitor. The Americans and Germans vie for second place among the people who do not rank one or the other of the two as best. The British RAF though mentioned very infrequently as the best, is placed second by 15 per cent.

"As far as you can judge, which of these countries had on the whole the best air force in the last war? And which holds second place?"

WEST GERMANY

	First place	Second place
America	45%	27%
Germany	33	29
England	2	15
France	-	*
Russia	*	2
No opinion	20	27
	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

... More detailed analysis of the rankings of first and second choices reveals that among those who rate the Americans best, 95 per cent place the Luftwaffe in second place, the remaining 5 per cent naming the British. Of the people who say the Luftwaffe was best in World War II, 98 per cent name the U.S. as second best, and 2 per cent give this distinction to the British.

HIGH CALIBRE OF GERMAN AIRMEN HELD TO EXPLAIN LUFTWAFFE SUPERIORITY ...

The reasons given by those who rate the Luftwaffe first despite its showing against the RAF in the Battle of Britain and its subsequent inability to prevent mass bombing by the U.S. Air Force, as well as the RAF, reveal a great deal about the German psychology of defeat. Those who rank the Luftwaffe as best of all in World War II almost without exception stress the superior quality of the German airmen - in training, skill and courage who fought, they say, usually against heavy odds.

SUPERIOR TECHNICAL AND MATERIAL ADVANTAGES MADE U.S. AIR FORCE BEST ...

In contrast, those rating the U.S. Air Force best emphasize, almost entirely, superiority in resources, number of planes, equipment and technical facilities. While all of these factors did apply to the American Air Force especially from 1944 on, the fact that the planes coming over Germany were manned by men, not robots, appears to have escaped most West Germans.

Perhaps it is to be expected that a people who lived through mass bombing raids should emphasize number and material superiority of their one-time enemy. Also it is probably natural for a defeated country to assuage its national pride by emphasizing the bravery and skill of its defenders. But it also suggests that the bulk of the Germans are not yet able to face squarely all the facts in their defeat. Their detailed comments follow.

"In what respect was the German Air Force the best one?" [redacted]

	West Germany	Berlin
It had the best and modern planes: Our planes were faster and more easily manageable and we had the dive bombers; our dive bombers and fighters were invincible; only the German Air Force had the dive bombers and the V-weapons; our fighters were faster and better by far than those of the others; etc.	7%	17%
Its personnel were most thoroughly trained: They were much more thoroughly trained than the others; apart from other assets, the personnel had a high standard and an excellent sense of duty; we had the most efficient pilots, our forces were a crack outfit; they had better pilots than the others; they had the most highly qualified personnel, training and technical ability of the German airmen were first rate; etc.	7	7
Luftwaffe had more courage and fighting spirit: This is due to the German airmen's fighting spirit, they usually had to face superior enemy forces; willingness to fight on the German side even if the situation was hopeless; our airmen had more courage, they didn't fear the devil though their numerical strength often was inferior to that of the enemy; they ignored the danger and had greater fighting spirit than the others; they were the pluckiest of them all; they were idealists and daredevils; though they had to give way to the superior forces, as individual fighters they were the best of all; etc.	9	4
Exploits and successes proved it: They achieved a lot though the equipment was poor; we had the best air force in the world which was very successful during the first years of the war; they were very successful though the enemy was superior in numerical strength; they were on the ball, in the beginning at least; because Germany defended itself very effectively; they destroyed more than the others; etc.	7	3
Superiority of the Germans in general: Because the Germans were the best soldiers though the enemy forced us to our knees; because the airmen were Germans and the German soldier is the best of all; otherwise I couldn't call myself a German any longer; etc.	3	3
Others: Because the German Air Force is said to be the best one; because they were equal to the others though the material was inferior; etc.	4	2
No opinion:	1 38%**	- 36%**

** Some people gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

"In what respect was the American Air Force the best one?"

	West Germany	Berlin
The U.S. Air Force had the greatest number of planes: They had the greatest number of planes; they showed up with lots of planes; the American Air Force was more successful because of its greater number of planes; because they had more planes than everybody else, they were superior to all in quantity; by greater numerical strength; they had so many planes, they could bomb any target; etc.	17%	19%
It had superior material: Because they had more material than all other countries; only because of the better equipment the Americans had due to the efficiency of their aircraft industry, there is no other reason; because its Air Force was superior to ours, that was due to its better equipment but not to a better performance; it had the best material; etc.	10	14
It had technical superiority: In the technical field it was far superior to us; America was leading in technical sciences; it had the highest standard and its technical equipment was first rate, the long distance flights proved this; they were better armed than the Germans; by its modern equipment; etc.	7	16
It had the best planes: Because it had the best planes; it had the most efficient types of planes, the latest and fastest models; it had the best planes, it could afford them because nothing was destroyed over there; etc.	4	6
It had heavy bombers: It had the heaviest arms and used heavy bombers and the largest carried planes; it had the best planes and the heaviest bombs; it had high-class bombers; it had the four-engined bombers and that was probably the decisive factor; the many bombers are the reason for America's superiority; etc.	2	9
Mass bombing proved its superiority: Because they smashed everything; because they caused the heaviest damage; because they reduced Germany to rubble by their bombs; we saw it when they bombed our town; it caused large-scale destruction, wherever it appeared everything was in ruins afterwards; it succeeded in destroying our towns, therefore, it must have been the best one; etc.	5	5

(cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	Berlin
Victory proved it: Otherwise Germany wouldn't have lost the war, the American Air Force was more efficient; it defeated our air force, I don't know if the American Air Force was better, but its numerical strength was greater than ours; it forced us down to our knees; the Americans had air supremacy, that proves that they had the best air force; because they defeated Germany in such a short period of time, the American Air Force decided the war; etc.	5%	5%
It was backed by smoothly functioning industries in the U.S.: They needn't stop working, their plants were not destroyed so that they could build up a huge air force; they could arm without being disturbed; the American aircraft industry wasn't harmed during the war; America was far from the theater of operations, it was able to produce without disturbances; etc.	2	4
It had unlimited fuel supplies: It had much oil at its disposal; because it had more gasoline than others; because there were no fuel restrictions; etc.	1	1
Others: The Americans are so sporting, bright and able, that's why I think they are best; the Americans have superior tactics in attack; raiding an urban area they drop bombs along a street, while the Russians attack at a right angle to streets, thus the target area is smaller; etc.	6	7
No opinion/No answer:	1	2
	60%**	90%**

** Some people gave more than one answer.

03900

AT PRESENT THE AMERICAN AIR FORCE UNRIVALED ...

As regards current competition, the U.S. Air Force stands practically alone in German eyes as best in the world. Soviet Russia's air force outdistances the Royal Air Force of Britain for the distinction of being second best.

"And what about the situation today: which country has the best air force at the present time? Which one holds second place?"

WEST GERMANY

	First place	Second place
America	57%	5%
England	1	18
France	-	1
Russia	5	31
No opinion	37	45
	100%	100%

AND THE U.S. IS EXPECTED TO MAINTAIN ITS LEAD IN AIR POWER ...

In the German view, the Russians will not be able to catch up with the Americans in five years' time. Those Germans who are prepared to speculate about future developments - well over half prefer not to do so - see the situation five years' hence much as at present, with the U.S. Air Force still in first place, and the Russians trailing.

"What country, do you think, will probably have the best air force in five years' time? And what country will hold second place?"

	First place	Second place
America	35%	8%
England	*	9
France	-	*
Russia	8	23
No opinion	57	60
	100%	100%

* Less than half of one per cent.

[redacted]

WEST BERLIN RATES U.S. AIR POWER HIGHER ...

West Berliners who have personally experienced the air power of the United States as a foe in World War II and as a friend during the blockade more frequently than West Germans rate the Air Force first, as the following results for Berlin indicate. It is also to be noted that Berliners have a higher regard for the RAF, particularly as concerns its future position.

"As far as you can judge, which of these countries had on the whole the best air force in the last war? And which holds second place?"

	Berlin	
	First place	Second place
America	63%	28%
Germany	29	45
England	4	19
France	-	1
Russia	*	2
No opinion	4	5
	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"And about the situation today: which country has the best air force at the present time? Which one holds second place?"

	First place	Second place
America	80%	7%
England	3	36
France	-	1
Russia	4	37
No opinion	13	19
	100%	100%

"What country, do you think, will probably have the best air force in five years' time? And what country will hold second place?"

	First place	Second place
America	68%	10%
England	2	26
France	-	1
Russia	5	35
No opinion	25	28
	100%	100%

03902

MATERIAL ADVANTAGES AGAIN HIGHLIGHTED AS REASONS FOR U.S. SUPERIORITY ...

Reasons for evaluating the American Air Force as the best at present and predicting it will continue to lead five years hence, again stress the material and technical advantages of the United States with reference to other countries.

"In what respect has America the best air force at the present time?" (Asked of those who said "America" in initial question.)

	West Germany	Berlin
America, in general, has greater assets than other nations: America is the wealthiest country in the world and can afford everything; America has raw materials and fuel in plenty; America has enough money to set up the best air force; they didn't lose a thing in the war - all they lost was a few planes which were shot down - nothing was destroyed in their country; because they have the larger industrial potential; because their output is the highest of all; they have the largest plants; the Americans are superior as to raw materials; because conditions are most favorable in their country; etc.	18%	29%
The quality of their planes and equipment (including armament) is excellent: Their rockets and jet planes are better than those of the Russians; because they always show up with new types of planes which are faster than others, like the jet planes; that is, no doubt, a question of quality; construction and equipment (aton bombs) of the planes are superior; the progress made in America regarding speed, range and load capacity is unequalled up to now, though the Russians are said to have made headway; they have the most modern jet planes at their disposal, they realize record speeds; because of their aton bombs and their planes which are technically the best; because they have new type bombers which are employed in Korea and they fly at such altitudes that they are beyond the range of anti-aircraft guns; etc.	10	21
The Americans lead in research and scientific development: They are ahead of the others in the technical field; research as a whole is more advanced in America; as to new aircraft developments, American scientists lead, that's it; because research in this field is carried through with greater intensity; etc.	9	16
America learned from its experiences of the last war: Because they expanded their air force according to the experiences they had in the last war; America surely wasn't idle after the war, it rearmed with full speed; because America had a lot of experiences during the war which can be exploited now; etc.	7	13

(cont'd on next page)

02903

	West Germany	Berlin
America has the greatest number of planes: They had lots of planes; the quantity of planes is the decisive factor; they have the greatest number of planes, there is no doubt about that; they are said to have a large number of planes; because of their great numerical strength; etc.	7%	7%
The American Air Force took advantage of German experiences: Because they took engineers from Germany to America who built up their air force so it's now the best of the world; they hired a lot of German engineers who are very experienced; all our inventors are over there; many Germans work in the American Air Force on our plans; because they pinched our patents; etc.	5	8
America is said to have the best air force in the world: The radio only tells favorable things about them; my son who has been in America for two years writes that they are very efficient; I think so because the newspapers report it; It's just a feeling I have; etc.	6	4
American Air Force personnel is more highly qualified: Their personnel is very well trained; they have the most qualified crews; America has efficient pilots who are intellectually superior to those of the Russians; etc.	3	3
The Berlin air lift and Korea prove U.S. is best: Judging from their successes in Korea; they proved it when the air lift was established - they started in storm and rain and overcame all difficulties; it was proved by the air lift that was ready for action right away - furthermore one can notice it in Korea, they bear the main burden of the war; etc.	1	4
Others: Because America is a powerful continent; American bases are scattered all over the world so that the Americans can watch what's going on; it's always American planes which are seen all over the world; etc.	3	3
No opinion/No answer:	1	1
	70%*	109%*

* Some people gave more than one answer.

"Why do you think will America have the best air force in five years' time?" (Asked of those who answered "American" in initial question.)

	West Germany	Berlin
America has the greatest assets: America has the greatest resources and unlimited possibilities; there is enough money, they are able to produce and develop new construction; because raw materials are to be found within America itself; they are in a position to build and get things done, they've got the necessary means; America will always be a wealthy country, those who have money can afford everything; because they have the best currency, that enables them to get all they need to develop a strong air force; because it is the wealthiest nation of the world, they can afford to spend large sums for research projects and for training its air force personnel; they have lots of good material and tons of money; etc.	14%	31%
America is more advanced in scientific and technical matters: Because Americans are more advanced in aeronautics, in the scientific and economic field, than the Russians; because they continue to improve modern technics; in the technical field the American people have always been more efficient than other nations and above the standard of the day; because in America technical experiments are going on and new things are tested and put to use; Americans push technical development more vigorously than any other nation; America will keep its advantage over others because it has the more efficient men and more highly-developed technics; because in America there are many inventors and similar persons, the Russians are not that thoroughly trained; because America is more up-to-date than others; etc.	9	19
America rearms on a large scale and pays special attention to its air force: Because they rearm at high pressure; because they put steam behind air force rearmament and the development of atomic power; because it continues rearming, and, you may be sure, that it will develop its air force so it remains the best of all; etc.	6	13
America will do everything to keep its advantage: Because America won't let the others take the initiative; because America won't ever allow another country to gain air supremacy; America will keep the lead, it will never be outdone; it is difficult for the others to catch up with America; because the start America has got can't be made up; etc.	7	10
America has German experts and patents: Because they have the right people on their staff - they hired all the German inventors and experts for America; many German experts work in the American air force industry; they have many German engineers over there who are not idle; etc.	1	5
Others: America will probably never feel the effects of war in its own country thus it has the possibility to go on with developments; American people are fast in action and clever, they won't let the Ivans beat them; it takes advantage of its experiences, as to the Russians, one doesn't know much about them; it wants to preserve peace, therefore, it must grow strong; etc.	4	8
No opinion/No answer:	1	1
	42%*	87%*

*Some people gave more than one answer.

REASONS WHY THE RUSSIANS WILL SURPASS THE U.S. IN THE AIR ...

The few (8%) who predict that within five years the Russians will surpass the United States advance a variety of arguments: the Russians are secretly building up armaments including a huge air force (4%); they have German scientists working for them (2%); their totalitarian system enables them to utilize manpower without regard to humanitarian considerations (1%); their goal is to surpass the U.S. (1%).

"Why do you think will Russia have the best air force in five years' time?" (Asked of those who answered "Russia" in initial question.)

	West Germany	Berlin
Russia secretly carries out a vast armament program: Russia is said to arm secretly on a large scale; because the Russians prepare for another war by arming most heavily of all nations and nobody can watch them at it -they see to it that nothing leaks out; because the Russians secretly work on an armament program; the Russians have probably caught up, they work quietly, the Americans give things too much publicity in the press, they go too far announcing things, even officially; you keep reading in the papers that the Russians continue to expand and improve their air force; maybe their strength is at present even greater than we expect, we don't get any information from over there; etc.	4%	1%
German experts and consultants are in Russia: Because many German scientists work for them, they put all their energy to developing the air force, the Americans aren't that far advanced; because the Russians have got German experts as consultants; etc.	2	1
Totalitarian Russia can employ all means to push the armament program: They produce and produce, they invest all money they have in the air force and the navy - they can do so, every woman and every man is considered a potential soldier, in that country they need not worry about how to improve the lot of the man in the street; under a totalitarian system people can be ordered to work in armament industries, while Mr. Truman has to go begging for every single cent; etc.	1	1
Russia is all out to catch up with the Americans: Because they do all they can to get ahead of the Yanks; I'm sure they work around the clock in order to dominate nations throughout the world someday; because the Russians don't stop at anything in order to catch up with the Americans, they know what they are after and they are aware of the importance of an air force; etc.	1	1
Others: I guess that's the case judging from newspaper articles; the Russians might have a better functioning espionage - they probably fit their planes with stuff they copied from others but which they construct just one degree better; etc.	1	2
	9%	6%

* Some people gave more than one answer.

HIGH RATING OF U.S. AIR FORCE CORRELATES WITH READINESS TO PARTICIPATE IN EUROPEAN DEFENSE ...

Favorable impressions of the standing of the U.S. Air Force past, present and future are less prevalent among those who oppose German participation in the common defense as well as among those unfamiliar with American airmen now in Germany. This is not to say that these groups tend more often to rate other air forces, even including the Luftwaffe, higher than those who advocate German defense participation and know something about the U.S. Air Force. This they do not do. What can be said, however, is that familiarity with the airmen now in Germany and readiness to play a role in West European defense are both closely correlated with favorable impressions of the American Air Force.

World War II Air Forces Rated Best:

	U.S.	German	British	Russian	Undecided
On German defense participation, are:					
Strongly for it	51%	40%	1%	-	8%...100%
Somewhat for it	47	34	3	*	16
Somewhat against it	42	36	*	-	22
Strongly against it	45	33	3	*	19
Can distinguish U.S. airmen:					
By blue uniform	54%	36%	1%	-	9%
Other than uniform	47	32	3	*	18
Cannot distinguish them	40%	32%	2%	*	26%

Present Air Force Rated Best:

	U.S.	British	Russian	Undecided
Strongly for it	69%	*	4%	27%..100%
Somewhat for it	64	*	6	30
Somewhat against it	60	3	5	32
Strongly against it	56	1	8	35
Can distinguish U.S. airmen:				
By blue uniform	74%	1%	7%	18%
Other than uniform	64	1	4	31
Cannot distinguish them	48%	1%	5%	46%

Best Air Force in Five Years:

	U.S.	British	Russian	Undecided
Strongly for it	48%	*	7%	45%..100%
Somewhat for it	39	*	8	53
Somewhat against it	36	-	9	55
Strongly against it	34	*	10	56
Can distinguish U.S. airmen:				
By blue uniform	52%	-	11%	37%
Other than uniform	31	-	9	60
Cannot distinguish them	30%	*	7%	63%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON RATING OF U.S. AND GERMAN WORLD WAR II AIR FORCES

Most population groups give the United States the edge over the Luftwaffe as best in World War II. Among various groups, however, the advantage accorded the Americans is extremely slim, if not non-existant, statistically considered. These groups are: men, particularly veterans, those in the highest income bracket, people between 35 and 45 years of age (most of whom were active participants in the German war effort), businessmen, semi-skilled laborers, and refugees.

"As far as you can judge, which of these countries had on the whole the best air force in the last war?"

	America	Germany	England	France	Russia	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:							
Men	47%	41%	2%	-	-	10%	100% 545
Women	42	26	2	-	1	29	643
Education:							
Elementary school	43	33	1	-	*	23	958
Beyond elementary	50	33	5	-	-	12	229
Income (per month):							
Up to 149 DM	37	29	2	-	*	32	210
150 - 299 DM	48	33	2	-	*	17	447
300 - 399 DM	49	32	1	-	*	18	245
400 DM and more	43	40	4	-	-	13	221
Age:							
Up to 24 years	47	29	1	-	-	23	145
25 - 34 years	45	38	3	-	-	14	251
35 - 44 years	38	36	1	-	1	24	261
45 - 54 years	52	31	2	-	*	15	248
55 years and over	41	30	3	-	*	26	278
Party Preference:							
SPD	48	39	1	-	*	12	251
CDU/CSU	52	33	2	-	*	13	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	55	33	6	-	-	6	66
Other parties	50	37	-	-	-	13	82
No party	41	33	2	-	*	24	344
Don't know	35	24	3	-	*	38	231
Occupation:							
Professionals	41	34	7	-	-	18	61
Businessmen	40	43	4	-	-	13	123
White-collar workers	48	36	2	-	-	14	145
Skilled laborers	49	33	*	-	*	18	261
Semi-skilled laborers	41	38	1	-	-	20	152
Farmers	49	23	-	-	1	27	129
Unemployed	43	34	-	-	-	23	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	40	30	2	-	1	27	198
Religion:							
Catholics	49	31	2	-	*	18	525
Protestants	41	35	2	-	*	22	607
Origin:							
Natives	45	32	2	-	*	21	935
Refugees, Expellees	39	38	4	-	-	19	243
Veteran Status:							
No	47	28	3	-	-	22	229
Yes, not air force	47	44	1	-	-	8	261
Yes, air force	45	40	5	-	1	9	76
Yes, family member, not air force	41	30	2	-	1	26	350
Yes, family member, air force	49	29	1	-	-	21	111

* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON CURRENT STANDING OF AIR FORCES ...

The majority in almost all population segments rates the U.S. Air Force as best of all at present. Most frequently expressing this view are the opinion leading groups - the men, the better educated and the more affluent. Younger people and veterans - particularly of the Luftwaffe - are also more often than their counterparts of this opinion.

"And what about the situation today: which country has the best air force at the present time?"

	First place					
	America	England	France	Russia	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	65%	1%	-	8%	26%	100% 545
Women	50	1	-	3	46	643
Education:						
Elementary school	54	1	-	5	40	958
Beyond elementary	67	1	-	8	24	229
Income (per month):						
Up to 149 DM	42	2	-	5	51	210
150 - 299 DM	58	2	-	4	36	447
300 - 399 DM	60	1	-	6	33	245
400 DM and more	68	*	-	8	24	221
Age:						
Up to 24 years	62	1	-	6	31	145
25 - 34 years	67	2	-	5	26	251
35 - 44 years	52	1	-	7	40	261
45 - 54 years	56	2	-	5	37	248
55 years and over	50	1	-	4	45	278
Party Preference:						
SPD	70	2	-	9	19	251
CDU/CSU	66	*	-	3	31	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	62	2	-	12	24	66
Other parties	64	2	-	11	23	82
No party	51	1	-	3	45	344
Don't know	40	1	-	3	56	231
Occupation:						
Professionals	66	-	-	8	26	61
Businessmen	67	1	-	6	26	123
White-collar workers	66	1	-	8	25	145
Skilled laborers	63	2	-	5	30	261
Semi-skilled laborers	52	3	-	4	41	152
Farmers	43	-	-	3	54	129
Unemployed	57	3	-	6	34	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	49	1	-	5	45	198
Religion:						
Catholics	57	1	-	5	37	525
Protestants	57	1	-	5	37	607
Origin:						
Natives	56	1	-	6	37	935
Refugees, Expellees	63	1	-	2	34	243
Veteran Status:						
No	57	*	-	4	39	229
Yes, not air force	67	1	-	7	25	261
Yes, air force	79	-	-	4	17	76
Yes, family member, not air force	49	2	-	5	44	550
Yes, family member, air force	59	1	-	10	30	111

* Less than one half of one per cent.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON FUTURE POSITION OF VARIOUS AIR FORCES ...

In all population groups, large proportions are not prepared to speculate on the future standing of the air forces of various nations. Those who do hazard a guess, however, tend largely to bet on continued American superiority. Particularly of this view are again the higher status, opinion leading elements in the population - those with more than average education, in the upper income group, and the men. Veterans also are inclined to share this opinion more often than non-veterans.

"What country, do you think, will probably have the best air force in five years' time?"

	America	England	France	Russia	No opinion		No. of cases:
Sex:							
Men	47%	*	-	9%	44%	100%	545
Women	26	*	-	7	67		643
Education:							
Elementary school	33	*	-	8	59		958
Beyond elementary	44	-	-	9	47		229
Income (per month):							
Up to 149 DM	27	-	-	7	66		210
150 - 299 DM	37	*	-	8	55		447
300 - 399 DM	38	*	-	8	54		245
400 DM and more	41	*	-	10	49		221
Age:							
Up to 24 years	35	1	-	5	59		145
25 - 34 years	42	*	-	11	47		251
35 - 44 years	33	-	-	7	60		261
45 - 54 years	34	-	-	8	58		248
55 years and over	32	*	-	7	61		278
Party Preference:							
SPD	44	-	-	14	42		251
CDU/CSU	46	-	-	6	48		214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	44	-	-	14	42		66
Other parties	52	-	-	9	39		82
No party	28	1	-	6	65		344
Don't know	18	*	-	4	78		231
Occupation:							
Professionals	53	-	-	3	44		61
Businessmen	45	-	-	9	46		123
White-collar workers	41	-	-	5	54		145
Skilled laborers	39	1	-	9	51		261
Semi-skilled laborers	26	-	-	12	62		152
Farmers	31	1	-	5	63		129
Unemployed	40	-	-	23	37		35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	24	-	-	8	68		198
Religion:							
Catholics	36	*	-	8	56		525
Protestants	33	*	-	8	59		607
Origin:							
Natives	35	*	-	8	57		935
Refugees, Expellees	38	-	-	7	55		243
Veteran Status:							
No	35	-	-	6	59		229
Yes, not air force	50	*	-	10	40		261
Yes, air force	46	1	-	8	45		76
Yes, family member, not air force	29	*	-	7	64		550
Yes, family member, air force	32	1	-	13	54		111

* Less than one half of one per cent.

03910

MANY DISAPPOINTED IN USE OF AMERICAN AIR FORCE IN KOREA ...

Despite the high regard Germans evince for the U.S. Air Force, or perhaps because of it, a considerable number asserts that the performance of the Air Force in Korea has not come up to expectations. Conversely, proportions of similar size express surprise at what they consider to be the good showing of the Communist airmen.

"Was the American Air Force in Korea better or worse than you would have expected?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Better	6%	5%	7%	3%	14%
Just as expected	13	12	15	12	22
Worse	30	28	33	32	41
No opinion	51	55	45	53	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"And was the Communist Air Force better or worse in Korea than you would have expected?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Better	29%	27%	32%	24%	43%
Just as expected	8	7	11	6	16
Worse	4	4	5	4	11
No opinion	59	62	52	66	30
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT THE PREPONDERANCE SAYS THE U.S. AIR FORCE HAS OUTFOUGHT THE COMMUNISTS THERE ...

Notwithstanding some disappointment with the record of U.S. aerial warfare in Korea, West Germans judge the performance of the American Air Force in Korea superior to that of the Communists by a verdict of three to one (eight to one in Berlin.

"And who, in your opinion, has made a better showing in Korea, the American Air Force or the Communist Air Force?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
American Air Force	29%	27%	31%	29%	60%
Communist Air Force	9	8	12	9	7
Both had equal success	13	13	13	11	10
No opinion	49	52	44	51	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The source of such disappointment as exists vis-a-vis the Air Force showing in Korea appears mainly to be the failure of the Americans to repeat their World War II performance against Germany, that is to use full-scale mass bombing and all-out aerial warfare generally, and thereby to end the war, as the Germans see it. The comments of those who feel the Air Force did not do as well as they expected follow.

"In what respect was it worse?" (Asked of those who answered "worse" in initial question.)

	West Germany	Berlin
They were not able to end the war: The troops had to retreat all the time, Air Force units were never on the spot when needed - heavy casualties were inflicted on them - they couldn't bring the war to an end - I thought that the American Air Force would break the Communist resistance; I thought the American Air Force would smash the Communists in no time; my opinion was that the war would be ended when the American Air Force showed up; considering their exploits in the last war and the amount of their equipment, one might have expected better results; they didn't get a decisive victory, they couldn't destroy the Communists; they are said to have suffered severe losses- they were not able to prevent the ups and downs over there; be-because the Americans don't get ahead, that must be partly due to their Air Force; otherwise the war would have ended long ago; etc.	17%	19%
They were outmatched by the Communists in air power and anti-aircraft fire: They proved quite a disappointment, the Russians stole the show, they gave the Americans a good beating; their jet fighters are inferior to those of the Russians; because the Russians practically caught up with the Americans in air supremacy, the Russian fighters are excellent; they had to stop bombing raids during daytime because of Russian superiority; especially recently: they went on bombing missions all the time, but as soon as MIG 15 appeared the Yanks weren't successful any longer; they didn't reckon with the anti-aircraft batteries; too many planes were shot down by the Communist flak; the huge losses are out of proportion to the number of planes employed; because the shot down too few Communist planes, that proves that they are not so good; etc.	5	13
The Americans employed too few planes: The Americans didn't move in a sufficient number of planes; if they would have raged as they did in Germany, the war would be over long ago, they surely didn't employ enough planes; no sufficient number of planes were at their disposal, they didn't take into account that the Russians are strong as well; etc.	3	7
The individual airman lacks fighting spirit: The fighting spirit of the individual airman is rather low, no special exploits were heard of; they didn't have enough courage to join in the fight; they were not active enough; etc.	1	2
America purposely prolongs the war: They might have ended this war long ago, but they don't do it for political reasons, they drag it on to make good profits; if they had wanted to they could have put a stop to the war in Korea long ago; etc.	1	1
Others: The command over there is a bit narrow-minded; the supply route may be too long; they have misjudged the Russians; etc.	2	4
No opinion/No answer:	1	-
	30%	46%*

* Some people gave more than one answer.

COMBAT QUALITIES AND THE MIG WERE UNEXPECTED ADVANTAGES ON THE COMMUNIST SIDE..

Those who say the Communist Air Force did better than anticipated cite a number of instances to support their views. The two most frequently advanced are 1) their demonstration of mettle in resisting the Americans, and 2) the unexpectedly high quality of their planes, particularly the MIG 15. In the comments given below, it will be noted that the West Germans as frequently refer to Russian as to the Communist airmen in Korea.

"In what respect was it better?" (Asked of those who answered "better" in initial question.)

	West Germany	Berlin
Their planes were unexpectedly good: I didn't expect such high quality planes; the technical development surprised me; I didn't think the Russians had advanced so far in developing new types of planes - they did all right in combat, however; the Russians showed up with quite a lot of new types, people were surprised at the beginning, they didn't know where the planes came from - they did pretty good developing their air force; because they employed completely new types such as the MIG 15 which is said to be a German Messerschmitt construction - the fighters of the Communist Air Force turned out to be unexpectedly fine planes; they have new fighters which are very fast; because in the years after 1945 the Russians constructed better and faster planes - I didn't think that was possible; the MIG 15 prevents further bombings - it is faster than the jet planes of the Yanks; etc.	9	24
They resisted successfully and inflicted considerable losses on the Americans: I wouldn't have thought that they would be so efficient and would resist so successfully; because of their planes the Americans weren't successful; they didn't let the Americans get started; they got so strong that they can keep the Americans in check now; I thought they would be kicked out immediately by the Americans but they held their own; their intervention in ground combat was a vital factor in the war - they weren't afraid of American planes; remembering their activities in Germany where they hadn't any success, one is astonished about their exploits in Korea; etc.	11	12
The Communist Air Force has well trained personnel and is well equipped: It's surprising how disciplined and well equipped the Communist Air Force is; I didn't reckon with such capable pilots; watching the precise fighting methods of the Communist personnel, one might think they were trained by Germans; according to press reports, the equipment of the Communists must be surprisingly good and their fighting skill considerable, otherwise the Allies wouldn't suffer so heavy losses; etc.	2	4
Communist Air Force is as good as the American: The Communist Air Force succeeded in holding its own against the American Air Force - they employed just as many and just as good planes as the Americans; when we hear in the radio that the Americans shot down 40 enemy planes and the Chinese shot down 38, well, that's no difference at all; etc.	2	1
The Communists employed more planes than expected: I had not expected them to fly so many missions, to go into action with so many wings (flying formations); because I did not think the Communists would have so many planes - I really was surprised; etc.	2	3
Others: In their ground defense: anti-aircraft batteries and fighters; they have a lot of experience; you read that in the papers, otherwise I wouldn't know; because the home country is not far off, supply routes are shorter; etc.	3	2
No opinion/ No answer:	1	1
	30%*	47%*

* Some people gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

03913

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE REGARDING THE U.S. AIR FORCE IN KOREA ...

The present survey was conducted prior to the mass air bombing raids by the United Nations' forces against power installations in North Korea. Subsequent surveys reveal, however, that almost two thirds (64%) of the West German public know that no cease fire is in effect in Korea, and 41 per cent are aware of the UN air raids made against the North Korea power system.*

Approval of these bombings is high (60%) among those aware of them. Projected to the West German population as a whole, twice as many (25%) say they approve as disapprove (12%).

It is possible to assume from these findings that the people who express disappointment with the American air record in Korea would not only approve of the mass bombing raids, but would express higher regard for the U.S. air effort because of them.

* See [illegible] Report #250, Series #2, "The Korean Record in German Eyes" (August 13, 1952).

03914

THE KOREAN RECORD OF U.S. AIRMEN AS EVALUATED BY POPULATION GROUPS ...

Opinions on the Korean exploits of the Air Force vis-a-vis Communist air power follow a generally similar pattern among all population groups. The opinion leading elements as well as veterans and younger people (those who generally have the highest opinion of U.S. air power) tend to express disappointment more frequently than others; and also - with the exception of the young - to say that Communist airmen have done better than they had expected. Similarly, these same groups assert that on the overall score, the U.S. airmen have done better than the Communists.

"Was the American Air Force in Korea better or worse than you would have expected?"

	Better	Just as expected	Worse	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	7%	18%	42%	33%...100%	545
Women	4	9	20	67	643
Education:					
Elementary school	6	14	27	53	958
Beyond elementary	5	10	42	43	229
Income (per month):					
Up to 149 DM	5	12	19	64	210
150 - 299 DM	5	14	27	54	447
300 - 399 DM	8	14	35	43	245
400 DM and more	5	15	43	37	221
Age:					
Up to 24 years	7	10	28	55	145
25 - 34 years	4	13	37	46	251
35 - 44 years	5	14	30	51	261
45 - 54 years	5	14	30	51	248
55 years and over	8	13	24	55	278
Party Preference:					
SPD	7	21	37	35	251
CDU/CSU	7	14	32	47	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	6	12	49	33	66
Other parties	9	11	41	39	82
No party	5	11	29	55	344
Don't know	3	6	13	78	231
Occupation:					
Professionals	3	10	41	46	61
Businessmen	6	14	44	36	123
White-collar workers	6	14	33	47	145
Skilled laborers	5	16	33	46	261
Semi-skilled laborers	4	13	24	59	152
Farmers	6	14	15	65	129
Unemployed	9	11	37	43	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	8	11	24	57	198
Religion:					
Catholics	6	15	30	49	525
Protestants	6	12	28	54	607
Origin:					
Natives	6	13	31	50	935
Refugees, Expellees	5	11	25	59	243
Veteran Status:					
No	5	13	21	61	229
Yes, not air force	5	18	47	30	261
Yes, air force	5	16	42	37	76
Yes, family member, not air force	6	10	24	60	550
Yes, family member, air force	7	12	34	47	111

03915

"And was the Communist Air Force better or worse in Korea than you would have expected?"

	Better	Just as expected	Worse	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	42%	13%	6%	39%...100%	545
Women	17	5	2	76	643
Education:					
Elementary school	25	8	4	63	958
Beyond elementary	44	9	3	44	229
Income (per month):					
Up to 149 DM	19	5	2	74	210
150 - 299 DM	26	10	4	60	447
300 - 399 DM	32	11	4	53	245
400 DM and more	39	8	7	46	221
Age:					
Up to 24 years	28	12	4	56	145
25 - 34 years	34	8	4	54	251
35 - 44 years	25	8	6	61	261
45 - 54 years	31	8	3	58	248
55 years and over	25	8	3	64	278
Party Preference:					
SPD	36	9	6	49	251
CDU/CSU	34	10	4	52	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	36	14	5	45	66
Other parties	37	11	6	46	82
No party	26	8	5	61	344
Don't know	14	4	-	82	231
Occupation:					
Professionals	43	8	-	49	61
Businessmen	38	8	7	47	123
White-collar workers	32	11	6	51	145
Skilled laborers	32	8	5	55	261
Semi-skilled laborers	25	9	3	63	152
Farmers	21	6	3	70	129
Unemployed	20	14	6	60	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	24	9	3	64	198
Religion:					
Catholics	31	7	4	58	525
Protestants	25	10	4	61	607
Origin:					
Natives	29	9	4	58	935
Refugees, Expellees	25	7	3	65	243
Veteran Status:					
No	23	7	1	69	229
Yes, not air force	40	15	8	37	261
Yes, air force	49	7	9	39	76
Yes, family member, not air force	24	6	3	67	550
Yes, family member air force	23	8	4	65	111

"And who, in your opinion, has made a better showing in Korea, the American Air Force or the Communist Air Force?"

	American Air Force	Communist Air Force	Both had equal success	No opinion		No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	42%	12%	17%	29%	100%	545
Women	17	7	10	66		643
Education:						
Elementary school	28	8	13	51		958
Beyond elementary	31	15	16	38		229
Income (per month):						
Up to 149 DM	22	4	10	64		210
150 - 299 DM	30	9	13	48		447
300 - 399 DM	33	12	15	40		245
400 DM and more	29	14	16	41		221
Age:						
Up to 24 years	40	7	12	41		145
25 - 34 years	31	11	14	44		251
35 - 44 years	24	10	14	52		261
45 - 54 years	26	12	13	49		248
55 years and over	26	6	14	54		278
Party Preference:						
SPD	38	14	18	30		251
CDU/CSU	32	7	14	47		214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	38	19	8	35		66
Other parties	38	10	18	34		82
No party	27	8	12	53		344
Don't know	11	5	10	74		231
Occupation:						
Professionals	30	16	18	36		61
Businessmen	35	12	15	38		123
White-collar workers	34	6	15	45		145
Skilled laborers	31	12	15	42		261
Semi-skilled laborers	24	8	14	54		152
Farmers	23	7	12	58		129
Unemployed	43	6	3	48		35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	24	7	11	58		198
Religion:						
Catholics	32	8	13	47		525
Protestants	26	10	13	51		607
Origin:						
Natives	29	10	13	48		935
Refugees, Expellees	27	5	14	54		243
Veteran Status:						
No	26	8	11	55		229
Yes, not air force	43	14	15	28		261
Yes, air force	40	13	22	25		76
Yes, family member, not air force	23	9	11	57		550
Yes, family member, air force	24	3	13	60		111

R E S T R I C T E D

IV. HOW DO WEST GERMANS RATE AMERICAN AIRMEN?

Recalling the specific virtues attributed to German airmen as evidence for the superiority of the Luftwaffe over other air forces, it is not surprising to learn that very few West Germans recognise any rival to the Luftwaffe airmen in combat qualities.

PREPONDERANCE CONSIDERS GERMANS BEST IN FIGHTING QUALITIES ...

Six in ten (62%) rate the German airmen of World War II superior to all in fighting qualities, whereas only 4 per cent give the Americans this distinction. As runners-up to the Germans, the Americans and British vie, with 26 per cent naming the Americans as second best, and 20 per cent the British.

"By and large, who is, in your opinion, better in combat as an individual airman? And who holds second place?"

	First place	Second place
American	4%	26%
German	62	4
Englishman	1	20
Frenchman	-	1
Russian	1	8
No opinion	32	41
	100%	100%

... Although the West Germans rate Luftwaffe personnel better fighters than any other airmen, it would appear that they nevertheless express higher regard for the combat qualities of American airmen than for American soldiers generally. In the survey made late in 1951, previously referred to, 77 per cent named the German soldier the best, only one per cent placing the Americans in this category. Ranked as second best was the Russian soldier (31%), the British (13%), the American (12%), and the French (8%). Named lowest in fighting qualities were the French, 25 per cent, the Americans, 20 per cent, the Russians, 9 per cent, and the British, 8 per cent.*

* "The German Appraisal of the Allied Forces in West Germany," Report # 119, Series # 2, (January 28, 1952).

REASONS WHY GERMAN AIRMAN CONSIDERED BEST ...

The relative superiority of the individual German airman is largely attributed to his greater courage, fighting spirit and dash (31%). Among other reasons cited are his World War II record (10%), his superior discipline and sense of duty (7%), training 7%) and his perseverance (5%).

"In what respect is the German airman better?" (Asked of those who answered "German" to previous question.)

	West Germany	Berlin
Because of his courage, fighting spirit and dash: He shows utmost valour and courage; as to daring the German airman has no equal; they were brave, that's it; the German airman showed pluck, he was a dare-devil; he has always been brave; they are the most courageous soldiers; because he doesn't stop at anything and doesn't know what fear means; because he shows more fighting spirit; etc.	33%	43%
Because of his superior training and skill: Germans were more thoroughly trained; the German aircraft crews received better training; Germans went through a rigid training period; most thorough training of the individual airman; they were the more skillful technicians; Germans are more technically gifted; he outmanoeuvres the other in aerial combat, he is superior; he is better in planning an attack and knows how to deceive the enemy; etc.	9	16
Because of his discipline, keen sense of duty, and responsibility: Their discipline is much better; because of his inherent sense of duty; in any undertaking Germans do their duty meticulously, that's in their nature; the Germans had a marked sense of duty; he has a greater sense of responsibility than the others; because he is more conscientious; etc.	7	15
Because of his war record: The score of aircraft shot down by German airmen has never been equaled by the enemy; you heard a lot about exploits of individual German airmen (officers Galland, Moelders); our victories in aerial combat under the most trying circumstances proved it; that could be seen during the last war, our boys were enthusiastic soldiers; etc.	10	9
Because he was persevering and tough: Germans are more persevering than Americans; he has shown that as to steadfastness, none will surpass him; the German airman is tougher; I guess in combat the German airman is the toughest of them all; etc.	5	9

(cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	Berlin
Because he was best in combat (generally): Germans are very fine soldiers, whether as airmen or something else; I always considered the German airmen to be more efficient; as soldiers, Germans are best, that's it; Germans have always been the best soldiers of them; Germans have always proved good soldiers in battle, in aerial combat, too; in every respect the Germans are superior; etc.	7%	5%
Because he fought for his homeland (patriotism): The German airman's main concern was to defend his homeland; he loves his home country; as a real patriot he defended his homeland; if the fatherland is at stake Germans know what they are fighting for; etc.	3	5
Others: Because he is most intelligent; Germans are more humane; he knows something more besides aircraft; our boys were more carefully selected; etc.	3	9
No opinion/No answer:	1	3
	78%*	114%*

* Some people gave more than one answer.

03920

AMERICAN AIRMEN ARE CONSIDERED SUPERIOR TO U.S. SOLDIERS ...

Added evidence that the individual American airman, though not in German eyes considered the equal of a Luftwaffe man, nonetheless enjoys a relatively good standing among West Germans, is that he is rated above the American soldier in military qualities by those who feel competent to pass judgment.

"Apart from equipment and material, whom do you rate more highly as an individual soldier: the American airman or the American infantry soldier?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Airman	30%	24%	39%	28%	52%
Infantry soldier	4	4	5	5	4
Both equally high	17	18	16	16	12
Both equally low	4	2	5	10	4
No opinion	45	52	35	41	28
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As is apparent from the comments made by those who judge U.S. Air Force personnel better than the U.S. soldiers, their reasoning echoes that made regarding the superiority of the Luftwaffe. Thus, they assert that the superiority of American airmen is proved by their record (6%), their courage and valour (5%), their careful selection and training (5%), their exploits in the last war (5%).

"In what respect is the American airman better than the American infantry soldier?" (Asked of those who answered "airman" to preceding question.)

	West Germany	Berlin
<u>More careful selection - better training - superior intelligence:</u> Because they received more thorough training, greater knowledge is required; because the personnel consists of specially selected people; a special branch of the armed forces is better trained than the mass of soldiers; they have to go through a rigorous training period, they are thoroughly trained, that's probably the reason why they are superior; he gets a better technical training, thus he is intellectually superior; they are people more advanced in technical matters and more intelligent, everybody can fire a gun, after all, to be an airman, however, you've got to have some more brains, even the ground staff got a more thorough technical training; etc.	5%	12%
<u>Our experiences in the last war:</u> As airman the Americans aren't bad, they certainly made their presence felt; in the last war people came to dread airraids more than any other attacks; as an airman he makes a better showing, we certainly had ample opportunity to find out things about them; you could see that in the last war, the airmen showed a lot of guts; because they attacked from the air, that was our undoing, not the infantry; I didn't think much of the infantry in the last war, the record of the airmen was better; I don't know anything about the infantry soldiers, but I know about the airmen; etc.	5	11

(cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	Berlin
The American airmen has a better record than the infantry soldier:		
People always say the American airmen make a better showing than the infantry soldiers; the feats of American jet fighters are phenomenal; because Americans are not too good as infantry soldiers, this was proven in Korea, the airmen are much more efficient, their exploits are much greater; in scoring successes, the infantry soldier is no good; the exploits of an airman are of greater importance than those of an infantry soldier; in (aerial) combat the individual's exploits are greater than those of the infantry soldier on the ground; American infantry men are no soldiers (of repute), compared to the German soldiers they make a poor showing, the airmen can be regarded as soldiers with more justification, I believe; etc.	6	9
Greater courage - greater valour:		
The American airman is a plucky soldier, the infantry soldier lacks in dash and courage; they are much more daring, the infantry soldier relies entirely on the technical arms at his disposal, he doesn't have so much guts; he is much more of a dare-devil; the airmen have more dash, they are going more all out to win; the infantry soldier is a coward; he is more of a fighter, the infantry soldier is too fearful; they showed more guts as airmen than as infantry soldiers; the American infantry soldiers are not as brave as the American airmen; etc.	5	10
Flying comes natural to the average American as he is good at sports and has a keen technical sense:		
In my opinion the Americans aren't any too good as soldiers, they make, however, fine flyers, as infantry soldiers they are no great success, flying is more of a sport, that's more in their line; the American is no good as infantry soldier, he is all for machines; that's connected with technics generally, the Americans prefer to use technical devices, that's why the American airman is superior to the infantry man; because in the field of technical sciences the Americans are leading, technical things are more in their line; they feel on safe ground when dealing with technical matters; etc.	3	8
Without air force support the American infantry soldier can't accomplish anything:		
The American infantry soldier always came to the fore after the battle, after the airmen were already in control of the situation; the air force usually went into action before the battle, the infantry soldier would never have succeeded otherwise; the infantry soldier can't fight without air support and heavy arms; you've never heard of such an infantry soldier having done an act of bravery, he always relies on air force support or on the artillery to go into action before the battle, afterwards he just walks leisurely into the enemy country and occupies it; the airmen always go into action before the battle to make things easier for the infantry soldier, so that these can occupy the country, the American infantry soldier only attacked after the air force had bombed the area; etc.	2	2
Others:		
The reason for that is that airmen can avert a danger; in case of an attack it's possible to drive back the enemy and cut off supply lines if air force units are available; the air force can move in troops at short notice; I have generally more sympathy for him; the Americans are apt to take to their heels, they can't quit in the air; etc.	4	4
No opinion/No answer:	2	4
	32%*	60%*

* Some people gave more than one answer.

AND THEIR BEHAVIOR COMPARES FAVORABLY WITH THAT OF OTHER U.S. TROOPS ...

Though the bulk of the West German population feels unable to compare the behavior of American Air Force and Army personnel, among those who are prepared to judge the Air Force again comes out well. While the most frequent tendency is to say there is no difference in the behavior of the two groups, a fairly sizeable fraction in the two areas where people are most likely to have contact with U.S. airmen - the U.S. Zone and West Berlin - rate their behavior as better than that of the American soldiers.

"Considering all you have seen and heard, do you think the behavior of the American Air Force soldiers is generally better or worse than that of the other American soldiers?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Better	8%	5%	12%	7%	14%
Worse	1	1	*	-	1
The same	20	19	22	15	29
No opinion	71	75	66	78	56
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100

* Less than one half of one per cent.

In this connection, it should be pointed out that the American soldiers enjoy a good reputation among the German public. Over half (55%) of the population in the U.S. Zone have stated that the American soldier is well-behaved, and 63 per cent claim they conduct themselves about the way German soldiers would in similar circumstances which, considering the high regard the Germans have for their former army, is high praise indeed.*

* See again Report # 119, Series # 2, dated January 28, 1952

CIVILITY AND GOOD MANNERS OF AIR FORCE DISTINGUISH THEM ...

Those who believe the American airmen are better behaved than the ground troops say they have been impressed by their greater civility and politeness. Airmen do not pick up girls, they say, or get drunk as the infantry is alleged to do. Others say the airmen's conduct reflects their superior background, or training.

"What has given you this impression?" (Asked of those who answered "better" to previous question.)

	West Germany	Berlin
<u>They are more civil and polite, better dressed:</u> You can see them at Gatow airport, their behavior is unobjectionable; they don't pick up any girl as do the boys of the infantry; they are more polite and well-mannered- they are not so rough as the American GI; the airmen take pride in a decorous manner; I haven't seen any American airman drunk, but look how slack the infantry soldiers are; because of the behavior of the Occupation troops: the airmen treated the people with more civility than the army people did, the latter behaved like savages; I watched them in the Rhineland, and I must say, they behaved more civilly than members of other outfits; etc.	4%	8%
<u>They are crack troops, their standard is higher than that of other soldiers:</u> They are more carefully selected, they come from a better class of society; they are well trained, they had a better education, you notice that by their general appearance and their behavior; they do just accept anybody who shows up, airmen are selected unlike the infantry which accepts anybody who wants to sign up; I've the impression that the airmen have got more brains; etc.	2	3
<u>Their training is more thorough - they are better disciplined:</u> The training of the airmen is much better than that of the others; because they probably go through a more rigid training, they are not so slack as the Yanks usually are; etc.	1	3
<u>Others:</u> Because, by and large, I have no great opinion of the other American soldiers; etc.	1 8%	2 16% *

* Some people gave more than one answer.

GROUP RATINGS OF BEST AIRMAN ...

The laurels as best in combat are awarded by a very wide margin to the German airman by all groups within the West German population, with the higher status elements - the better educated, more affluent and the men - more frequently than others certain on this point. Veterans and the young war generation (now in the 25 - 34 years ago group) also more frequently than their counterparts vote for the Luftwaffe.

"By and large, who is, in your opinion, better in combat as an individual airman?"

	American	German	Englishman	Frenchman	Russian	Undecided		No. of cases:
Sex:								
Men	4%	70%	2%	-	2%	22%	100%	545
Women	4	54	1	-	*	41		643
Education:								
Elementary school	4	60	1	-	1	34		958
Beyond elementary	3	68	4	-	1	24		229
Income (per month):								
Up to 149 DM	4	49	-	-	1	46		210
150 - 299 DM	4	65	1	-	1	29		447
300 - 399 DM	4	63	2	-	2	29		245
400 DM and more	5	70	2	-	2	21		221
Age:								
Up to 24 years	4	62	1	-	1	32		145
25 - 34 years	2	74	2	-	2	20		251
35 - 44 years	4	61	1	-	1	33		261
45 - 54 years	4	61	1	-	2	32		248
55 years and over	4	52	1	-	*	43		278
Party Preference:								
SPD	6	74	2	-	1	17		251
CDU/CSU	6	63	1	-	2	28		214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	5	71	5	-	1	18		66
Other parties	2	75	-	-	2	21		82
No party	2	61	1	-	1	35		344
Don't know	4	39	*	-	*	57		231
Occupation:								
Professionals	7	64	3	-	3	23		61
Businessmen	2	74	1	-	1	22		123
White-collar workers	1	65	2	-	1	31		145
Skilled laborers	4	68	1	-	1	26		261
Semi-skilled laborers	5	60	1	-	1	33		152
Farmers	5	51	1	-	-	43		129
Unemployed	6	71	-	-	6	17		35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	5	50	1	-	2	42		198
Religion:								
Catholics	4	64	1	-	1	30		525
Protestants	4	59	1	-	1	35		607
Origin:								
Natives	4	62	1	-	1	32		935
Refugees, Expellees	4	59	2	-	-	35		243
Veteran Status:								
No	6	51	1	-	2	40		229
Yes, not air force	3	74	2	-	2	19		261
Yes, air force	1	73	3	-	3	20		76
Yes, family member, not air force	3	59	1	-	*	37		550
Yes, family member, air force	5	64	1	-	1	29		111

* Less than one half of one per cent.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON RELATIVE STANDING OF U.S. AIRMEN AND INFANTRYMEN ...

As between the American airman and the infantryman, the choice is strongly in favor of the airman among all population elements. Considerable numbers say, however, that there is no difference or are undecided.

"Apart from equipment and material, whom do you rate more highly as an individual soldier: the American airman or the American infantry soldier?"

	Airman	Infantry soldier	Both equally high	Both equally low	Undecided	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	40%	5%	18%	5%	32%...100%	545
Women	22	4	16	3	55	643
Education:						
Elementary school	30	5	15	4	46	958
Beyond elementary	30	4	23	3	40	229
Income (per month):						
Up to 149 DM	24	2	14	2	58	210
150 - 299 DM	31	5	17	4	43	447
300 - 399 DM	29	8	18	6	39	245
400 DM and more	37	4	18	3	38	221
Age:						
Up to 24 years	30	5	23	1	41	145
25 - 34 years	31	8	19	6	36	251
35 - 44 years	30	2	17	5	46	260
45 - 54 years	33	5	13	5	44	248
55 years and over	26	3	15	3	53	278
Party Preference:						
SPD	41	6	19	3	31	251
CDU/CSU	32	5	19	2	42	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	38	5	18	6	33	66
Other parties	35	5	21	6	33	82
No party	28	4	14	6	48	344
Don't know	15	3	13	3	66	231
Occupation:						
Professionals	36	-	23	5	36	61
Businessmen	38	4	15	7	36	123
White-collar workers	30	6	15	6	43	145
Skilled laborers	31	7	18	4	40	261
Semi-skilled laborers	29	3	16	5	47	152
Farmers	21	5	17	4	53	129
Unemployed	40	6	17	6	31	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	31	2	14	2	51	198
Religion:						
Catholics	31	5	19	5	40	525
Protestants	29	4	15	3	49	607
Origin:						
Natives	31	5	16	5	43	935
Refugees, Expellees	25	3	19	3	50	243
Veteran Status:						
No	29	2	14	3	52	229
Yes, not air force	41	5	19	5	30	261
Yes, air force	34	7	21	9	29	76
Yes, family member, not air force	25	5	17	3	50	550
Yes, family member, air force	30	4	15	4	47	111

V. HOW DO WEST GERMANS FEEL ABOUT LIVING IN THE VICINITY OF A U.S. AIR BASE?

Judging from the results of this study, the Air Force has no pressing public relations problem vis-a-vis people now living adjacent to already established air bases. It might, however, encounter some community resistance in the establishment of new bases.

RESIDENTS OF AIR BASE COMMUNITIES NOT DISTURBED ...

The consensus of people now living in the vicinity of a U.S. Air Force base is that it makes no difference whatsoever to the community.

"Is there an American air base in your vicinity?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes	13%	3%	27%	11%	38%
No	66	77	48	74	58
Don't know	21	20	25	15	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"And what effect does an American air base in the vicinity have on this (township) (community)?" (Asked of those who answered "yes" to preceding question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Favorable	1%	-	1%	1%	3%
Unfavorable	1	*	1	1	-
Neutral	2	1	3	2	3
No effect at all	9	2	21	6	32
Undecided	*	*	1	1	-
	13%	3%	27%	11%	38%

* Less than one half of one per cent

BUT MANY WOULD OBJECT TO LIVING NEAR AN AIR BASE ...

On the other hand, the preponderance of West Germans, not at present living near a U.S. air base, say they would have some objections to doing so. In Berlin, however, a favorable response outweighs the negative.

"Would it be all right with you to live in the vicinity of an American air base or would you have some objections?" (Asked of those who do not live near an air base or do not know.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
It would be all right with me	18%	24%	13%	9%	34%
I would have some objections	50	49	46	66	25
Undecided	19	24	14	14	3
	87%	97%	73%	89%	62%

NOISE AND FEAR OF AN AIR ATTACK ARE MAIN OBJECTIONS TO LIVING NEAR AN AIR BASE...

People who object to living near an air force base stress two points, neither of which is specific to the U.S. Air Force: 22 per cent do not like the noise of planes and the constant air traffic; 19 per cent fear that if a war should come they along with the air base would be bombed. Only a small fraction base their objections on anything approaching an anti-foreigner or anti-occupation note. These people do not like soldiers or Americans (5%) or are fearful of requisitioning (1%), without particular reference to the Air Force.

"What would you object to?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "would have some objections" in initial question.)

	West Germany	Berlin
Commotion - noise, etc.: Noise all the time, no quiet; there would be a continuous droning of planes, neither peace nor quiet any more; there would be a terrible din; the fact that all of a sudden quietude would be replaced by the uproar of plane engines; there would be quite a racket going on, and I'm for peace and quiet, that's a fact; if you work all day, you want to have peace in the evening - for that reason I don't want to live in the vicinity of an airport; etc.	22%	19%
Bad risk in case of war: Then we would be the first to suffer under air raids; in case of war there would be the danger of bombing raids; air bases would be targets of primary importance for the enemy, that would mean we would be in the thick of things; in case of war we'd run the risk of being bombed as air bases are the first targets to be raided; I'd like to live as far away from an air base as possible, as there may be another war; in case of war an air base always constitutes a target; etc.	19	7
Risks in general: To live in the vicinity of an air base is always dangerous; it's better to live some distance from an air base because of the hazards involved; frightening, it's dangerous; etc.	4	1
Risky because of plane crashes: There may be some accidents, plane crashes, otherwise I have no objections; there are plane crashes time and again; an air base is a dangerous thing for the houses in the vicinity because of possible air accidents; etc.	4	2
Dislike of Americans, of soldiers in vicinity: I don't want to live in the vicinity of Americans, they are an occupation power, that's a thing I don't like; I can't stand those guys; I don't want to live so closely to any foreigners; what business do they have over here, after all?; that's the way for a German to think - let them build their air bases somewhere else; it would only be a nuisance to the people if foreign soldiers were here, black market activities, for instance; etc.	5	1
Aggravation of housing shortage - requisitioning of land: the housing situation would get worse because of requisitionings; thus more arable land will be used for other purposes; I am afraid that we might have to leave our farm; etc.	1	-
Others: I would prefer to live in the country; in that case married women might fool around with Americans; etc.	2	*
No opinion/No answer:	1	-
	58%**	30%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some people gave more than one answer.

03928

Objections to living near an air base are generally prevalent in all population groups but the most frequent objectors are found among women, the more affluent and professional people. It is also to be noted that Catholics tend to object somewhat more often than Protestants, though the reasons for this difference is not clearly demonstrable. More Luftwaffe veterans than army or non-veterans would not mind living near a U.S. air base, as is also true of refugees, the latter possibly because they envision better chances for jobs in such a situation.

"Would it be all right with you to live in the vicinity of an American air base or would you have some objections?" (Asked of those who answered "no", or "don't know" to question "Do you live near an air base?")

	It would be all right with me	I would have some objections	No opinion	Live near air base	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	24%	45%	17%	14%	100% 545
Women	13	54	21	12	643
Education:					
Elementary school	18	50	20	12	958
Beyond elementary	17	51	15	17	229
Income (per month):					
Up to 149 DM	22	42	26	10	210
150 - 299 DM	17	50	19	14	447
300 - 399 DM	18	48	21	13	245
400 DM and more	17	58	11	14	221
Age:					
Up to 24 years	18	38	30	14	145
25 - 34 years	20	48	17	15	251
35 - 44 years	16	55	18	11	261
45 - 54 years	19	54	15	12	248
55 years and over	18	50	21	11	278
Party Preference:					
SPD	23	49	14	14	251
CDU/CSU	15	56	16	13	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	18	49	9	24	66
Other parties	18	51	20	11	82
No party	20	46	22	12	344
Don't know	13	51	26	10	231
Occupation:					
Professionals	18	61	11	10	61
Businessmen	18	55	11	16	123
White-collar workers	14	54	16	16	145
Skilled laborers	17	46	22	15	261
Semi-skilled laborers	18	49	24	9	152
Farmers	15	48	23	14	129
Unemployed	26	49	14	11	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	22	49	20	9	198
Religion:					
Catholics	16	55	18	11	525
Protestants	19	46	21	14	607
Origin:					
Natives	15	53	19	13	935
Refugees, Expellees	30	38	22	10	243
Veteran Status:					
No	16	49	24	11	229
Yes, not air force	21	46	16	17	261
Yes, air force	32	43	13	12	76
Yes, family member, not air force	15	53	20	12	550
Yes, family member, air force	24	50	18	8	111

VI. WHAT DO WEST GERMANS THINK ABOUT MASS BOMBING?

As already indicated, West Germans have considerable respect for, and understanding of the role of air power in modern defense. Their awareness in this regard appears to have contributed to such disappointment as exists vis-a-vis the manifestations of U.S. air power in Korea. The inference to be drawn from their criticisms of Korean air operations is that they are dissatisfied mainly because they feel the U.S. Air Force has not as yet unloosed its full power to end the war.

The question arises: Do West Germans set any limitations on the use of air power in order to win a war? Their judgments on this are doubly important: more than any other West Europeans, they have had personal experiences with the full force of air power; and most of them expect to experience it again should another European war occur.

Possible West German reactions to this formidable problem are suggested by the findings reported in this section.

PAST EXPERIENCES AND FUTURE EXPECTATIONS ...

FIRST ... as stated above when the West Germans express themselves on wartime bombing they know whereof they speak. Three quarters of the West Germans surveyed in this study report experiencing air raids during World War II. Three in ten say they were bombed out. In West Berlin, of course, the figures are higher: there almost everyone (98%) went through air attacks, with half (48%) stating they were bombed out.

"Did you experience an air raid in the last war? Were you or a member of your family bombed out?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, experienced an air raid and was bombed out	28%	34%	21%	22%	50%
Yes, experienced an air raid but was not bombed out	46	45	48	51	48
Was bombed out but personally did not experience an air raid	2	2	1	2	1
Neither - nor	24	19	30	25	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As would be expected, people living in large cities in West Germany were much more likely to be bombed out than those in rural areas, as the following breakdown by community-size indicates.

West Germans live in communities:	Air raids and bombed out	Air raids but not bombed out	No bombing experienced
Under 25,000	19%	48%	33%...100%
25,000 - 99,999	33	52	15
100,000 - 249,999	39	52	9
250,000 and over	58	36	6

Because of the evacuations and general displacement of the population, it is possible that some of the people now in smaller places who underwent air attacks were living in other communities during the war.

SECOND, IN THE EVENT OF A EUROPEAN WAR ... air warfare against Germany is foreseen by three quarters in West Germany and 81 per cent in Berlin. Such a war in itself would be catastrophic for Germany according to most respondents. Typical comments on the consequences of another war are: "Germany would become a desert"; "then we could say our last prayers because our country is right in the middle"; "it would mean the downfall of Europe and Germany."

As to air attacks, Germany, according to current opinion, is more likely to be the target of bombs from both the West and East (39%) than from the Communists or Russians alone (28%). The question and replies listed in order of frequency follow.

"Of course, none of us wants a new war to break out, but what do you think would happen if a war should start once more in Europe and Germany would be involved in it?"

"And what about air raids on our country? (From what side?)

	West Germany	Berlin
Air raids from both sides (East and West): From the Russian side and from the American side, too; air raids from both sides; first the Russians will show up with planes and afterwards the Americans; both East and West, none will show any consideration; no doubt there will be air raids, from both sides; all of them will raid this country, none will spare us; it would be the same as last time, in this case, however, both sides would attack; all parties that occupy parts of this country now, or who want to get lost territory back, the Russians as well as the Americans; there would be air raids from both sides, because the battle would rage to and fro; first there would be the Russians, after they had occupied our country, the Americans would start raiding it; etc.	35%	36%
From the Russian side: The only danger is that the Russians will carry out air raids; from the Russian side; we wouldn't be spared, Russia would use atom bombs; only the Russians will raid our country; day and night from the East; the Ivans, to be sure; I'm sure there would be the danger of raids by the Russians; there would be heavy raids, Russian airmen will come here on bombing missions as they'll find their enemies here, the Americans, the British and us; from the Russian side, because foreign troops are stationed in Germany; etc.	28	34
Heavy air raids and wide-spread destruction: That would be really bad, then probably everything would be reduced to rubble; compared to what happened in the years from 1939 to 1945, the things that would happen then would be much more terrible, everything would be devastated; everything would be lost as there would be nothing but destruction; there would be a constant danger of air raids, any future war will be even more cruel; things will be much worse, as we won't even have air raid shelters; as in the last war open cities would be raided - our enemies will carry out these raids; etc.	11	4
From the side of the West: No haphazard bombings, only military targets would be raided, the Americans would carry out air raids, they are ruthless; I think the Yanks will never hesitate to attack ruthlessly; undoubtedly there will be air raids, by the Americans; then we Germans would be attacked by the Americans and the British; air raids carried out by the Western powers on our country which would be occupied by the Russians; etc.	4	7
No fear of war or heavy air raids: Another war is out of the question; if troops would be concentrated in some area, otherwise I don't think there will be any air raids; there wouldn't be any air raids, not by the Russians, the Russians dread the U.S. Air Force; only in case the Russians would advance, and I don't think they will, would we be in for some trouble; etc.	2	10
Others: You can't tell how things will turn out - I don't think they will use atomic weapons; if there would be an adequate number of anti-aircraft batteries, air raids on Western Germany would not be as terrible as on Eastern Germany; listen, aren't you a Communist agent, I'm afraid, maybe my husband will lose his job after this business; etc.	7	4
No opinion/No answer:	13	5
	100%	100%

BOMBING OF CITIES NEVER JUSTIFIED ACCORDING TO A MAJORITY ...

In view of their foregoing observations, it is perhaps not surprising that West Germans preponderantly condemn the bombing of cities, regardless of circumstances. Berliners, however, whose past experiences and future expectations certainly cannot be considered better than those of the West German people, differ from their countrymen, with almost as many justifying the bombing of cities under certain circumstances as not.

"Under what circumstances do you consider it justified to bomb cities in a war?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Under certain circumstances	23%	22%	22%	27%	46%
Under no circumstances	68	70	68	65	51
Undecided	9	8	10	8	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES ... these kinds of cities could be bombed, according to West Germans who hold this view: cities with war industries, e.g. armament factories, (10%); those that are military targets, i.e. are occupied by troops (8%), defended cities (5%), and cities from which civilians have been evacuated (2%). Berliners mention similar circumstances, in identical order, but with greater frequency since more of them approve city bombing, if circumstances warrant it.

BOMBING OF CITIES AS A FORERUNNER TO LIBERATION ALSO REJECTED ...

Because of its delicacy, the issue of bombing a city as a step to freeing it from enemy control was approached indirectly by means of a historical parallel: the U.S. Air Force bombing of French cities held by German troops in World War II. Although the idea of liberation was implicit in the inquiry, this fails to change German opinions on the justice of bombing. The preponderant view remains that under no circumstances is the bombing of cities justified.

"During the last war the Americans, as you may know, bombed French cities occupied by us Germans. Do you feel that this was a course of action justified during the war or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Justified	16%	18%	16%	14%	40%
Not justified	62	60	62	70	50
Undecided	22	22	22	16	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

BOMBING OF CITIES IS CONDEMNED AS WAR AGAINST CIVILIANS ...

If any other reason than the rubble and ruins still characteristic of most German cities is needed to explain West Germans' aversion to bombing of cities, it may be found in their comments on U.S. Air Force action during World War II. Their preponderant view, when queried on the point, is that the Air Force was not a chivalrous foe during World War II, largely, they say, because their air attacks caused death and destruction to the civilian population.

Bombing of cities to the German people is thus apparently inextricably connected with mass or saturation bombing, in other words is regarded as part and parcel of "total war." Perhaps it is unnecessary to point out the irony of this reaction, understandable though it may be: the concept and practice of total warfare begun by Hitler's forces is now largely condemned by the German people most of whom have tasted its full meaning. The question and answers follow.

"Do you think the American Air Force was a chivalrous opponent in the last war or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, they were	16%	20%	13%	10%	27%
No, they weren't	50	44	54	58	57
Qualified answer	5	4	7	1	6
No opinion	29	32	26	31	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you have any complaints about the way the American Air Force waged war in Germany during the last war?" (Asked of those who answered "no, they weren't" to preceding question.)

	West Germany	Berlin
Americans destroyed cities and houses in air raids: It was unfair to destroy homes; that they caused such widespread destruction to German cities and villages; I don't think it's chivalrous to attack open cities; etc.	15%	19%
Americans directed their raids against the civilian population: Raids of terror against the civilian population; they conducted war against civilians; the cruelty with which they went about annihilating the civilian population; they were brutal and ruthless towards civilians; even when they saw that Germany was in ruins, they continued to bomb the civilian population; etc.	13	18
Americans killed defenseless people in ground strafing missions: Aircraft using machine guns and ground strafing planes ruthlessly fired on children and old women; those guys fired on defenseless, unarmed persons working in the fields; from their planes they fired on any child they spotted - people didn't dare to go out into the streets any more; they hunted down defenseless people; from strafing planes they fired on civilians working in the fields, that' inhuman; etc.	7	7
Americans bombed non-military (civilian) targets, they should have raided military targets only: They boubed and destroyed quite a number of cities where no industries were located; they dropped bombs in areas where there were no vital military targets; they raided any place, even places without any strategic value, they were quite ruthless; they should have concentrated on military targets; only military targets should be raided; because they didn't attack military targets only, but raided indiscriminately any other object, too; etc.	5	7

(cont't on next page)

	West Germany	Berlin
Americans killed women, children and old men in air raids (special groups are named in this category):		
It was bad enough that women and children were not spared in air raids; they fought ruthlessly, even not sparing women and children - no need to say more; innocent women and children were killed; bombs on old men and children; that they cut down anybody in sight, regardless whether it was an old women or a child; they dropped their bombs indiscriminately on women and children; etc.	7	4
Americans bombed hospitals, refugee camps, churches, etc.:		
Hospitals, they didn't pay any attention to the red cross (painted on roofs); they destroyed quite a number of field hospitals and churches; that they destroyed churches, they certainly had n.thing to do with the war potential; that they even bombed hospitals; whether there was a hospital or a refugee camp, they dropped bombs everywhere, leaving people scared and terrorized; etc.	4	5
Americans destroyed Dresden and other (specially named) cities:		
If I think of Dresden and the other places where bombs were dropped on refugees - really no; all I say is: Dresden; I just remember Dresden, that was no noble act; in Dresden and Leipzig, for instance, they first dropped incendiary bombs, afterwards they fired on people who tried to put out the fires and to salvage the little they owned in this world - I can't see where the spirit of fairness comes in people used to talk of; etc.	3	4
Americans dropped phosphorous bombs:		
Pouring phosphorus on cities; that they smashed everything to smithereens though they had no reason to do so, and that they even used such a brutal weapon as phosphorus; that they dropped phosphorus incendiaries on people; etc.	2	2
Others:		
Because the American Air Force went into action with the greater number of aircraft; orders, just as in the case of our men sentenced for war crimes; after the capitulation they took jewelry and watches from people just as the Russians did - a German would never have done such things; etc.	1	2
	57%*	68%*

* Some people gave more than one answer.

...The minority who regard the U.S. Air Force as an honorable adversary in World War II takes a different approach, largely ignoring the mass bombing raids and stressing the high combat qualities and performance of duty. But those people, when asked specifically for criticisms also condemn attacks on the civil population, as is disclosed in their replies to the two queries reported below.

"Why do you hold this view?" (Asked of those who answered "yes, they were" in initial question.)

	West Germany	Berlin
<u>They fought in a fair and chivalrous manner:</u> They were fair in aerial combat; in fighter plane engagements they showed fairness; the American Air Force showed gallantry towards our airmen; according to the official bulletin of that time and to what I learned myself, they showed great gallantry; etc.	4%	10%
<u>They performed their duty as any soldier did:</u> They performed their duty as soldiers - compared to the French and the Italians one can call them heroes, you can put them on a par with the Japanese; they performed their duty - I don't think that they went beyond the orders given them; they did nothing but their duty and carried out orders as our soldiers did; they were under orders when smashing our houses;	3	7
<u>Nothing unfavorable heard of or seen:</u> I wasn't told anything disproving this view; somebody told me about it; I form my judgment from what I read in the papers only; etc.	3	4
<u>They were brave and had a keen fighting spirit:</u> Because they faced the enemy fearlessly, and shot down German planes, too; because of their fighting spirit; because they held their own during the war - in warfare no holds are barred; etc.	1	2
<u>There is nothing to object to except bombing raids on cities and isolated incidents:</u> Except for bombing raids on cities, I have no criticism to offer regarding the American Air Force; etc.	1	*
<u>Others:</u> Because of the front experiences I had during the last war; for instance, the Air Force warned the population of especially endangered territories by dropping leaflets; the individual airman didn't do us any harm; etc.	3	2
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	2	4
	17%**	29%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some people gave more than one answer.

03935

"Do you have any complaints about the way the American Air Force waged war in Germany during the last war?" (Asked of all who did not say Air Force was unchivalrous.)

	West Germany	Berlin
Destroying civilians and cities through haphazard bombings: Bombing raids aimed at the civilian population; innocent people were killed by thousands; yes, that the civilian population had to suffer through them; they bombed open cities; they devastated cities, they didn't spare women and children; what I didn't like is that they dropped heavy loads of bombs on civilians - they shouldn't have done that, war should be conducted against soldiers only - we did the same, however; it's monstrous to slay defenseless women and children; flying in formation they ruthlessly bombed women and children; no air raids should have been directed against the civilian population, that was just murdering defenseless people; that they dropped bombs on the civilian population; yes, that they covered open cities with bombs, that they didn't spare the civilian population; etc.	24%	19%
Slaying defenseless people through ground strafing: Strafing planes fired on defenseless civilians, that's a crime against humanity; they fired on people working in the fields; they fired on people and passenger trains, on people walking in the woods or riding on horse-back; that they went on strafing missions against undefended villages, that were in no way military targets - thus in our village alone 14 serious fires were caused and five people were killed; etc.	4	5
No complaints: No, that's the war, they just carried out their orders; that's the war, you have to take things as they come; I don't know of anything unfavorable regarding the Americans; I can't say anything in this matter, as I never lived through an American air raid; I have no criticisms to offer as I was taken prisoner by the Russians as early as 1943; etc.	13	17
Others: Mainly they were British, weren't they?; it was really the limit; it was a strategy to be detested; that they supported the Russians to such an extent, if they hadn't, things wouldn't be so messed up; etc.	2	1
No opinion/No answer:	9	2
	52%*	44%*

* Some people gave more than one answer.

BUT THE PREPONDERANCE DOES NOT HOLD AIRMAN PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE ...

Despite the reservations the German people have regarding Air Force chivalry, over half (54%) in West Germany and 85 per cent in Berlin say that American airmen should not be condemned for their wartime air action.

"Do you believe that the American airmen are to be condemned in any way for what they did in Germany in the last war or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, they are to be condemned	31%	27%	35%	35%	13%
No, they are not to be condemned	54	58	49	50	85
Undecided	15	15	16	15	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

AND BEARS NO GRUDGE ...

Over half of the West German public and 84 per cent in West Berlin say that if they should meet an American who participated in raids in Germany they would not hold it against him but forgive and forget, so to speak. Ironically enough, the major reason (38%) given for bearing no grudge against the airmen who bombed them is the same as the plea so often heard in the German war criminals' trials: they were simply obeying orders and therefore are not personally responsible. One respondent puts it this way, "I'd shake hands with him today; he carried out orders just the way I did when I was a soldier." Others (10%) say they would be as friendly toward him as any other human being. A few (4%) bring up the view that "time heals all wounds," or the idea of mutual culpability (1%).

In contrast, 13 per cent or West Germans would still be definitely hostile, and a similar proportion, though not as hostile, still would not be very friendly. Comments follow in detail.

"Suppose you should meet an American airman who took part in air raids on (your city) (Germany), what would be your feeling towards him?"

	West Germany	Berlin
Generally no Resentment or Hostility:		
He performed his duty and carried out orders: I wouldn't care, they just carried out orders; the government sent them on their missions, it wasn't their fault, they had to obey; they just received orders, if it's a decent guy, I'll treat him properly; no hard feelings, they only did what they were ordered to do, just as in the case of the German soldiers; no feelings whatever, the individual person couldn't change things, he received orders; I wouldn't feel contempt towards him, he did what he was ordered to do; I would shake hands with him today, he carried out orders just as I did when I was a soldier; the individual person cannot be blamed for a war, it's the governments only that are guilty; things can't be helped, that's just how things are in a war; etc.	38%	58%

(cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	Berlin
Tolerant, friendly feelings, I'd treat him as a human being:		
Well, people shouldn't hate each other, they should be tolerant towards each other; friendly feelings; I wouldn't harbor any ill feeling towards the person I'd meet; I wouldn't feel any resentment against him; only feelings of compassion; for me he would be the same as anybody else: a human being; they certainly didn't go on bombing missions just for the fun of it - why should I treat him in any way differently than anybody else; no feelings whatever any more, I would judge him according to his merrits, I would not be prejudiced on account of anything that happened in the past; I would have the same feeling as toward any person I'd meet; etc.	10%	15%
Time heals wounds, resentment will decline; things will be forgotten:		
After all these years people have no hostile feelings any more; time heals all wounds, besides, in the years after the war Americans did many a good turn; no friendly feelings, if you come down to it, one should be able to forget, however; the feeling of hatred is less pronounced than some time ago, it will not disappear entirely, however, people don't forget things like that; etc.	4	9
We did the same:		
If we hold the view that our airmen didn't do any wrong, then the Americans didn't do any wrong, either; I wouldn't have any hard feelings towards him, horrible things have occurred on our side, too; I don't bear any grudge against the individual airman - we didn't behave any better - let's make no bones about it; the same as if I'd meet a German, if you think differently, they all had to be punished; etc.	1	2
Generally not Friendly, Hostile:		
No friendly feelings, mild resentment:		
It's rather a queer feeling to know that he took part in bombing raids in which our homeland was devastated; not too positive, I couldn't bring myself to really like him; I couldn't regard hims as a friend, though it wasn't his fault that he went on bombing missions - I'd always feel a little resentful towards him; I wouldn't feel any great respect, that really would be the limit; I wouldn't have any sympathy for him; I would still harbour some ill feeling towards him, they shouldn't have done that; etc.	12	12

(cont'd on next page)

033936

	West Germany	Berlin
Hatred, hostility, contempt, revenge: One would feel resentment against any person capable of killing innocent people; that he was a low character; I think I could get terribly mad at him; I would have feelings of revenge; I couldn't face him, I would consider him to be a murderer, they could well have been less ruthless; a bitter feeling of revenge, but it's the Tommies who were to blame, I would like to see them get into the same kind of mess; I don't want to hear anything about them, all you can do to show contempt towards them; etc.	13%	4%
Indifferent, some reservations: I haven't got anything against American airmen, I don't care one way or the other; none whatever, I wouldn't even notice him; no special feelings; he is not to be blamed, I don't care about him; I would be as indifferent to him as to any other soldier, you can't blame him; etc.	10	4
It depends on how he acted: I wouldn't dislike him as a person, provided he didn't participate in any atrocities (firing on civilians with machine guns and cannons from planes); it depends on whether he killed people and whether he singled out non-military targets in that case I would consider him to be mean, I would feel contempt towards him; etc.	2	1
Others: I would try to talk to him and would tell him: have our soldiers been less decent than yours and if the answer is: no, why do you still detain them as war criminals?; I'm sure we'd get to understand each other; I would like to talk things over with him to find out how he judges the things that occurred at that time today - if he'd consider bombing raids on cities to be acts of valor, then I'd show contempt towards him; etc.	3	1
No opinion/No answer:	11	-
	104%*	106%*

* Less than one half of one per cent.

RESTRICTED

03939

ATTITUDES TOWARD BOMBING OF CITIES AMONG POPULATION GROUPS ...

The preponderant view among all elements in the West German population is that bombing of cities is completely unwarranted. Women are particularly of this mind. However, the higher status groups - the better educated, the wealthier professional people, and the men - agree more frequently than their counterparts that certain circumstances justify air raids on cities. Veterans also tend more frequently than non-veterans to hold this view.

"Under what circumstances do you consider it justified to bomb cities in a war?"

	Under (certain) circumstances	Under no circumstances	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	36%	58%	6%..100%	545
Women	12	77	11	643
Education:				
Elementary school	20	70	10	958
Beyond elementary	34	64	2	229
Income (per month):				
Up to 149 DM	15	66	19	210
150 - 299 DM	19	73	8	447
300 - 399 DM	28	65	7	245
400 DM and more	34	64	2	221
Age:				
Up to 24 years	24	64	12	145
25 - 34 years	30	65	5	251
35 - 44 years	18	75	7	261
45 - 54 years	26	64	10	248
55 years and over	18	70	12	278
Party Preference:				
SPD	25	70	5	251
CDU/CSU	23	72	5	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	33	65	2	66
Other parties	27	68	5	82
No party	24	68	8	344
Don't know	13	66	21	231
Occupation:				
Professionals	44	54	2	61
Businessmen	32	65	3	123
White-collar workers	32	63	5	145
Skilled laborers	20	74	6	261
Semi-skilled laborers	20	74	6	261
Semi-skilled laborers	20	67	13	152
Farmers	14	73	13	129
Unemployed	29	63	8	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	21	65	14	198
Religion:				
Catholics	23	69	8	525
Protestants	21	69	10	607
Origin:				
Natives	23	69	8	935
Refugees, Expellees	24	65	11	243
Veteran Status:				
No	20	66	14	229
Yes, not air force	38	57	5	261
Yes, air force	38	58	4	76
Yes, family member, not air force	16	74	10	550
Yes, family member, air force	15	80	5	111

03940

"During the last war the Americans, as you may know, bombed French cities occupied by us Germans. Do you feel that this was a course of action justified during the war or not?"

	Justified	Not justified	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	25%	60%	15%...100%	545
Women	10	63	27	643
Education:				
Elementary school	15	62	23	958
Beyond elementary	21	63	16	229
Income (per month):				
Up to 149 DM	15	50	35	210
150 - 299 DM	14	67	19	447
300 - 399 DM	18	65	17	245
400 DM and more	21	64	15	221
Age:				
Up to 24 years	15	64	21	145
25 - 34 years	21	62	17	251
35 - 44 years	19		22	261
45 - 54 years	15	65	20	248
55 years and over	12	60	28	278
Party Preference:				
SPD	22	66	12	251
CDU/CSU	14	70	16	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	26	62	12	66
Other parties	20	67	13	82
No party	17	58	25	344
Don't know	9	54	37	[illegible]
Occupation:				
Professionals	32	57	11	61
Businessmen	17	72	11	123
White-collar workers	23	57	20	145
Skilled laborers	16	66	18	261
Semi-skilled laborers	14	61	25	152
Farmers	9	67	24	129
Unemployed	20	63	17	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	15	51	34	198
Religion:				
Catholics	15	64	21	525
Protestants	17	60	23	607
Origin:				
Natives	16	63	21	935
Refugees, Expellees	16	58	26	243
Veteran Status:				
No	12	59	29	229
Yes, not air force	26	60	14	261
Yes, air force	28	55	17	76
Yes, family member, not air force	14	62	24	550
Yes, family member, air force	8	74	18	111

[redacted]

GROUP APPRAISAL OF THE U.S. AIR FORCE ACTIONS IN THE LAST WAR ...

The tendency in all population groups is strongly toward the view that the U.S. Air Force was an unchivalrous rather than honorable adversary during World War II. It is noteworthy, however, that Luftwaffe veterans more frequently than any other group declare their American opponents acted honorably during the war.

Luftwaffe veterans are also the most inclined of any Germans to exonerate U.S. airmen of any blame for their actions. West German youth, as well as the more affluent and better educated are also of this opinion somewhat more often than others.

"Do you think the American Air Force was a chivalrous opponent in the last war or not?"

	Yes, they were	No, they weren't	Qualified answer	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	20%	54%	5%	21%	100% 545
Women	13	46	4	37	643
Education:					
Elementary school	15	50	4	31	958
Beyond elementary	21	51	7	21	229
Income (per month):					
Up to 149 DM	13	37	4	46	210
150 - 299 DM	17	52	5	26	447
300 - 399 DM	15	56	5	24	245
400 DM and more	24	48	5	23	221
Age:					
Up to 24 years	12	50	6	32	145
25 - 34 years	20	57	4	19	251
35 - 44 years	14	50	2	34	261
45 - 54 years	19	50	5	26	248
55 years and over	16	42	6	36	278
Party Preference:					
SPD	21	54	6	19	251
CDU/CSU	23	56	4	17	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	19	47	8	26	66
Other parties	18	50	2	30	82
No party	13	48	4	35	344
Don't know	9	42	4	45	231
Occupation:					
Professionals	20	41	8	31	61
Businessmen	16	57	6	21	123
White-collar workers	17	53	5	25	145
Skilled laborers	15	58	4	23	261
Semi-skilled laborers	17	47	5	31	152
Farmers	14	45	2	39	129
Unemployed	17	54	9	20	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	17	39	6	38	198
Religion:					
Catholics	16	50	6	28	525
Protestants	15	49	4	32	607
Origin:					
Natives	17	51	4	28	935
Refugees, Expellees	15	46	6	33	243
Veteran Status:					
No	14	41	8	37	229
Yes, not air force	18	60	5	17	261
Yes, air force	35	44	4	17	76
Yes, family member, not air force	15	47	4	34	550
Yes, family member, air force	15	58	2	25	111

03942

"Do you believe that the American airmen are to be condemned in any way for what they did in Germany in the last war or not?"

	Yes, they are to be condemned	No, they are not to be condemned	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	35%	55%	10%...100%	545
Women	27	53	20	643
Education:				
Elementary school	31	53	16	958
Beyond elementary	30	60	10	229
Income (per month):				
Up to 149 DM	31	38	31	210
150 - 299 DM	30	56	14	447
300 - 399 DM	33	57	10	245
400 DM and more	29	64	7	221
Age:				
Up to 24 years	23	61	16	145
25 - 34 years	35	55	10	251
35 - 44 years	30	58	12	261
45 - 54 years	33	55	12	248
55 years and over	31	46	23	278
Party Preference:				
SPD	30	63	7	251
CDU/CSU	31	60	9	214
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	35	58	7	66
Other parties	35	47	18	82
No party	31	51	18	344
Don't know	28	47	25	231
Occupation:				
Professionals	25	62	13	61
Businessmen	33	55	12	123
White-collar workers	25	67	8	145
Skilled laborers	36	55	9	261
Semi-skilled laborers	30	53	17	152
Farmers	36	42	22	129
Unemployed	26	63	11	35
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	29	49	22	198
Religion:				
Catholics	30	57	13	525
Protestants	32	51	17	607
Origin:				
Natives	31	54	15	935
Refugees, Expellees	31	54	15	243
Veteran Status:				
No	25	57	18	229
Yes, not air force	41	50	9	261
Yes, air force	26	70	4	76
Yes, family member, not air force	28	54	18	550
Yes, family member, air force	37	50	13	111

VII. RELATION BETWEEN BOMBING EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD THE U.S. AIR FORCE AND OTHER DEFENSE ISSUES

The extensive experience of West Germans with area bombing in the last war might lead one to expect that this would be a weighty factor in their judgments on air power in general and the role of the United States Air Force in particular. In order to measure whether this experience does in fact have an influence, all of the issues dealt with in this report were further analyzed in terms of bombing experience. The results of this analysis, presented in the paired comparisons in the following pages, indicate that there is apparently little or no relationship between having been bombed during the war and judgments on the American Air Force now and during World War II, or on other defense issues. In fact, the people who were bombed during the course of the last war appear more frequently to hold favorable attitudes than those who were not. Very probably, however, this difference has little to do with the bombing factor but is largely due to the fact that the non-bombed tend to be small town and rural people who are customarily somewhat less inclined than urban people to express opinions on such issues as are dealt with in this study.

The probable explanation for the absence of important differences in attitudes between the bombed and non-bombed is simply the fact that bombing raids were so extensive and their consequences so apparent to all Germans, that the influence is generalized or diffused throughout the entire population.

I. Paired Comparisons on Bombing Experiences and Attitudes Toward Bombing

	Opinions of Those Who:		
	Experienced air raids and were		Did not experience air raids
	Bombed out	Not bombed out	
Were U.S. airmen in World War II chivalrous?			
Yes	19%	16%	12%
No	55	52	39
Qualified answer	5	5	4
Undecided	21	27	45
	100%	100%	100%
Should U.S. World War II airmen be condemned for acts?			
Yes	30%	33%	28%
No	60	56	45
Undecided	10	11	27
	100%	100%	100%
Is bombing of cities ever justified			
Yes, under certain circumstances	24%	26%	15%
No, never	71	68	68
Undecided	5	6	17
	100%	100%	100%
Was U.S. bombing of French cities held by Germans justified			
Yes	20%	17%	12%
No	64	63	54
Undecided	16	20	34
	100%	100%	100%

RESTRICTED

03944

II. Paired Comparisons on Bombing Experiences and Appraisal of the U.S. Air Force

	Opinions of Those Who:		
	Experienced air raids and were:		Did not experience air raids
	Bombed out	Not bombed out	
Which country had best air force in World War II?			
U.S.	47%	45%	40%
Germany	34	36	26
Britain	2	3	1
France	-	-	-
Russia	*	*	1
Undecided	17	16	32
	100%	100%	100%
Which has the best air force now?			
U.S.	61%	64%	42%
Britain	1	1	1
France	-	-	-
Russia	6	4	5
Undecided	32	31	52
	100%	100%	100%
Which will have the best air force in 5 years?			
U.S.	40%	39%	24%
Britain	*	*	*
France	-	-	-
Russia	10	8	5
Undecided	50	53	71
	100%	100%	100%
Which airmen were best in World War II combat?			
U.S.	4%	4%	4%
German	65	66	49
British	2	1	-
French	-	-	-
Russians	1	1	1
Undecided	28	28	46
	100%	100%	100%
Which are better in combat, U.S. airmen or infantrymen?			
Airmen	36%	32%	20%
Infantrymen	5	4	4
No difference	20	22	19
Undecided	39	42	57
	100%	100%	100%
Who are better behaved, U.S. airmen or infantrymen?			
Airmen	11%	9%	5%
Infantrymen	1	1	*
No difference	23	20	14
Undecided	65	70	81
	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

[redacted]

	Opinions of Those Who:		
	Experienced air raids and were:		Did not experience air raids
	Bombed out	Not bombed out	
Could a German division count on U.S. Air Force support?			
Yes	64%	61%	48%
No	15	14	10
Undecided	21	25	42
	100%	100%	100%
Would U.S. Air Force give Germans as much support as they would give, e.g. the British?			
More	4%	3%	4%
Same	56	54	41
Less	6	6	6
Undecided	19	21	39
	85%	86%	90%
How has the U.S. Air Force done in Korea?			
Better than expected	5%	7%	4%
Worse than expected	9	17	10
About as expected	36	32	19
Undecided	50	44	67
	100%	100%	100%
How has the Communist Air Force done in Korea?			
Better than expected	35%	31%	17%
Worse than expected	7	10	8
About as expected	3	5	2
Undecided	55	54	73
	100%	100%	100%
Which of the two has made best showing in Korea?			
U.S. Air Force	27%	33%	21%
Communist Air Force	13	9	5
Both same	15	14	8
Undecided	45	44	66
	100%	100%	100%

D38946

III. Paired Comparisons on Bombing Experiences and Attitudes Toward Defense Issues

	Opinions of Those Who:		
	Experienced air raids and were:		Did not experience air raids
	Bombed out	Not bombed out	
Should Germany participate in West European defense?			
Strongly for it	25%	21%	14%
Somewhat for it	25	26	27
Somewhat against it	16	15	11
Strongly against it	27	28	24
Undecided	7	10	24
	100%	100%	100%
Is it important for Germany to have an air force, if she has an army?			
Very important	51%	47%	26%
important	21	26	29
No air force	13	9	10
Undecided	15	18	35
	100%	100%	100%
What about the Allied Forces in Germany, should they:			
Be withdrawn	21%	20%	16%
Remain at present strength	32	31	23
Remain at increased strength	33	30	25
Undecided	14	19	36
	100%	100%	100%
If additional U.S. Forces come into Germany, what should they be:			
More ground troops	14%	15%	10%
More air force	41	38	23
Both	20	22	19
Undecided	25	25	48
	100%	100%	100%

03947

[redacted]

PRESENT LEVEL OF WEST GERMAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SATISFACTION

With Current Standings of the Major Political Parties

Report No. 155
Series No. 2
September 22, 1952

RESTRICTED
OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

With the 1953 Bundestag election looming on the political horizon, the general satisfaction-dissatisfaction of the West German electorate and the relative strengths of the various political parties become questions of increasing pertinence in guiding American policy in West Germany. Obviously different planning and programming will be called for if dissatisfaction with the present administration is rife and an SPD victory is in the offing, than if satisfaction is predominant and the chances bright for the CDU remaining in power.

Results are based upon a survey conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff between August 4th and 14th, 1952, employing a 1,200 case representative probability sample of West Germany. Though the survey antedated Schumacher's death a subsequent flash survey check suggests that this fact is not likely to have materially altered the picture presented. (See Appendix I for details).

As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of research.

SOME HIGHLIGHTS EXCERPTS

Satisfaction - Dissatisfaction With Present Conditions And Adenauer Government

... Present returns disclose that the trend in satisfaction with personal economic circumstances has been distinctly on the upgrade since previously measured in October of last year. Dissatisfaction has by no means vanished, but it is now clearly exceeded by the proportion who are satisfied in the West German population.

... The past many months have witnessed not only rising economic contentment, but also increasing expression of satisfaction with the general activities of the Adenauer regime - to the point where favorable reactions currently preponderate over unfavorable by a more than two to one margin.

... On a more specific test of satisfaction-dissatisfaction, the Adenauer government's stand vis-a-vis Russia, approval again predominates, in this instance by a three to one margin.

... And in almost equal measure West Germans express agreement with the stand the Adenauer government takes regarding America.

... Corroborating from a different angle the evidence of predominant satisfaction with present economic circumstances and the present government, is the very limited support for the idea occasionally voiced by the SPD in past months that immediate Bundestag elections are called for.

... Party comparisons reveal that satisfaction with present conditions and the political regime is, as is to be expected, most widespread among CDU and FDP political adherents. But it is notable that even among SPD followers on none of the indices of satisfaction do responses favorable to the Adenauer government fail to preponderate over unfavorable.

03949

Popular Support for the Major Political Parties

... As of the time of the current survey the two major political contenders in West Germany, the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats, appear to be vieing evenly for public support with each eliciting adherence from 25 per cent of the West German population. Far back in third place in the preference ranking is the Free Democratic party with six per cent support, and the remaining parties trail.

... The absence of any convincing trend indications in the returns over the past year and a half controverts any belief that this period has marked a growth in SPD support with a loss in favor for the government coalition.

... Though the CDU and the SPD are in the latest survey attracting neck and neck support, they are not attracting it in the same proportions from the various groupings in the West German population.

... In general, however, the supporters of the two major parties are more similar than different except on the score of religion. And even here it is discovered that forty per cent of the traditionally anti-clerical SPD indicate themselves to be Catholics.

... The CDU's espousal of Christian principles is the single most frequent reason advanced by CDU supporters in explanation of their political allegiance. Preference for the SPD, on the other hand, appears to most frequently derive from its advocacy of the cause of the man in the street, in particular the worker.

... Allegedly too great influence by the church and too great partiality toward the wealthy lead in frequency of mention as to criticisms of the CDU. The single most frequent criticism expressed of the SPD is that it is too radical and obstructionistic.

... On the question of which of the two major contenders would receive the most votes in a Bundestag election at this time, opinions split almost evenly - thus tending to suggest that currently in West Germany there is no important bandwagon trend operating to influence political preference.

An SPD Government and Present West German Military Commitments

... Most West Germans with opinions in the matter are of the impression that the SPD is opposed to West Germany's military participation in the West European defense army.

... But only a minority would counsel the SPD, should it come into office, to break any contract that might exist about German participation in European defense.

... And more West Germans than expect otherwise believe that an SPD government would, in fact, adhere to any defense contract that had been made. No opinion, however, is large.

03950

I. SATISFACTION - DISSATISFACTION WITH PRESENT CONDITIONS AND ADENAUER GOVERNMENT

RISE IN ECONOMIC SATISFACTION ...

Present returns disclose that the trend in satisfaction with personal economic circumstances has been distinctly on the upgrade since previously measured in October of last year. Dissatisfaction has by no means vanished, but it is now clearly exceeded by the proportion who are satisfied in the West German population.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the development of your economic circumstances during the past year? (IF "Satisfied": Very satisfied or fairly satisfied? IF "Dissatisfied": Very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"

WEST GERMAN TREND

	1951 Oct/Nov (1193)		1952 Aug (1195)	
Very satisfied	4%	48%	8%	59%
Satisfied	44		51	
Dissatisfied	39	51	30	40
Very dissatisfied	12		10	
No opinion	1		1	
	100%		100%	

CURRENT RETURNS

	WEST GERMANY (1195)	British Zone (622)	US Zone (435)	French Zone (138)
Very satisfied	8%	9%	5%	9%
Fairly satisfied	51	49	56	49
Dissatisfied	30	32	28	28
Very satisfied	10	10	8	13
No opinion	1	*	3	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

03951

MAJORITY SATISFIED WITH ACTIVITIES OF ADENAUER GOVERNMENT ...

The past many months have witnessed not only rising economic contentment, but also increasing expression of satisfaction with the general activities of the Adenauer regime, to the point where currently, favorable reactions preponderate over unfavorable by a more than two to one margin.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now? (IF "Satisfied": very satisfied or fairly satisfied? IF "Dissatisfied": very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"

WEST GERMAN TREND

	1951 Sept/Oct (799)		1952 June (786)		1952 Aug (1195)	
Satisfied	6%	52%	7%	56%	11%	58%
Fairly satisfied	46		49		47	
Dissatisfied	31	37	25	30	18	23
Very dissatisfied	6		5		5	
No opinion/No answer	11		14		19	
	100%		100%		100%	

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Very satisfied	11%	13%	9%	11%
Fairly satisfied	47	48	48	55
Dissatisfied	18	18	17	25
Very dissatisfied	5	5	4	7
No opinion	19	16	22	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The ~~majority~~ minority who currently express dissatisfaction with Chancellor Adenauer's handling of affairs focus primarily on the government's remilitarization policy, alleged indifference to the man in the street and high prices as reasons for their disapproval.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now?"

IF "Dissatisfied" or "Very dissatisfied":

"In what respect are you dissatisfied?"

	WEST GERMANY
Because of the government's remilitarisation policy:	7%

I principally oppose his policy regarding our defense contribution; that they try again to set up an army; I disagree with this cunning policy - because the people aren't asked at all regarding important affairs as for instance in the case of military issues and rearmament and because he agrees to everything without further ado; because of the defense plan as long as the "war criminals" are still imprisoned; he wants an army, doesn't he?; because he did not live up to the promises he gave us: reconstruction and no army; this business about remilitarization - I think one should not try to tackle this problem too soon, the wounds of the last war have not healed yet; I am dissatisfied with Adenauer personally, he does whatever he wants without caring for the opinion of the people - we do not want any kind of militarism which Adenauer wants to introduce; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

Government does not take care of the man in the street, i.e., workers, refugees, pensioners, dependents of war victims, former prisoners of war, etc.: 6%

The government does not take enough care of the workers; they cut our pensions too much; they don't do anything for people like us - they spend money for everything except for the disabled; we, the refugees, were always promised help through the equalization of burdens law, but nothing has been done; I dislike their whole social program, they don't do enough for the poor; all these gentlemen don't know that the man in the street is badly off - we all want to live and eat better; they don't care enough for the disabled war veterans; all business people are well off while nobody thinks of the poor; that they don't look after the interests of the workers and employees sufficiently; the help the refugees get is insufficient; too little is done for the man in the street; that we pensioners receive such low pensions; etc.

Prices too high: 5

Their price policy, the general price increases; the government agrees to all these price increases while the wages and salaries remain the same; the general economic situation is not taken into consideration: prices are too high, wages too low - again the price for butter goes up; the costs of living are too high, wages and salaries have not been adjusted; low wages in contrast to high prices; wages too low, prices too high; I am dissatisfied with the overall price increases, prices go up for food stuffs and consumption goods, rents increase while wages stay at the same low level; everything is too expensive; I would be very satisfied if I could live like a human being - our wages as workers are very low and we can hardly afford anything; we have no money, the workers are bad off, economically speaking - my husband must work half a week to buy one pair of shoes; etc.

Taxes are too high: 3

You simply cannot pay enough taxes; we can hardly breathe because of all that tax-paying; these high taxes - I think I expressed myself clearly enough; in the end we only work to be able to pay taxes - that's the main thing I am dissatisfied with; the tax burden which the worker has to bear is much too heavy - the man in the street has to bear the brunt of the burden; I am dissatisfied with everything they do, particularly with their taxation system - the way they exterminate the middle class because they tax this class too heavily while they themselves live a grand life at our expense; the tax burden of the individual citizen is too heavy; taxes keep increasing; etc.

Government dances to other powers' piping: 3

Because we are sold to foreign powers, politically and militarily; the Western powers exert too much influence on Adenauer - the government in West Germany works only for the benefit of America which makes intensive preparations for war and wants to drag us Germans into this matter, too; the government is too much pro-French, they are too yielding towards the French in every respect; the Saar-issue, they put up with too many things; they do not look after the German interests as intensively as they should; that he (Adenauer) submits too much to their influence, for instance: the conclusion of the contractual agreement without a plebiscite; they only do what the Americans tell them to do, they are merely puppets; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

Government does little about the housing shortage: 2%
The housing problem and the overpopulation, both add to the general dissatisfaction because nothing is done about it; that we refugees have had to live in homes and camps for years now; housing conditions have not improved for us refugees; no housing; etc.

The attitude of the government on the prisoners-of-war issue: 1
As long as not all prisoners have come home, the government should not agree to a new defense contribution; prisoners of the last war are still in enemy countries and here they try to raise soldiers for a new army already; nothing at all is done to get our prisoners of war released from Russia; etc.

Government does little to solve the unemployment problem: 1
They don't look after the unemployed sufficiently; because of unemployment; etc.

Others: 5
I disagree with the shop organization law; because of the last currency reform; that nothing is done to bring about an agreement between East and West; the government is unable to recover our Eastern territories; on account of our having obtained equal rights, our prisoners of war should be released; with the way they treated the Nazi party members; because I don't care about church matters; etc.

No opinion - No answer: *
33%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

PREDOMINANT APPROVAL OF PRESENT GOVERNMENT'S STAND ON RUSSIA ...

On a more specific test of satisfaction - dissatisfaction, the Adenauer government's stand vis-a-vis Russia, approval again predominates, in this instance by a three to one margin.

"In general, do you agree with the stand the present Adenauer government takes regarding Russia or do you disagree?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Agree	50%	56%	45%	47%
Disagree	16	16	16	17
No opinion/No answer	34	28	39	36
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The few who express dissatisfaction with the Adenauer administration's handling of Russian issues argue most frequently that it does not demonstrate sufficient readiness to negotiate and come to an understanding with the East.

"In general, do you agree with the stand the present Adenauer government takes regarding Russia or do you disagree?"

IF "Disagree":

"In what respect do you disagree? (Why?)"

	WEST GERMANY
They are neither ready to negotiate nor eager to come to an understanding with the East:	8%
They didn't even try to find a way to talk things over with the Russians; he should come to an understanding with the Russians for the sake of the Eastern zone, this line, however, the government neglects; he should try to get into closer contact with the East and shouldn't throw himself at the neck of the West; they show little willingness to negotiate and are putting forward new conditions all the time; because they don't try to get into closer contact with the East zone government; one should try harder to open negotiations with Russia in order to bring about a reunification of both zones; that the government doesn't grab at every chance to negotiate with the Russians; up till now he didn't come to terms with Russia on the issue of the Eastern territories; the Russians have repeatedly made suggestions regarding German reunification. Dr. Adenauer should have taken up the matter more eagerly, for our future lies in the East, the West will make a colony out of our country; etc.	

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Their dependence on the Allies makes it more difficult to come to an understanding with the East: 2%

They don't come to terms, Mr. Adenauer is forced to act according to American directives, and that's what the Russians don't like; because they are prompted by the Americans, they don't agree to take up negotiations and don't try to open negotiations themselves, just to snub people won't get you anywhere; they let the Allies have too great a say in their affairs, tackling the problem in an amiable way might have yielded better results; our government doesn't take any stand at all towards Russia, they just do what the Americans tell them to do; Dr. Adenauer doesn't grapple with problems, he just carries out the plans of the others, the Western powers, that is; etc.

They should follow a more energetic course in politics: 2

He is not strict enough dealing with the Russians; because he usually gives in; too much propaganda, they should act; they don't do anything about reunification, they should go about things more energetically; he could be somewhat more rigorous, up till a year ago I lived in Saxony and I think the West German government should be more energetic; they are not active enough regarding the issue of an East-West rapprochement; they are too slack dealing with the East zone government (with people such as Pieck, for instance); all those guys at the top are terribly slack, I don't know about any details, but that's my general impression; etc.

We need peace - armament program and defense contribution are detrimental: 1

All we need is peace, there shouldn't be any rearmament together with America; I don't like it that the present government wants us to participate in the defense of Western Europe. All they would ask Western Germany to do would be to provide manpower for an army; because there will be another cruel war if they carry on in the same way as up till now; it would be awful if the Adenauer-treaty (West European defense army) would cause another war; we want a peace treaty to be concluded; etc.

They don't try hard enough to bring about the release of prisoners of war: 1

He should do more to bring about the repatriation of prisoners of war; the government should push the demand for release of prisoners of war more vigorously; that they tackle the prisoner of war issue energetically, a large number of prisoners are still in Russia; our government's efforts to bring about the release of our prisoners of war still in Russia are half-hearted; etc.

Others: 2

I have the impression that Dr. Adenauer is terribly ambitious and that for religious reasons he does not want to enter into negotiations with the Russians; I always feel that Dr. Adenauer is too often walking on a tight-rope; they should make more of the fact that they are able to turn the scale; they always put off things indefinitely; etc.

No opinion - No answer: * 16%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

03956

PREDOMINANT APPROVAL OF PRESENT GOVERNMENT'S RELATIONS WITH AMERICA ...

And in almost equal measure West Germans express agreement with the stand the Adenauer administration takes regarding America.

"In general, do you agree with the stand the present Adenauer government takes regarding America or do you disagree?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Agree	51%	55%	46%	53%
Disagree	18	16	20	18
No opinion/No answer	31	29	34	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The few dissidents most frequently allege that the Adenauer government is too yielding and submissive toward the U.S.

"In general, do you agree with the stand the present Adenauer government takes regarding America or do you disagree?"

IF "Disagree":

"In what respect do you disagree? (Why?)"

WEST GERMANY

Too submissive towards America: 11%

He (Adenauer) gives in to all demands of the Americans, the CDU lets foreign powers interfere with its affairs; he takes the American side too often and conforms to their requests; their exaggerated readiness to meet American demands, they never contradict; because they agree to everything the Americans demand without protesting - it is about time they put their foot down for a change and show more courage; because they are too yielding and put up with too much frequently; our government has too yielding an attitude and dances to the Americans' piping; they still submit too much to pressure exerted on them; Adenauer has not enough backbone in regard to America; regarding some minor issues he should contradict the former victorious powers more often - if we are to have equal right, we need not give in to all matters; etc.

Overly dependent upon America: 3

Actually we depend upon the Americans, mainly in regard to food stuffs and that goes for our whole economy. In regard to our defense contribution, Adenauer's government cannot do anything but say "yes" since we depend so much on the Americans; there you can see how much Adenauer depends on America; because I think this government is not what it should be, it's hampered in its activities by the occupation powers; the Americans still have too much too say in Germany; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMANY

Attitude in regard to defense contribution: 2%

That they raise an army, this idea principally came from the Americans; Adenauer only is a puppet in the service of America and even offered military aid without having been asked for it; that they give in to the Americans on all issues and never really inform them about what we think about it, concerning the rearmament issue our government again complied with the wishes of the Americans; the defense contribution should not have been approved - the people should have been asked for their opinion, and not only the younger generation but also the old women who lost their sons and husbands during the last war; because our participation in the defense of the West; because Adenauer wants to start remilitarization; etc.

Attitude in regard to the war criminals issue: 1

The so-called war criminals issue, our government should get these people released who have mostly been sentenced though innocent; because Dr. Adenauer does not pursue his course consistently enough in the war criminals issue; one should take a bolder stand, we still put up with too much too often, for instance with the fact that the alleged war criminals are still imprisoned. Before the European army is set up, we should demand the release of our so-called war criminals not only in Germany but also in Belgium, Holland and all other places; etc.

Attitude in regard to the Germany Treaty: *

Because of the contractual agreement; the contractual agreement - in my opinion - had been worked out in details before it was submitted to the Bundestag for debate; etc.

Others: 2

We are going to be over head and ears in debt; all these imports from America, that's wrong; there are too many machinations, you don't know what's going on; that we have to export so much coal, that we have so many occupation troops here, houses are still being requisitioned, and something like that in all the misery of the existing housing shortage!; they are too yielding - and because America behaved in such an unfair way in the last war - they are too closely linked to American capitalist circles; etc.

No opinion - No answer: *

~~19%~~

* Less than one half of one per cent.
● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MAJORITY DISINCLINED TOWARD IMMEDIATE BUNDESTAG ELECTIONS ...

Corroborating from a different angle the evidence of predominant satisfaction with present economic circumstances and the present regime, is the very limited support for the idea occasionally voiced by the SPD in past months that immediate Bundestag elections are called for.

"Do you consider new elections for the Bundestag desirable now or should one wait until the regular elections for the Bundestag are due in the fall of next year?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Desirable now	15%	14%	15%	19%
Wait	56	60	54	51
No opinion	29	26	31	30
	100%	100%	100%	100%

With so few supporting immediate elections, it is obvious that the four in ten West Germans still dissatisfied with economic conditions are not thinking primarily in terms of - throw the rascals out.

Comments of the few who judge immediate elections to be desirable are rather scattered in content, as may be seen below.

"Why do you consider new elections desirable now? (Can you name some other reasons?)"

	WEST GERMANY
Because of the defense contribution: New elections would show a true picture of the people's opinion regarding the defense matter; because of the law on compulsory service, I think that many people don't agree with it, and that the present government doesn't act according to the will of the people any longer; in order to prevent ratification of the defense treaty; they should have taken place at an earlier date before the ballyhoo about rearmament started - because views are completely different to those of an earlier period; in order to prevent that Adenauer will realize his plans: setting up armed forces; because then undoubtedly a party will come into office that doesn't approve of the defense contribution, that's the only reason; etc.	4%
Because a change in government might mean general improvement: Improvements in some respects might come to pass; the situation as a whole might improve; so that a new course can be initiated; I dislike the government's policy, a newly established party should come into office; the sooner a change will be carried through the better for us, I don't agree with the present government; something might still be arranged; etc.	3

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

Because of the Germany Treaty (Contractual Agreement): 2%

Because the Germany treaty in its present form must not come into force; because the older generation only is represented in the Bundestag, fresh young people should have a say there before the Germany treaty is passed; in order to prevent ratification of the contractual agreement; because of the signing of the contractual agreement; I take a dim view of these contracts, I oppose them because the public wasn't informed about their contents; people don't know about the details of this contract. It only leads to war, we'll have to go to Indo China or some other place, they say that we won't be forced to go but in the end we have to, no doubt about it; etc.

Because elections would be a means to find out about public opinion: 2

They would show what people think now; so that we would find out more quickly about actual public opinion; in order to determine what the people's opinion is now, any successors to the present government cannot possibly do a worse job; they would give a true picture of present public opinion; etc.

Because another government would improve social and economic conditions: 1

Because we don't approve of the present government, it announced an increase of pensions for the disabled but it didn't keep its promise, it is selfish; I think that the CDU is at the end of its tether, well balanced social conditions must be reestablished; because conditions have to change, the poor don't want to be oppressed any longer, they know nothing but to work and to save and they don't get a fair return for their money; etc.

Because the SPD might then show its abilities: 1

If the SPD comes into office it can prove its abilities; the SPD will arrange things in a shorter period of time than other parties; etc.

Because the reunification problem is more likely to be settled: *

Maybe things will change then, the Eastern zone might be reunited with the West, and the Russians may be forced to leave; in order to enable another party to come into office which takes another course, another government certainly would put more steam behind reunification; the whole thing doesn't function all right, there is too much negotiating with America instead of trying to reach a peace treaty for all Germany in a peaceful way, another government might work more efficiently; etc.

Others: 3

So that the foreign affairs policy can be fixed; so that parliament can be purged, provided that the present ministers won't get pensions, they should be replaced by men with a sound character who resist the so-called foreign democrats; I hope the election system will be altered so that also those who aren't members of a political party might exercise influence on who will be a candidate; new elections might cause shifts in policy which prevents the conclusion of agreements with foreign countries; etc.

1670

* Less than one half of one per cent.
O Some respondents gave more than one answer.

PARTY COMPARISONS ON SATISFACTION - DISSATISFACTION ...

Party comparisons on the series of questions that have been reported upon reveal first, that satisfaction with present conditions and the political regime is greatest among CDU and FDP political adherents. This is in accord with expectation since the CDU and the FDP are the major members of the present Adenauer coalition. The order of magnitude of adverse judgment on Adenauer's administration appears to be no more than one in ten among CDU adherents and one in five among FDP's. This tends to suggest that most of the Coalition followers* are at present satisfied with the activities of their Bonn political representatives, though somewhat fewer express satisfaction with their present economic circumstances.

But also evident in the party comparisons following is the more interesting indication among respondents of SPD political persuasion that on none of the indices of satisfaction-dissatisfaction do responses favorable to the present Adenauer government fail to preponderate over unfavorable. This finding suggests that the Adenauer administration has succeeded to a large extent in satisfying the desires of SPD adherents. Even on the reiterated SPD demand for immediate Bundestag elections only three in ten among SPD followers are apparently exercised enough about present conditions to agree.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the development of your economic circumstances during the past year? (IF "Satisfied": Very satisfied or fairly satisfied? IF "Dissatisfied": Very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"

	Very satisfied to fairly satisfied		Dissatisfied to very dissatisfied		No opinion		No. of cases	
	~~Dec~~ Oct 51	Aug 52	~~Dec~~ Oct 51	Aug 52	~~Dec~~ Oct 51	Aug 52	~~Dec~~ Oct 51	Aug 52
Party Preference:								
SPD	43%	54%	57%	46%	-%	-%	279	301
CDU/CSU	58	71	42	28	-	1	219	298
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	53	66	47	31	-	3	79	73
Other parties	40	50	60	50	-	-	93	94
No party	43	46	56	52	1	2	233	174
Don't know	50	62	47	34	3	4	290	255

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now? (IF "Satisfied": Very satisfied or fairly satisfied? IF "Dissatisfied": Very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"

	Very satisfied to fairly satisfied	Dissatisfied to very dissatisfied	No opinion	No. of cases
SPD	49%	39%	12%...100%	301
CDU/CSU	88	4	8	298
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	67	19	14	73
Other parties	60	30	10	94
No party	43	39	18	174
Don't know	39	17	44	255

* The Deutsche Partei is not separately considered here, because the number of cases are too few for reliable analysis.

"In general, do you agree with the stand the present Adenauer government takes regarding Russia or do you disagree?"

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion/ No answer	No. of cases
SPD	46%	27%	27%...100%	301
CDU/CSU	72	7	21	298
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	60	15	25	73
Other parties	46	26	28	94
No party	51	14	35	174
Don't know	30	10	60	255

"In general, do you agree with the stand the present Adenauer government takes regarding America or do you disagree?"

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion/ No answer	No. of cases
SPD	43%	33%	24%...100%	301
CDU/CSU	77	8	15	298
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	59	18	23	73
Other parties	52	25	23	94
No party	47	21	32	174
Don't know	33	8	59	255

"Do you consider new elections for the Bundestag desirable now or should one wait until the regular elections for the Bundestag are due in the fall of next year?"

	Desirable	Wait	No opinion/ No answer	No. of cases
SPD	30%	52%	18%...100%	301
CDU/CSU	5	78	17	298
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	12	76	12	73
Other parties	21	58	21	94
No party	17	46	37	174
Don't know	7	37	56	255

OTHER POPULATION GROUP COMPARISONS ...

Scrutiny of other group comparisons (see Appendix II) suggests that by and large the tendency is toward more widespread indication of satisfaction by the opinion leading elements - the better educated and the better paid. Increase in satisfaction is most in evidence with increase in income, less so with increase in education. Other group differences may be left to study by the interested reader.

II. POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

CURRENT POLITICAL PREFERENCE STANDINGS ...

As of the time of the current survey the two major political contenders in West Germany, the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats, appear to be vieing evenly for public support with each eliciting adherence from 25 per cent of the West German population. Far back in third place in the preference ranking is the Free Democratic party with six per cent support, and the remaining parties trail.

"Would you please tell me which party you like best?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
SPD	25%	23%	28%	27%
CDU/CSU	25	28	22	22
FDP	6	6	6	8
BHE	3	3	4	-
DP	1	2	-	-
BP	1	-	3	-
KPD	1	1	*	-
SRP	*	-	*	-
NDP	*	*	-	-
WAV	*	-	*	-
Others	2	2	1	3
No party	15	12	16	23
Don't know/No answer	21	23	20	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%

That the "party liked best" query, for which long term trends are available, can be taken as an index of voting preferences in a Bundestag election, is indicated by the almost identical results emanating from a more specifically focused inquiry. However, though one is free to make inferences, these results are not to be taken as a direct election prediction since there is a considerable body of undecided that would have to be more intensively studied, and there is no provision as to which respondents are likely and which are not likely to vote.

"Supposing new elections for the Bundestag were held now in West Germany, for which party would you cast your vote?"

SPD	25%	23%	26%	27%
CDU/CSU	24	26	23	22
FDP	6	5	6	7
BHE	3	3	4	-
DP	1	2	*	-
BP	1	-	3	-
KPD	1	1	1	-
SRP	1	1	1	1
WAV	*	*	-	-
Others	2	3	*	1
No party	13	13	14	19
Don't know/No answer	23	23	22	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

TREND IN POLITICAL PREFERENCE ...

A series of political preference soundings embracing 15 surveys and over 15,000 cases reveal a remarkably stable pattern of returns since March of 1951. The SPD has varied between 20 to 26 per cent support, with an average of 23.1 per cent for the entire period. The CDU has varied between 15 and 25 per cent, with an average of 19.1. And the FDP, exhibiting the most remarkable constancy,** has varied between 5 and 7 per cent, with an average of 5.9.

The absence of any convincing trend indications in the returns over the past year and a half controverts any belief that this period has witnessed a growth in SPD support, with a loss in support for the government coalition. Political preferences on the contrary appear to have held rather steadily to a pattern of SPD slightly over the CDU (by 4 per cent) and slightly behind the CDU/FDP coalition (by 1.9 per cent, more of course if the around 1 per cent DP were counted in).

Whether the current neck and neck status of the CDU and SPD represent an important departure from the past 18 months' average, or is only a passing variation, will need further study to determine - which is true also for the apparent drop in the proportion expressing no party preference.

WEST GERMANY 1951

	Mar@ 51 (800)	Apr@ 51 (798)	Jul 51 (799)	Aug 51 (800)	Sep 51 (796)	Oct 51 (1200)	Oct 51 (1193)
SPD	26%	25%	22%	22%	26%	23%	24%
CDU/CSU	19	23	19	15	21	16	19
FDP	6	7	5	5	6	6	6
KPD	*	*	1	*	1	1	1
SRP	- Not ascertained			-	2	1	*
Others	10	11	6	7	6	7	7
No party	18	15	28	31	15	25	19
No opinion/ No answer	21	19	19	20	23	21	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

WEST GERMANY 1952

	Jan 52 (1199)	Feb 52 (796)	Apr 53 (1172)	May 52 (1188)	June 52 (786)	June 52 (1595)	July 52 (796)	Aug 52 (1195)
SPD	24%	23%	26%	21%	23%	20%	20%	25%
CDU/CSU	19	19	21	18	19	18	17	25
FDP	6	6	7	6	5	7	7	6
KPD	*	1	1	*	1	*	1	1
SRP	1	1	*	*	*	1	1	*
Others	5	6	5	6	7	5	4	7
No party	25	24	18	29	25	33	33	15
No opinion/ No answer	20	20	22	20	20	16	17	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ "Suppose there would be an elections tomorrow, which party would you vote for?"

** It is to be appreciated that such constancy not only indicates the absence of any time trend, but tends to attest to the statistical reliability of the individual samples, since then there can only be a very moderate range of chance fluctuations.

WHO ARE THE SUPPORTERS OF EACH OF THE MAJOR PARTIES? ...

Next in importance to the question of how much support various political parties are attracting, is of course the query: from what population elements does such support primarily derive? A really detailed answer will be available in a future paper based upon the approximately 9,000 case sample provided by combining the political preference returns from the surveys thus far conducted in 1952.*

However, in lieu of a more complete fill-in at this time, preliminary population comparisons in political party support are presented (see page following), based solely upon the current sampling.

Study of the returns reveal that though the CDU and the SPD are in the latest survey attracting neck and neck support, they are not attracting it in the same proportions from the various groupings in the West German population.

In comparison with SPD supporters, the CDU has:**

1. Somewhat more women.
2. Slightly more better educated.
3. Somewhat fewer middle income (300 - 399 DM); slightly more higher income (400 DM and more).
4. Slightly fewer young (18 - 34); slightly more old (55 and over).
5. Considerably fewer skilled, somewhat fewer unskilled laborers; somewhat more farmers and slightly more businessmen.
6. Considerably more Catholics.
7. Slightly fewer refugee-expellees.
8. Considerably fewer trade-union members.

In general, however, similarities are more apparent than differences except for religion; and even here it will be noted that fully forty per cent of the traditionally anti-clerical SPD party indicate themselves to be Catholics - though of course how strongly Catholic these people may be is another question.

Compared to both CDU and SPD supporters, the FDP evidences, usually by a considerable margin: more higher income, more older, more business-professionals, more Protestants and more non-members of trade unions.

* Such combining is statistically in order in instances like the present where the variation in returns from survey to survey is small and lacking in any distinct trend.

** Some of the differences listed below are not entirely beyond chance variation with the present size of sample. The whole picture should be taken as tentative until verified by the more detailed analysis now in progress.

"Would you please tell me which party you like best?"

	SPD	CDU	FDP	Others	No party	No opinion
Sex:						
Men	55%	44%	69%	58%	58%	27%
Women	45	56	32	42	42	73
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Education:						
Elementary school	87%	81%	52%	78%	83%	81%
Beyond elementary	13	19	48	22	17	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	15%	18%	7%	28%	15%	26%
150 - 299 DM	42	38	21	34	41	33
300 - 399 DM	30	19	22	24	24	16
400 DM and more	10	17	45	12	10	15
No answer	3	8	5	2	10	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Age:						
Up to 24 years	15%	11%	10%	7%	11%	15%
25 - 34 years	24	21	23	25	29	18
35 - 44 years	19	20	11	23	20	22
45 - 54 years	23	21	25	24	18	19
55 years and over	18	25	30	21	22	25
No answer	1	2	1	-	-	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Occupation:						
Professionals	4%	5%	15%	1%	5%	5%
Businessmen	6	13	29	10	10	12
White-collar workers	11	14	19	12	13	9
Skilled laborers	31	15	11	15	24	20
Semi-skilled laborers	20	12	6	17	11	11
Farmers	4	17	10	19	10	12
Housewives	2	3	1	-	6	4
Unemployed	2	1	1	4	1	3
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	16	17	7	19	15	18
No answer	4	3	1	3	5	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Religion:						
Catholics	40%	68%	23%	56%	36%	33%
Protestants	52	29	70	35	58	65
Others	8	3	7	9	6	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Origin:						
Natives	83%	88%	87%	61%	79%	78%
Expellees, Refugees	17	12	12	38	21	22
No answer	-	*	1	1	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member	52%	21%	10%	22%	33%	25%
No	48	79	90	78	67	75
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(No. of cases)	(301)	(298)	(73)	(94)	(174)	(255)

REASONS ADVANCED FOR PREFERRING THE CDU ...

The CDU's espousal of Christian principles is the single most frequent reason advanced by CDU supporters in explanation of their political allegiance. Among other appeals cited are the evidence of its effectiveness up to now, its moderate orientation, and its championing of what the respondent considers to be his particular interests.

"Supposing new elections for the Bundestag were held now in West Germany, for which party would you cast your vote?"

IF "CDU":

"Why would you cast your vote for the CDU? (Why do you like this party?)"

	WEST GERMANY
Because of its Christian principles:	9%
Because of its Christian attitude; because, in my opinion the CDU recognizes the Christian principles which must not be ignored today; the CSU is a Christian party that stands up for order and morals, it demands a Christian education for the younger generation; because it acts according to Christian principles, especially in school matters; etc.	
Because of its successes up to now:	4
It has achieved a lot since the end of the war when we were so down; it has done pretty well after the war: the Federal Law for the maintenance of war victims, general economic recovery, it has considerably improved Germany's reputation in foreign countries compared to 1945; as to the economy, everything turned out all right up to now; it takes care that the economy takes an upward turn; etc.	
Because of its moderate attitude:	3
Because of its moderate attitude; because it is a moderate party; because it is a middle of the road party; the CDU is a tolerant party, it tries to get things settled by negotiations and conferences. The CDU is the party which respects, more than any of the others, the human being as an individual and rights levelling; it doesn't apply dictatorial tactics, one feels as a free human being, in other respects, too, it is more agreeable than other parties; it is a humane party that tries to help everybody; etc.	
Because it looks after my interests:	3
Because it can do more than any other party to improve my economic situation. I'm an employer and the representatives of the CDU belong to my social class; that is due to my education, intelligence is held in great esteem with the CDU; as a farmer's wife I have to vote for the CDU, everybody over here does it; it is the only party in which country people are represented, it is the most competent party regarding agricultural questions; etc.	

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

Because of Adenauer's personality: 2%
Because Adenauer's attitude towards foreign countries is very diplomatic; Adenauer is an experienced man, and he contemplates his decisions very carefully. Though he is an old man, he doesn't do anything rashly; etc.

Rejection of other parties: 1
As to me, there are only two parties that are acceptable: CDU or SPD. I won't cast my vote for the SPD any more because it intrigues too much. It is envious because it isn't in office. The CDU follows Christian principles although somewhat too closely, but the SPD opposes religion entirely; the SPD offers too much opposition, I would further the CDU because I am satisfied with it; it is the reverse of the KPD which only wants to suppress people; because I fear that otherwise Communism will take root here; etc.

No specified explanations (others): 4
I just voted what I was told to, after all it's the biggest party, therefore, something must be good about it; everybody over here votes for the CDU, it represents the government, we were told to do so; because it is the party my husband casts his vote for, too; the CDU is the party I like most inspite of its shortcomings; etc.

No opinion/No answer: 1
27%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS ADVANCED FOR PREFERRING THE SPD ...

Preference for the SPD appears to most frequently derive from its advocacy of the cause of the man in the street, the worker in particular. It is significant to note that the SPD's opposition to the contractual agreement and German defense participation does not, from the answers to the present question, appear to figure prominently in West German motivations for SPD support.

"Supposing new election for the Bundestag were held now in West Germany, for which party would you cast your vote?"

IF "SPD":

"Why would you cast your vote for the SPD? (Why do you like this party?)"

WEST GERMANY

Because the SPD advocates the cause of the workers, employees, refugees, etc., i.e., of the man in the street: 15%

Because they look after the interests of my class; the SPD is a party for the working classes; being a worker I wouldn't even consider any other party; I think that the SPD would best attend to the interests of the refugees; because this party looks best after my interests as I'm a worker; because the middle class is represented by the SPD while the business people are represented by the CDU; because the man in the street would be better off under an SPD-government, prices would be adjusted to wages and salaries - and vice versa - and it would not be the case that everybody can demand any price he likes for his goods as it is right now; I simply have the most confidence in the SPD - it has a lot of followers, lives up to true socialism and advocates the cause of the man in the street; etc.

Because of the SPD program and its social achievements: 3

Because I like their whole party program; because they follow the Marxist program, while the Communists abandoned this party line. Whether, however, the SPD people really carry out their program remains to be seen; because I consider their social principles to be right; for social reasons, mind you, and not for socialist reasons! I am old, was a soldier and always think of my fellow-men while most parties don't do that; the SPD is an old established party which was founded long before the time of the Third Reich and which has created all these social institutions for the workers; I used to vote for the CDU because we Catholics considered the CDU to be our party, but social problems prevail now; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Because of tradition: 3%

Because we have always voted for the SPD - why I prefer this party I wouldn't know; our father always voted for the SPD, we were told to do the same later and so I still vote for the SPD; because we have always voted for the SPD; etc.

Because of the SPD opposition to the Contractual Agreement and remilitarization: 2

Because they are in opposition against the government, against the contractual agreement and against remilitarization; I would vote for the SPD also because they are against our having an army again; they fight against the raising of a German army; they agitate against another war; etc.

Because of the way it works: 2

Because it is the one party that tries to carry out its program with the greatest sincerity and honesty; because I want to think in a democratic way, the other parties only pursue the policy of a Christian dictatorship; they don't put up with everything; because they look after things of common interest, they do not have the advantage of the party in mind only, but also the welfare of all people; etc.

Because the SPD looks after German interests: 1

Because they advocate the German standpoint and look after the German interests most vigorously; because they don't obey the instructions from abroad like the others do, otherwise we would become more and more dependent; the SPD will show a firmer attitude towards the Americans and will do more to safeguard our interests; because they fight Military Government; etc.

Others: 2

Because the SPD is one of the largest parties, the others are too weak, I think; because it was this party that introduced woman's suffrage; etc.

No opinion/No answer: *

28%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

REASONS ADVANCED FOR PREFERRING THE FDP ...

FDP political preferences are based upon the considerations tabulated below:

"Supposing new elections for the Bundestag were held now in est Germany, for which party would you cast your vote?"

IF "FDP":

"Why would you cast your vote for the FDP? (Why do you like this party?)"

	WEST GERMANY
Because it looks after my interests: It looks after the farmers' interest better than other parties do; I'm a businessman, and the FDP attends to my interests best; it is the most appropriate party for those who exercise an independent profession; in my opinion, it is the only party which represents the middle classes; because many of its representatives stand up for the rights of those who fall under the scope of Law No. 131; it represents humane ideas; it stood up for the disabled; etc.	2%
Because of its program: Because I think that its program is very good; because its program is realistic; because within the FDP there are neither extremely pro-clerical nor exaggeratedly socialist trends. It is the party of the middle classes; because it is the most liberal party, it is concerned about economic problems, not only about Christian and social questions; it guarantees opportunities to all according to their abilities; because it is the only party that can be called democratic; because it is a middle of the road party and is nationalistic; etc.	2
Because of its representatives: Its leaders have put steam on the reconstruction work in Germany; I think it has very agreeable representatives; etc.	1
Because of its attitude: Because this party seems to me the most realistic of all parties; there is no corruption in this party; it acts soberly for the interests of Germany; etc.	1
Others: In my opinion, it is necessary that governmental parties change; etc.	*
No opinion/No answer:	*
	6%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

03971

REASONS ADVANED FOR LIKING NONE OF PRESENT PARTIES ...

Alleged preoccupation with selfish advantages and alleged broken promises, vie with confessions of disinterest in the reasons of those who state that they don't like any of the West German political parties.

"Would you please tell me which party you like best?"

IF "No party":

"Why don't you like any of these parties?"

WEST GERMANY

No interest in politics: 4%

Because I don't care for politics; I don't occupy myself with politics; I'm absolutely not political-minded, I don't go to the polls, don't read a paper and want to be left in peace, there are enough other things I'm concerned about; since I lost my job, I don't care about politics; that is difficult to say, I didn't think much about it; we were bombed out twice, were evacuated, we never go out, I don't think much about such things; I neither read the papers nor do I listen to the wireless, except the sports reports, because I am not interested in party programs; I'm not interested in politics, that is not in my line, there are more vital things, making money, for instance; because I am not interested in parties any longer, as public servant one better keeps out of politics, otherwise the same may happen to me as happened to the nazis; etc.

They only think of their own profit and ignore the people's interests: 3

They all are very selfish and don't care about other people; no party has a clear-cut program, they only strive for power, and they forget the people. Why are some people, like shopkeepers and butchers so weel off while others are starving?; each party is anxious to get at the feed trough, and not the "best for Germany" is their motto, they are concerned only about their own interests; because there is no party which supports the refugees; no party looks after us refugees; because no party helped me up to now; they have nothing but their own interests in mind, I mean the big shots; they feather their nests, look for a nice job and afterwards they beat it; because no party handles things in such a way as to improve conditions for us; because all parties are one-sided, they know nothing but their party aims; etc.

They do not keep their promises: 2

Because they make promises prior to the elections which they don't keep afterwards; because they only make promises, no party grants genuine support; whatever will happen I don't care, I don't vote any more ever since my three sons were killed in action, each party makes lots of promises prior to the elections, this was the practice prior to the Hitler regime, during the Hitler period and it's the same today; because they don't keep the promises they make before the elections take place; they promise everything but nobody keeps his word, that are just idle words; the parties talk too much; every party promises a lot but in the end it turns out that they act differently; no party can keep its promises; each party tells lies; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) [redacted]ANY

General discontent: 2%

Because no party comes up to my standards; because no party gets some reasonable results; because I spent enough money for a party, but only disappointment ensued from it; because the CDU and SED in the East zone disappointed us refugees. After the flight we were left homeless for five weeks and no party helped us; etc.

No party attends to the workers' interests: 1

No party favored the workers, they first care for the officials; in none of them I find my ideals realized. I want an exclusively working-class party that attends to the workers' interests only; there is no party that really looks after the workers. Appropriate wages and salaries don't exist, the prices for consumer goods should be reduced; in my opinion no party exists that looks after the workers, at least, none of them has proven it. As soon as they are in office, they have forgotten everything; etc.

Disputes between individual parties: 1

One party grumbles about the other, each wants to work more efficiently than the other but they can't surpass their limits; there is no point in the continual quarelling between the parties; etc.

Others: 2

Each party program contains some good ideas, one should be able to take away something from each party and join it together to one party; I favor a three-party system: the Left, the Middle, the Right: SPD,CDU,FDP; the attitude of the big parties towards foreign countries is too intolerant, no matter whether the CDU or SPD is concerned; because no party favors peace; because there is no party that is inspired by idealism; no party suits me because there isn't any that stands up for those who are disabled from birth; etc.

No opinion/No answer: * 15%.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

SECOND CHOICE PARTY PREFERENCES ...

To obtain a fuller picture of strength of support for the various political parties in West Germany, respondents were asked for second choice indications in addition to their first choice preferences. In such a test the coalition bloc - the CDU, FDP and DP - emerges with more secondary strength than does the SPD.

"And if - for some reason or other - you could not cast your vote for this party, for which other party would you then cast your vote?" (Asked of all respondents who gave a first choice party preference.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
CDU/CSU	10%	9%	11%	10%
SPD	7	7	9	4
FDP	5	6	5	6
BP	2	-	6	-
BHE	2	2	2	-
DP	1	2	*	1
KPD	2	1	1	4
SRP	1	1	1	-
WAV	*	-	*	-
NDP	*	*	-	-
Others	4	5	1	2
No party	13	12	12	22
Don't know/No answer	17	19	16	9
	64%	64%	64%	58%

LEAST LIKED PARTY ...

On the score of least liked party, exclusive of the Communist KPD, coalition designations appear to slightly outweigh the SPD, with the CDU and the SPD, however, a standoff at 10 per cent each.

"And which party do you like least?" (Asked of all respondents who indicated any familiarity with West German political parties, and reasking all KPD mentions: "What party except KPD do you like least?")

SRP	11%	15%	7%	5%
SPD	10	12	7	9
CDU/CSU	10	8	10	13
FDP	3	3	2	5
BP	3	*	4	3
BHE	1	1	1	1
DP	1	1	1	1
WAV	1	*	3	2
NDP	*	*	*	-
Others	2	2	2	1
Don't like any of them	6	5	7	10
Like them all equally well	3	1	3	9
Know too little about them to be able to decide that	37	41	38	29
No answer	1	1	1	1
	89%	90%	86%	89%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

CRITICISMS OFFERED OF THE CDU ...

All respondents who indicated any familiarity with the West German political parties were questioned as to what criticisms they had to make of the two major political groups. Results for the CDU, tabulated below, reveal that allegedly too great influence by the church, and too great partiality toward to wealthy lead in frequency of mention among the variety of criticisms offered.

> "We would like to know what you dislike about the two leading parties. What do you dislike about the CDU/CSU? Are there any other things which you dislike about the CDU/CSU?" (Asked of all respondents who priorly indicated any familiarity with West German political parties.)

	WEST GERMANY
Too greatly influenced by church:	14%
They are under the influence of Rome; they are too clerical for my taste; they are too religious and this doesn't belong to politics; they are too pronouncedly Catholic, they get their orders from the pope in Rome; free opinion is suppressed, only what's got the blessing of the pastor is considered good; because I'm afraid the "blacks" (Catholics) will get the upper hand, the Catholic church would get to powerful, and then we would have as bad a time of it as have the Spaniards and the Italians; because the church meddles in too many affairs, in politics that is not a good thing; the policy of the CDU, it should not be announced from the pulpit. I mean, clergymen should not talk about politics, politics doesn't belong in the church; etc.	
Too partial to the wealthy:	12
They represent the propertied class, they see to it that the rich will stay at the top; the CDU represents capitalist interests, it wants to push the man in the street to the wall; it's the party of the rich, they show little concern for us workers; they don't care much about the man in the street; their efforts to improve the lot of the working classes are not visible enough, they are too strongly linked to the moneyed class; little is done for the common people, especially for the unemployed; It's always the rich who vote for the CDU, this party doesn't attend at all to the interests of the workers, every employee and official, however unimportant he may be, gets a pension - the workers, however, get nothing; because it represents the capitalist group, it doesn't look after the working class; because in my opinion, money is the main concern of this party; they do not care sufficiently for the man in the street; etc.	
Their stand on rearmament (Contractual Agreement):	6
That they want to raise an army once more; because they want to force the rearmament issue; even the CDU takes care of its own interests only, they are in favor of a new army, and this must not come true, all my three boys were killed in the war; that the CDU advocates the defense contribution plan; that Adenauer went ahead and signed treaties without consulting the parliament, he should at least have discussed matters ith the leaders of the political parties; because it's so military-minded; these people are puppets only, on the one hand they clamour for peace, on the other hand we have to pay taxes in order to be able to raise an army; there is a danger that compulsory military service will be re-introduced, we are fed up with war, we don't want to lose our men once more; etc.	

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Their vague political aims - secretiveness, dishonesty, idle promises: 6%

The program of the government is rather inscrutable, you don't know what they actually mean by it, there are a lot of mysterious goings-on; the aims are different from what you gather from its name; they are more liberal, I mean; this party's political aims are not clearly defined; it's program is rather phony, generally speaking; there's quite a difference between their words and their actions; no definite trend regarding their political aspirations; it's sort of a motley outfit, no definite trend to speak of; I'm not quite sure as to their political tendencies; it lacks stamina going about things; because they made a lot of promises and didn't keep any of them; the way I see it, they promise everything and keep nothing; etc.

Their tax, price and wage policy: 3

They don't take any measures against profiteering, they want to get as high tax returns as possible, therefore they want to cut wages; the taxes we have to pay are excessive; I think the CSU is to blame for the steadily rising prices; a large administration, increased taxes; the price issue, prices are too high; etc.

Insufficient care for certain groups: refugees, bombed-out, pensioners, etc.: 3

The CDU should do more for refugees, expellees and bombed-out people; they don't do anything for us refugees, what about the equalisation of burdens law? They kept making promises to us and didn't live up to them; I told you repeatedly, nothing is being done for us refugees, we don't get any help from the CDU either; I make a point of it that I don't like the CDU, because it doesn't help in any way the disabled of the category to which I belong; because I don't get a sufficient pension; etc.

Too yielding with the Allies: 2

They are just the tools of the Americans, that's all I have to say in this matter; they pay too much attention to the requests of the Americans; in short, they give their blessings to just everything; somehow they are too yielding regarding the Allies; etc.

Too dictatorial: 1

That sometimes Adenauer is too dictatorial; because all they want to introduce is totalitarian practices; etc.

Others: 7

Regarding the Saar issue, they should have taken a more definite stand; that it keeps quarrelling with the BP, if the two parties would come to an understanding, they could get much more done; in spite of the fact that the CDU represents a majority, they aren't active enough regarding a unification of Germany; generally, that under the present elective system parties like the CDU and SPD get very powerful; that the peasant class gets such preferential treatment, that this party cares little about a competitive economy; it doesn't do much about the "war criminals" who were sentenced; they make too little propaganda regarding the opposition party; there still are too many former national socialists who work for the CDU, these people should disappear from the political scene; etc.

No criticisms - the party does all it can: 9

I have no criticism to offer; this party is o.k.; there is nothing that displeases me about this party, it's broadminded, everybody is granted a great measure of freedom, in this party it's mainly the personality that counts; they try hard, no doubt; I can't complain; I have no criticisms to offer regarding the CDU; I like it fine right as it is; etc.

No opinion/No answer: 26

89%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CRITICISMS OFFERED OF THE SPD ...

When criticisms of the SPD are solicited, the single most frequent allegation is that they are too radical and obstructionistic. A variety of other criticisms are advanced by smaller proportions.

> "And how about the SPD: what do you dislike about the SPD? Are there any other things which you dislike about the SPD?" (Asked of all respondents who priorly indicated any familiarity with West German political parties).

WEST GERMANY

Too radical and obstructionistic: 13%

They criticize their opponents too severely; that they have sort of a one-track mind in some cases, if they were a little more yielding, they'd get even better results; this party is too radical for my taste, while I consider their ideas to be sensible I think they advocate them in too rigorous a manner; they often go too far opposing an issue; the SPD is on principle against everything, the SPD above all Dr. Schumacher do not offer constructive ideas as an opposition party, they say "no" on principle, thus we'll never get anywhere; they go too far in their opposition against the government; its opposition became too radical recently, if the Americans walk out on us, we are done for. Out of sheer stupidity the SPD acts in a way that is disadvantageous to our people; the SPD always criticizes without being able to present something more positive or it demands things of such a scope they can never be realized; etc.

Strong leftist leanings: 6

They tend too much to the left; it comes quite close to the KPD, the fundamental idea is nearly identical to that of the KPD; the SPD has too much dealings with the Communists; it's just "improved" Communism, it's too radical for our taste; it's in no way better than the Communist party, it's just another name for it; I don't sympathize with the SPD because it advocates class-warfare and its ideas come close to those of Communism; the SPD has the same aims as the KPD, it is too close to the KPD for my liking; etc.

Hostile attitude towards management, middle and peasant classes: 4

As far as I know the SPD is against the peasants, therefore I don't like it; the party fights management, it does not support agriculture as far as land-owners are concerned, but rather sabotages it; because it cares little about agricultural matters; the party is against us peasants; it favors the workers too pointedly, it doesn't care for us; I dislike the whole policy of the trade unions, e.g. right of co-determination, never ending wage demands, etc; it goes too far advocating the right of co-determination; etc.

Slackness, instability and incompetence: 4

They should tackle things much more rigorously; they should be somewhat more radical; they have good will no doubt, you get the impression, however, that the results are negative and will remain so; too instable, they don't stick closely to their program, they make concessions to other parties instead of showing a firm attitude; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

Anti-clerical attitude: 3%

According to my creed they are not religious; they strongly favor a separation between church and state, they try to eliminate church influence and that's what I don't like; that they are anti-clerical; the SPD is against the churches and I dislike this particular trend within the SPD; as I told you already that they are against religion; that they show a somewhat negative attitude towards the Catholic church; because it doesn't favor Christian principles; etc.

Egotism and little concern for the working classes and the people generally: 3

That this party too, looks after its own interests only; the SPD calls itself the worker's party, but it doesn't do much to further the workers either; if they'd do more for the workers I might like this political party; they call themselves a social party - it's, however, only the party big-wigs they are thinking of, instead of using funds for luxurious party buildings they should use them for housing programs; it's the same as with the CDU, just think of Hamburg where the SPD is in control, the refugees are bad off there, too; etc.

SPD proved a failure in the years prior to 1933: 2

What bothers me is that in 1933 they helped the "Fuehrer" seize the reins of government after the collapse they were the first to take over lucrative offices; if the SPD came into power they would repeat the mistakes they made in the years prior to 1933, in those days we could plainly see that this party is incompetent; after the first world war when the SPD was in office, they should have managed things in such a way as to forestall the events of 1933; in 1933 they showed great weakness, now they talk big; they failed once already before Adolf Hitler came into power; because it is the fault of the SPD that national socialism could grow strong; etc.

Idle promises: 2

That they, like all other parties, hold out great hopes to the people before elections which they live up to only partly afterwards; I didn't look the program of the party over carefully, one thing, however, is undoubtedly true that they all promise a lot and carry out little, the SPD, too; they made promises, too, if they realize them remains to be seen; the SPD doesn't live up to its promises; what they say is quite different from what they actually do; etc.

Rejection of SPD without giving reasons: 3

Regarding the SPD there are some things I don't like, too; I never was all out for the SPD; I don't like the SPD; etc.

Negative attitude towards Germany Treaty and defense contribution: 1

They don't get along too well with the Allies, because they don't want to accept the Germany Treaty; the SPD rejects the rearmament; at present that they oppose Germany's integration into the Western system, as things are right now we've got no choice; etc.

Others: 8

In the past few years they took quite a turn to the right; they may prove an impediment to industry, this would result in unemployment; I don't like their international tendencies; you get the impression that they are somewhat behind the times; there are too many old people among them who keep quarrelling in the Bundestag; because they are the worst war-mongers of them all; etc.

No criticism: 11

I have no criticism to offer; I like every detail about them; there is nothing; I like the SPD; I think everything is all right; I like that party quite well, I can't think of anything that displeases me; etc.

No opinion/No answer: 26

86%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHICH PARTY WOULD LEAD IN A BUNDESTAG ELECTION TODAY? ...

Study of the pattern of West German support for the various political parties was rounded out by an inquiry into respondents' opinions as to which party would receive the most votes should a Bundestag election be held at this time. The almost even split in opinion on the two major contenders suggest that at the present time in West Germany there is no important bandwagon trend operating to influence political preferences.

"Supposing new elections for the Bundestag were held now: which party would - in your opinion - receive the most votes in all of West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
CDU/CSU	37%	41%	30%	41%
SPD	33	28	42	27
Others	2	2	1	4
No opinion	28	29	27	28
	100%	100%	100%	100%

A flash survey check on this situation after the death of Schumacher revealed no important deviation from the above figures.

"Supposing new elections for the Bundestag were held now: which party would, in your opinion, receive the most votes in all of West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY August 26-31 (398)
CDU/CSU	41%
SPD	35
Others	1
No opinion	23
	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

Among the more interesting indications in the population group comparisons on the present issue (see page following) is that somewhat more SPD adherents believe the CDU would currently carry any Bundestag elections, than CDU adherents holding the contrary. It is notable, too, however, that the CDU's major coalition partner, the FDP, are far from uniformly of the opinion that the CDU would outmatch the SPD.

"Supposing new elections for the Bundestag were held now: which party would - in your opinion - receive the most votes in all of West Germany?"

	CDU/CSU	SPD	Others	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	37%	42%	2%	19%...100%	571
Women	37	24	2	37	624
Education:					
Elementary school	37	33	1	29	965
Beyond elementary	38	32	4	26	230
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	34	22	2	42	223
150 - 299 DM	37	37	2	24	441
300 - 399 DM	35	39	1	25	271
400 DM and more	41	15	1	43	80
Age:					
Up to 24 years	40	31	-	29	150
25 - 34 years	39	37	3	21	271
35 - 44 years	36	35	2	27	237
45 - 54 years	40	35	1	24	250
55 years and over	33	27	2	38	276
Party Preference:					
SPD	26	61	1	12	301
CDU/CSU	70	17	1	12	298
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	39	45	5	11	73
Other parties	39	37	4	20	94
No party	28	31	2	39	174
Don't know	17	14	2	67	255
Occupation:					
Professionals	26	40	2	32	60
Businessmen	47	33	1	19	135
White-collar workers	41	35	3	21	144
Skilled laborers	36	37	2	25	258
Semi-skilled laborers	31	42	1	26	166
Farmers	38	23	2	37	132
Housewives	36	22	3	39	36
Unemployed	39	39	-	22	23
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	37	26	1	36	193
Religion:					
Catholics	49	28	2	21	536
Protestants	28	35	2	35	598
Origin:					
Natives	40	33	1	26	971
Expellees, Refugees	28	33	3	36	221
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	34	42	1	23	365
No	38	29	2	31	830

03980

III. AN SPD GOVERNMENT AND PRESENT WEST GERMAN MILITARY COMMITMENTS

PREPONDERANT JUDGMENT SPD AGAINST DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ...

Most West Germans with opinions in the matter are of the impression that the SPD is opposed to West Germany's military participation in the West European defense army.

"As you probably know, the West German Federal Government is making preparations for West Germany's military participation in the West European defense army."

"Do you have the impression that the SPD is for or against such participation?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
For it	14%	14%	13%	18%
Against it	48	46	51	48
Q.A.	5	6	4	2
No opinion/No answer	33	34	32	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%

FEW WOULD COUNSEL AN SPD GOVERNMENT TO BREAK PRESENT DEFENSE COMMITMENTS ...

But among respondents who are not themselves in favor of defense participation apparently only a minority would counsel the SPD, should it come into office, to break any contract that might exist about German participation in European defense. The largest proportion express indecision in such a situation.

"Supposing the SPD would come into office, should it stick to the contract about our participation in the West European defense community or should it break the contract?"

Earlier expressed approval of defense participation so not queried on present point	45%	51%	37%	40%
Disapprove or undecided about defense participation and now answer:				
Stick to contract	10	10	12	11
Break contract	18	14	21	29
No opinion	27	25	30	20
	100%	100%	100%	100%

ONLY MINORITY WOULD EXPECT AN SPD GOVERNMENT TO TRY ABROGATION ...

Whatever might be their preferences in the matter, more West Germans than expect otherwise believe that an SPD government would, in fact, adhere to any defense contract that had been made. No opinion, however, is large.

"And do you think that an SPD government would stick to this contract or do you think that an SPD government would break the contract?"

Stick to it	33%	31%	35%	35%
Break it	20	20	20	22
No opinion/No answer	47	49	45	43
	100%	100%	100%	100%

[illegible] DIFFERENCES ...

Among the indications from population group comparisons (see Appendix III) is that the sum of those approving the German defense participation plus those who though opposed or undecided counsel abiding by any contract, distinctly outweighs contract-breaking sentiment among all population groups.

03981

APPENDIX I

Some Flash Survey Checks Following Schumacher's Death

These findings tabulated below add up to the suggestion that the fact of Schumacher's death is not likely to have materially affected the political indications presented in this report.

"Could you perhaps tell me whether a well-known German politician died recently? (Who?)"

	WEST GERMANY August 26-31 (398)
Yes, right	84%
Yes, someone else	3
No, don't know	13
	100%

IF "Yes, someone else" or "No, don't know":
(Information): "The SPD politician Dr. Kurt Schumacher died a few days ago."

"In your opinion, will the policy of the SPD after the death of Schumacher change or will it remain more or less the same? (Do you believe that this change will be more to the advantage or to the disadvantage of West Germany?)"

Change more to advantage	8%
Change more to disadvantage	3
Change, don't know whether to advantage or disadvantage	4
Remain the same	62
No opinion	23
	100%

"Do you believe the SPD will after the death of Schumacher in the future gain or lose influence? (Will lose much or not so much influence?)"

Gain	15%
Lose much	4
Lose not so much	15
Neither/nor	36
No opinion	30
	100%

"And how about you personally, has the fact that Schumacher is no longer the leader of the SPD brought about a change in your attitude towards the SPD? (Favorable or unfavorable for the SPD?)"

Changed favorably for SPD	1%
Changed unfavorably for SPD	2
Unchanged	85
No opinion	12
	100%

03982

APPENDIX II

Population Group Comparisons on Satisfaction - Dissatisfaction With Present Conditions and Adenauer Government

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the development of your economic circumstances during the past year? (IF "Satisfied": Very satisfied or fairly satisfied? - IF "Dissatisfied": Very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"

	Very satisfied to fairly satisfied		Dissatisfied to very dissatisfied		No opinion		No. of cases	
	~~Dec~~ Oct 51	Aug 52	~~Dec~~ Oct 51	Aug 52	~~Dec~~ Oct 51	Aug 52	~~Dec~~ Oct 51	Aug 52
Sex:								
Men	45%	56%	55%	43%	-%	1%	571	587
Women	50	62	48	36	2	2	606	624
Education:								
Elementary school	46	58	53	40	1	2	960	965
Beyond elementary	55	61	44	38	1	1	230	230
Income (per month):								
0 - 149 DM	43	53	56	46	1	1	451	223
150 - 299 DM	44	58	54	41	2	1	340	441
300 - 399 DM	49	61	51	37	-	2	204	271
400 DM and more	62	69	36	31	2	-	196	180
Age:								
Up to 24 years	61	66	38	32	1	2	158	150
25 - 34 years	47	58	52	41	1	1	235	271
35 - 44 years	47	59	50	40	3	1	261	237
45 - 54 years	42	54	58	46	*	-	247	250
55 years and over	46	60	53	37	1	3	289	276
Occupation:								
Professionals	54	72	44	28	2	-	55	60
Businessmen	57	65	41	33	2	2	126	135
White-collar workers	50	65	49	33	1	2	148	144
Skilled laborers	44	57	55	42	1	1	223	258
Semi-skilled laborers	47	61	52	38	1	1	171	166
Farmers	59	64	39	34	2	2	144	132
Housewives		64		33		3		36
Unemployed		13		87		-		23
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	43	48	56	50	1	2	209	193
Religion:								
Catholics	46	60	53	39	1	1	540	536
Protestants	50	60	49	39	1	1	599	598
Origin:								
Natives	47	59	52	40	1	1	915	971
Expellees, Refugees	51	61	48	38	1	1	278	221
Trade Union Membership:								
Yes, member		58		41		1		365
No		59		39		2		830

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up yo now? (IF "Satisfied": Very satisfied or fairly satisfied? - IF "Dissatisfied": Very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"

	Very satisfied to fairly satisfied	Dissatisfied to very dissatisfied	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	60%	30%	10%...100%	571
Women	56	18	26	624
Education:				
Elementary school	57	23	20	965
Beyond elementary	62	24	14	230
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	52	21	27	223
150 - 299 DM	58	24	18	441
300 - 399 DM	58	29	13	271
400 DM and more	65	23	12	180
Age:				
Up to 24 years	56	21	23	150
25 - 34 years	57	26	17	271
35 - 44 years	55	27	18	237
45 - 54 years	60	23	17	250
55 years and over	60	20	20	276
Occupation:				
Professionals	63	22	15	60
Businessmen	65	18	17	135
White-collar workers	65	20	15	144
Skilled laborers	54	34	12	258
Semi-skilled laborers	58	22	20	166
Farmers	58	15	27	132
Housewives	64	8	28	36
Unemployed	52	35	13	23
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	51	27	22	193
Religion:				
Catholics	64	20	16	536
Protestants	54	24	22	598
Origin:				
Natives	58	24	18	971
Expellees, Refugees	54	22	24	221
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	55	31	14	365
No	59	20	21	830

"In general, do you agree with the stand the present Adenauer government takes regarding Russia, or do you disagree?"

	Agree	Dis-agree	No opinion/ No answer	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	59%	22%	19%...100%	571
Women	43	10	47	624
Education:				
Elementary school	49	15	36	965
Beyond elementary	58	19	23	230
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	44	12	44	223
150 - 299 DM	55	13	32	441
300 - 399 DM	49	24	27	271
400 DM and more	57	16	27	180
Age:				
Up to 24 years	51	19	30	150
25 - 34 years	55	17	28	271
35 - 44 years	48	19	33	237
45 - 54 years	51	16	33	250
55 years and over	48	10	42	276
Occupation:				
Professionals	53	20	27	60
Businessmen	55	18	27	135
White-collar workers	58	17	25	144
Skilled laborers	53	16	31	258
Semi-skilled laborers	52	18	30	166
Farmers	48	10	42	132
Housewives	42	14	44	36
Unemployed	48	26	26	23
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	40	15	45	193
Religion:				
Catholics	56	15	29	536
Protestants	47	14	39	598
Origin:				
Natives	51	16	33	971
Expellees, Refugees	50	16	34	221
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	53	20	27	365
No	50	14	36	830

"In general, do you agree with the stand the present Adenauer government takes regarding America, or do you disagree?"

	Agree	Dis-agree	No opinion/ No answer	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	58%	25%	17%...100%	571
Women	45	12	43	624
Education:				
Elementary school	50	17	33	965
Beyond elementary	59	23	18	230
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	47	11	42	223
150 - 299 DM	48	19	33	441
300 - 399 DM	55	24	21	271
400 DM and more	60	19	21	180
Age:				
Up to 24 years	56	19	25	150
25 - 34 years	51	23	26	271
35 - 44 years	46	23	31	237
45 - 54 years	56	16	28	250
55 years and over	50	11	39	276
Occupation:				
Professionals	55	22	23	60
Businessmen	60	16	24	135
White-collar workers	59	22	19	144
Skilled laborers	51	22	27	258
Semi-skilled laborers	50	20	30	166
Farmers	49	16	35	132
Housewives	42	14	44	36
Unemployed	48	22	30	23
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	44	11	45	193
Religion:				
Catholics	57	18	25	536
Protestants	48	16	36	598
Origin:				
Natives	53	18	29	971
Expellees, Refugees	46	19	35	221
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	50	26	24	365
No	52	15	33	830

03986

"Do you consider new elections for the Bundestag desirable now or should one wait until the regular elections for the Bundestag are due in the fall of next year?"

	Desirable	Wait	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	22%	64%	14%...100%	571
Women	9	50	41	624
Education:				
Elementary school	15	54	31	965
Beyond elementary	18	65	17	230
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	10	47	43	223
150 - 299 DM	16	54	30	441
300 - 399 DM	22	60	18	271
400 DM and more	13	69	18	180
Age:				
Up to 24 years	15	51	34	150
25 - 34 years	18	56	26	271
35 - 44 years	16	58	26	237
45 - 54 years	17	61	22	250
55 years and over	10	54	36	276
Occupation:				
Professionals	17	60	23	60
Businessmen	15	66	19	135
White-collar workers	17	62	21	144
Skilled laborers	21	56	23	258
Semi-skilled laborers	16	54	30	166
Farmers	9	56	35	132
Housewives	6	42	52	46
Unemployed	17	57	26	23
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	12	48	40	193
Religion:				
Catholics	13	62	25	536
Protestants	15	52	33	598
Origin:				
Natives	15	57	28	971
Expellees, Refugees	15	53	32	221
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	21	57	22	365
No	12	56	32	830

APPENDIX III

Population Group Comparisons on an SPD Government Vis-a-vis German Defense Participation

"As you probably know, the West German Federal Government is making preparations for West Germany's military participation in the West European defense army."

"Do you have the impression that the SPD is for or against such participation?"

	For it	Against it	Q.A.	No opinion/ No answer	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	22%	54%	8%	16%...100%	571
Women	8	41	2	49	624
Education:					
Elementary school	13	46	4	37	965
Beyond elementary	21	54	8	17	230
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	11	33	1	55	223
150 - 299 DM	11	52	4	33	441
300 - 399 DM	20	50	7	23	271
400 DM and more	18	54	7	21	180
Age:					
Up to 24 years	12	40	7	41	150
25 - 34 years	15	52	5	28	271
35 - 44 years	12	51	5	32	237
45 - 54 years	18	51	6	25	250
55 years and over	14	42	3	41	276
Occupation:					
Professionals	22	55	5	18	60
Businessmen	20	49	4	27	135
White-collar workers	12	56	11	21	144
Skilled laborers	15	51	5	29	258
Semi-skilled laborers	14	50	5	31	166
Farmers	11	37	2	50	132
Housewives	11	36	-	53	36
Unemployed	13	61	-	26	23
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	10	41	4	45	193
Religion:					
Catholics	15	48	4	33	536
Protestants	12	48	5	35	598
Origin:					
Natives	15	48	5	32	971
Expellees, Refugees	13	43	4	40	221
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	17	57	6	20	365
No	13	44	4	39	830

[redacted]

"Supposing the SPD would come into office, should it stick to the contract about our participation in the West European defense community or should it break the contract?" (Asked of respondents opposed or undecided about German defense participation).

	Favor German defense participation	Opposed or Undecided and Counsel:			
		Stick to contract	Break contract	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	52%	11%	19%	18%...100%	571
Women	38	10	17	35	624
Education:					
Elementary school	41	10	19	30	965
Beyond elementary	60	13	13	14	230
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	40	10	15	35	223
150 - 299 DM	41	10	21	28	441
300 - 399 DM	49	9	20	22	271
400 DM and more	56	14	13	17	180
Age:					
Up to 24 years	44	12	21	23	150
25 - 34 years	48	11	18	23	271
35 - 44 years	40	9	18	33	237
45 - 54 years	46	10	21	23	250
55 years and over	10	14	30	46	276
Party Preference:					
SPD	36	15	31	18	301
CDU/CSU	58	15	10	17	298
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	54	27	11	8	73
Other parties	51	20	16	13	94
No party	37	13	24	26	174
Don't know	33	5	11	51	255
Occupation:					
Professionals	53	10	17	20	60
Businessmen	52	12	12	24	135
White-collar workers	53	15	15	17	144
Skilled laborers	42	9	21	28	258
Semi-skilled laborers	36	7	29	28	166
Farmers	43	9	18	30	132
Housewives	22	14	17	47	36
Unemployed	43	22	13	22	23
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	44	10	15	31	193
Religion:					
Catholics	46	11	19	24	536
Protestants	44	9	17	30	598
Origin:					
Natives	44	11	19	26	971
Expellees, Refugees	47	10	14	29	221
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	40	12	24	24	365
No	46	10	16	28	830

"And do you think that an SPD-government would stick to this contract, or do you think that an SPD government would break the contract?"

	Stick to it	Break it	No opinion/ No answer	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	42%	24%	34%...100%	571
Women	25	17	58	624
Education:				
Elementary school	31	20	49	965
Beyond elementary	43	21	36	230
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	27	13	60	223
150 - 299 DM	30	22	48	441
300 - 399 DM	39	22	39	271
400 DM and more	44	23	33	180
Age:				
Up to 24 years	30	21	49	150
25 - 34 years	39	21	40	271
35 - 44 years	28	25	47	237
45 - 54 years	37	21	42	250
55 years and over	30	16	54	276
Party Preference:				
SPD	40	25	35	301
CDU/CSU	32	26	42	298
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	45	29	26	73
Other parties	46	20	34	94
No party	36	16	48	174
Don't know	16	9	75	255
Occupation:				
Professionals	37	25	38	60
Businessmen	40	22	38	135
White-collar workers	44	20	36	144
Skilled laborers	33	22	45	258
Semi-skilled laborers	25	27	48	166
Farmers	27	20	53	132
Housewives	28	14	58	36
Unemployed	39	22	39	23
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	29	14	57	193
Religion:				
Catholics	34	22	44	536
Protestants	30	19	51	598
Origin:				
Natives	34	21	45	971
Expellees, Refugees	28	18	54	221
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	37	21	42	365
No	32	20	48	830

after 155

03990

[redacted]

AN EXPERIMENTAL AUDIENCE REACTION STUDY ON THE "VOICE OF AMERICA"

Special Report
Series 2
September 22, 1952

EVALUATION STAFF
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

03991

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword . . . . . Page 1

Comparison of Participants vs. Others,
Introduction . . . . . Page 5

Chapter 1: Demographic Comparison . . . . . Page 6

Chapter 2: Interest in News . . . . . Page 8

Chapter 3: Receptivity . . . . . Page 12

Chapter 4: Attitude towards the Voice of America. Page 16

Appendix : Factors Influencing Amount of
Attendance . . . . . Page 23

Evaluation of Individual Programs,
Introduction . . . . . Page 25

Chapter 5: Overall Ratings of Programs . . . . . Page 28

Chapter 6: What Found Listener's Interest? . . . . Page 31

Chapter 7: What was Thought Lacking ? . . . . . Page 32

Chapter 8: What was Regarded Superfluous? . . . . Page 34

Chapter 9: Program Variety . . . . . Page 36

Chapter 10: Audience Attrition . . . . . Page 37

Chapter 11: Evaluation of Program Segments . . . . Page 40

Chapter 12: Evaluation of Speakers . . . . . Page 43

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations. . . . . Page 51

03992
[redacted]

FOREWORD

Continuous evaluations of individual radio programs, broadcast in a series, have been found to contribute substantially to the process of improving radio fare, both in the United States and in Germany. This can be so despite the fact that the audience participating in an evaluation rarely constitutes a true cross-section of radio listeners.

Having been involved in broad general radio surveys on behalf of the "Voice of America", Reactions Analysis Staff felt the need to supplement these with more intensive studies. Therefore, it was decided to conduct a test with an evaluation of VOA programs through paper-and-pencil questionnaires.

This test was necessary for two reasons: (1) The limitations of this approach are known in general - they will be discussed in the introduction to the second part of this report - but not for radio program evaluations of the specific type employed in this instance. (2) To guess, or to know, that the group of people coming to the studio with the intention to criticize a radio program, are not representative of all radio listeners is not enough: one will want to know whether answers by only a segment of the universe can be treated in such a way as to allow generalizations. For this purpose, answers have to be weighted, a process which is made easier if one can find a pattern in the differences between the social characteristics and attitudes of those persons who came and those who did not.

This report was written with the aims, one, to present the methodological results in detailed form; and two, to illustrate how valuable studies of this kind can be to VOA program directors if they are put on a continuous basis. It must be made clear that the findings included in this report are not substantive; it would be unwise to use them in any way in programming guidance.

This experimental study was carried out in two phases - the first one running from April 6 to April 9, the second one from May 5 to May 9, 1952 - in Frankfurt/Main by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., a German survey organization working under contract with Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years full-time experience in the most modern techniques of survey research.

In both phases of this inquiry, representative samples of the Frankfurt/Main population were drawn out of the police files and those people selected were interviewed personally in their homes by trained German interviewers. After these interviews those respondents who indicated that they were radio listeners were invited by the interviewers to participate in a program evaluation on one of three specified nights. In the first phase, interviewees were promised they would receive 2 Deutsche Mark for street-car fare and two movie tickets at the place where the evaluation was to take place; in the second phase, most of them were given their 1 Deutsche Mark and the two tickets at the time they had agreed to come (while at home), since it was believed that this last procedure would induce more people to actually participate.

The evaluation session of the first phase took place in the civic center at 55 Myliusstrasse in Frankfurt/Main, the second series in a studio of the Hessische Rundfunk at Eschersheimer Landstrasse through the courtesy of the Hessische Rundfunk.

Respondents were not told that programs of the "Voice of America" were to be evaluated, but interviewers were instructed to explain that "this is something we are doing all the time for all kinds of programs". However, the questions of the first questionnaire dealt mainly with VOA and some respondents, therefore, may have guessed that the evaluation was on a program of VOA, too.

[redacted]

For these evaluations the "Aktuelle Viertelstunde aus Amerika" of the same evening was recorded by the Radio Branch, ID, and rushed to the studio. Thus respondents were offered a program they could not possibly have heard before.

Before the test began, participants were thanked for their coming and again were told what this was all about. Again it was stressed that though on this particular evening a program of VOA was to be evaluated, this was just one part of a whole research project to X-ray a variety of radio programs. In this way it was hoped to minimize any possible sponsorship effect and maximize the feeling that this experiment was in the public interest - and thus to ensure the participants' fullest cooperation.

Respondents received two sets of questionnaires each and a pencil. They were briefed on the course of the session: first, the whole quarter-hour program was to be played through without interruption during which time they just had to listen. After this, participants were to mark answers on the first questionnaire which was designed to get an overall reaction to the program just played. When they had finished the evaluation, the broadcast was repeated, this time cut into its segments and participants were supposed to judge each segment, immediately after it had been played to them, on individual questionnaires.

After several pre-tests, this procedure was considered to yield optimum results: respondents were given a chance to react spontaneously first to a whole program (as normally heard on the air), and then after having become familiar with the program and having had the opportunity to think about it after stimulation by the first questionnaire, they were able to elaborate their attitude towards the program.

Unfortunately, two evening sessions of the second phase had to be called of, the first one because the recorded program, marred by heavy static, during replaying proved to be impossible to understand; and in the second instance, because of an administrative error, the recording machine was not available. Thus the actual evaluation was cut down to four sessions on

four different VOA programs. For the analysis of the sample, however, those persons who came to the cancelled sessions were not lost, since they were all identified through their numbered invitations which they had been asked to bring to the studio.

Before going into the discussion of findings, a few words about the tables may be called for. As will be seen, five different columns are shown, containing 40, 45, 60, 63, and 168 cases only. Is this, then, not an overelaboration?

In answering this, it should be kept in mind that this study was carried out for two reasons: to test methods, and to illustrate the potentialities of this type of research. Consequently, it was expected that studies of this type might be continued, and anything that may be of value for further inquiries was to be included in this report, regardless of sample-sizes.

Still, why was it necessary to have the small sample spilt up into five groups? Would not two or three have been enough?

Let us consider each one: The subject of the first part of this report is a comparison between those persons who would come to a radio program evaluation (the "Participants") and the average; clearly, then, these two columns have to be included.

The third group consists of those radio listeners who rejected the invitation at once; to show what they are like is of some importance, since we may obtain some clues as to why they did not accept in the first place. The same is true with regard to those who accepted the invitation but did not show up.

The fifth group remains, called the "Actual Panel Listeners". Ideally, it should not be necessary to separate this group out of the "Participants"; however, because of the cancellation of two evaluation sessions in which people had to be sent home, only the reactions of those "Actual Panel Listeners" to VOA shows have been obtained and are presented in Part Two of this report. And if the reader in studying the second part wants to refer back to <u>listeners'</u> background characteristics and attitudes, he would not want to scrutinize any other group that contains not only listeners, but also persons whose reactions had not been obtained.

03996

PART I: COMPARISON OF PARTICIPANTS VS. OTHERS

INTRODUCTION

In the course of this experiment, 179 persons were interviewed, out of which 164 claimed to be radio listeners. This latter group was invited by the interviewers to attend an evaluation session in which they had an opportunity to criticize a radio program. 43 persons (26% of the invited radio listeners) immediately turned down the invitation, 63 persons (38%) accepted it but failed to show up in the studio on any of the three nights appointed, and 58 persons (36%) accepted and came.

The first part of the present report is devoted to answering the question of whether the group that reponded to the invitation and came to the studio differs from the average; and to show in what respects these groups differ or don't differ. The purpose of this analytical comparison is to see whether those persons who came to the evaluation session show the same characteristics as those who did not come and to infer from that the universality of the data obtained in the evaluations, discussed in the second part of this report.

For the purpose of this comparison of participants with the average, a number of background characteristics, attitudes and opinions of all the radio listeners in the sample had to be collected. Proceeding from the general to the specific, these data fall into the following categories:

(1) Demographic characteristics.
(2) Interest in news and commentaries
(3) Receptivity towards American ideas, methods and techniques.
(4) Reactions towards the "Voice of America".

Chapter 1: Demographic Comparison

The first comparison involves a breakdown of the sample along demographic lines, i.e. sex, age, education, etc. - This serves the purpose of showing from which social spheres members of the various groups came, and to expose differences, should any exist here.

In general, it can be stated that the similarity of the groups is more striking than occasional dissimilarities, though the latter ones must not be overlooked. Also, there may be actually some more differences than are reported here, since the range of error is so great that few differences exceed it at the .95 confidence level.

No significant difference could be established with regard to sex, income, respondents' occupation. Only in two cases the differences obtained are of such a magnitude to permit regarding them as statistically significant.

1. More of the participants come from families of a white-collar-sphere (family head was a professional, businessman, or white-collar worker) as against a worker's sphere.

2. Persons who rejected the invitation at once were rated "Lower Class" more often by interviewers than the average person.

	Non-Participants				
	Rejected invitation at once	Accepted but did not come	Participants	Total	Actual Panel Listeners
Sex:					
Men	49%	54%	50%	51%	50%
Women	51	46	50	49	50
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Education:					
Elementary school	65	76	60	68	65
Secondary school	26	19	19	20	15
Diploma	-	2	12	5	13
University	9	3	9	7	7
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	19	5	7	9	5
150 - 299 DM	39	45	45	44	42
300 - 399 DM	19	22	23	23	30
400 DM and more	23	28	20	24	23
Age:					
19 - 24 years	7	14	19	14	15
25 - 34 years	33	24	17	24	22
35 - 44 years	14	11	15	13	15
45 - 54 years	14	29	28	24	30
55 years and over	32	21	21	24	18
Not ascertained	-	1	-	1	-
Occupation of Respondents:					
Professionals	9	3	9	7	7
Businessmen	9	2	7	6	7
White-collar workers	26	17	26	23	23
Skilled laborers	2	24	14	14	15
Semi-skilled laborers	9	11	5	8	7
Dom.& Prot. Service	12	8	7	8	10
Housewives	19	22	22	22	23
Unemployed	-	2	-	1	-
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	14	10	10	11	8
Occupation of Family Head*:					
Professionals	11	5	9	8	10
Businessmen	9	9	12	10	13
White-collar workers	26	19	35	26	33
Skilled laborers	5	34	15	19	17
Semi-skilled laborers	14	8	3	8	5
Dom. & Prot. Service	7	6	9	7	13
Farmers	-	2	-	1	-
Housewives	-	6	7	5	2
Unemployed	2	-	-	1	-
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	26	11	10	15	7
Social Status:					
Upper Class	9	2	5	5	8
Middle Class	47	74	65	64	65
Lower Class	44	24	30	31	27
No. of cases:	(45)	(63)	(60)	(168)	(41)

* Includes the occupation of the respondent himself if he was the family head.

03999

The "Aktuelle Viertelstunde aus Amerika", through newscasts and commentaries, wants to spread information. But there are other sources for that, too: newspapers, and news and commentaries over German stations. If it is important to probe into reactions toward the Voice so that participants can be compared with non-participants - as will be done in chapter 4 - it is equally important to study the behavior with regard to those other information media, and interest in news generally. It would well be, for example, that non-participants read the papers more frequently, and/or spend more time listening to radio news and commentaries; this would lead one to formulate the hypothesis that since these people are getting more information from other sources, they may be more critical of the VOA's content than those who did participate. Clearly, findings in this area should give us important clues as to the characteristics of those persons who did not come.

As a matter of fact, indications of the opposite situation were found:

1. First of all, participants claim to spend more time listening to the radio as compared with the others.
2. On the reading of daily newspapers, participants show a higher-than-average proportion of readers, with differences in frequency of reading being small.
3. With regard to listening to radio news and commentaries, participants and non-participants do not differ significantly.

"Do you listen to the radio? (About how many hours per week?)"

	Non-participants						Participants		Total		Actual Panel Listeners	
	Rejected invitation at once		Accepted but did not come									
Yes, up to 7 hrs.	21%		8%				9%		12%		8%	
Yes, 8-14 hrs.	23	65%	19	60%			15	45%	19	56%	15	46%
Yes, 15-21 hrs.	21		33				21		25		23	
Yes, 22-28 hrs.	5		8				15		10		20	
Yes, 29-35 hrs.	21	31%	13	29%			19	48%	17	36%	13	47%
Yes, 36-42 hrs.	5		8				14		9		14	
Yes, 43-49 hrs.	2	4%	5	11%			2	7%	3	8%	2	7%
Yes, 50 hrs. or more	2		6				5		5		5	
	100%		100%				100%		100%		100%	

"Do you listen to the news over the radio? (How often?)"

Daily	56%	69%	70%	66%	70%
3-6 times a week	33	22	21	24	23
1-2 times a week	2	3	2	2	2
Less often	2	6	7	6	5
Never	7	-	-	2	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you sometimes listen to the commentaries over the radio? (How often?)"

Daily	35%	28%	33%	32%	38%
3-6 times a week	33	33	28	31	22
1-2 times a week	14	19	15	16	18
Less often	7	10	17	12	17
Never	11	10	7	9	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you read a daily newspaper? (How often?)"

Daily	53%	75%	69%	67%	68%
3-6 times a week	9	12	14	12	12
1-2 times a week	7	2	3	4	5
Less often	5	-	9	4	10
Never	26	11	5	13	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of cases:	(45)	(63)	(60)	(168)	(40)

[redacted]4001

"News" is a rather general term, and interest in news can mean everything or nothing. A person may be interested to learn what is going on in Germany and does not care much to know more about Russia or the United States, or World Affairs; such an attitude would give us additional useful data for describing a person or group.

For this purpose a list was presented to respondents containing these items: News on Hesse, West Germany, East Germany, Russia, the United States, and World Affairs; and they were asked to indicate for each one whether they were interested in it, or somewhat, or not at all interested in it.

Amount of interest in news on Hesse is about equal in both groups, with possible difference in degree; there is no difference with regard to news on West Germany, as one would have expected; but with regard to news on East Germany, Russia, and World Affairs, participants show an appreciably greater interest; a difference in the same direction also exists with regard to news on the United States, but one not exceeding statistical confidence limits. The indication is that participants are above average in interest in international affairs; non-participants tend to parochialism.

"In which of these news are you interested, in which are you less interested, and in which not at all?" (Points read by interviewer to respondent).

	Non-participants				
	Rejected invitation at once	Accepted but did not come	Participants	Total	Actual Panel Listeners
News on Hesse:					
Interested	61%	74%	75%	71%	73%
Less interested	30	21	15	21	17
Not at all interested	7	3	10	7	10
No opinion	2	2	-	1	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
News on West Germany:					
Interested	70	82	79	78	83
Less interested	21	16	17	18	15
Not at all interested	9	2	4	4	2
No opinion	-	-	-	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
News on East Germany:					
Interested	51	67	72	65	78
Less interested	19	17	23	19	20
Not at all interested	30	16	5	16	2
No opinion	-	-	-	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
News on Russia:					
Interested	40	41	55	46	60
Less interested	15	30	26	25	23
Not at all interested	45	27	19	29	17
No opinion	-	2	-	*	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
News on USA:					
Interested	51	57	64	58	65
Less interested	28	38	29	32	33
Not at all interested	21	5	7	10	2
No opinion	-	-	-	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
News on World Affairs:					
Interested	56	68	76	68	80
Less interested	21	18	21	19	20
Not at all interested	23	14	3	13	-
No opinion	-	-	-	-	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Chapter 3: Receptivity

It appears that indices of receptivity towards American ideas and methods should be of greatest value in the present analysis, since the "Voice of America" is based on the assumption that it can effectively influence people. But they have to be receptive to this effort to spread information - in general and on specific issues. Otherwise they won't listen. That this plays an important role has been shown in a previous report*: Of those radio listeners who said nothing could be learned from the U.S. one half never had listened to the Voice, whereas only one fifth of those who said much could be learned, never had listened to the Voice. To induce the group that does not listen, because they think there is nothing they could learn from America, to become listeners would require a change in their attitudes but would also presuppose that the VOA program is good enough to receive and keep their attention.

Therefore, we would be dealing with two distinctly different groups of radio listeners. And if it should turn out that participants should have expressed their readiness to concede that Germans could learn "much" or "something" to a greater extent than those who stayed home, their answers - both critical and laudatory ones - cannot safely regarded as representative of all radio listeners' attitudes. And as a consequence of what was said above, not having received their program rating would be an all the greater loss because they are presumably harder to satisfy.

---

* See RAS Report No. 105, Series No. 2, p. 20.

For this purpose - to show amount of receptivity towards American ideas and methods for both groups under consideration - a list of significant areas was used, which had been developed earlier for a study on exchangees. It comprised these fields: Agriculture, Labor Relations, Education, Press and Radio, Political Life. On each one, respondents have been asked to state whether Germans could learn much, something, or nothing from America.

First, let us look at the general picture. For this purpose, respondents' answers have been scored in such a way that they receive one point every time they said Germans could learn "much" or "something" in an area; this means, they could receive as few as zero and as many as eight points.

If answers are broken down by groups, it appears that participants are atypical in that they show a willingness to accept the fact that Germans could learn something, to a greater extent than average; however, this must not be taken to imply that the non-participants, and especially the rejectors, hold the view that Germans can't learn anything with regard to many fields: they simply did not have an opinion in more cases, as is shown in the breakdown for individual areas.

This comparison for individual items does not reveal much more than this. Only in three areas do participants show an attitude different from the general pattern: with regard to Social Institutions, Cultural Affairs and Labor Relations, more of them as compared with non-participants feel "nothing" could be learned from the Americans (differences are not statistically significant at the .95 confidence level). These differences are compensated by a higher "no opinion" rate on the part of non-participants.

"In your opinion, could we Germans in general, learn much from the Americans in the field of . . . . ., something, or nothing?"

Answers to this series of questions - items listed below - were scored, with respondents getting 1 point for every "much" or "something":

	Non-participants				
	Rejected invitation at once	Accepted but did not come	Participants	Total	Actual Panel Listeners
Score:					
0 to 1 point	26%	17%	14%	18%	13%
2 to 3 points	32	20	19	23	20
4 to 5 points	23	28	41	31	37
6 to 7 points	14	24	19	20	20
8 points	5	11	7	8	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Following are the tabulations for individual items:

Agriculture:					
We can learn much	23%	25%	24%	24%	23%
Something	34	42	48	42	52
Nothing	16	11	19	15	15
No opinion	28	22	9	19	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Social Institutions, like child welfare, old age provision, recreation centers, etc.:					
We can learn much	9%	8%	10%	9%	10%
Something	16	25	17	20	20
Nothing	49	49	63	54	58
No opinion	26	18	10	17	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Industry and Technics:					
We can learn much	35%	35%	39%	37%	43%
Something	33	33	40	35	40
Nothing	9	13	16	13	12
No opinion	23	19	5	15	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Culture, ie. theater, music, literature:					
We can learn much	-	5%	-	2%	-
Something	21	29	29	27	35
Nothing	60	52	66	59	58
No opinion	19	14	5	12	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Relationship between employer and employee:					
We can learn much	18%	28%	17%	22%	17%
Something	21	16	28	22	27
Nothing	21	13	26	20	28
No opinion	35	43	29	36	28
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(cont'd on next page)

044006

	Non-participants: Rejected invitation at once	Non-participants: Accepted but did not come	Participants	Total	Actual Panel Listeners
Education, schools, universities, etc.:					
We can learn much	9%	22%	14%	16%	12%
Something	28	27	41	32	45
Nothing	30	19	29	26	25
No opinion	33	32	16	26	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
In the fields of radio and newspapers:					
We can learn much	14%	30%	22%	23%	25%
Something	23	35	38	33	33
Nothing	26	6	16	15	20
No opinion	37	29	24	29	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Political Life, e.g. city admin., form of government, etc.:					
We can learn much	14	32	22	24	25
Something	30	29	38	32	48
Nothing	23	9	17	16	22
No opinion	33	30	23	28	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of cases:	(43)	(63)	(58)	(164)	(40)

[redacted]

	Non-participants				
	Rejected invitation at once	Accepted but did not come	Participants	Total	Actual Panel Listeners
Education, schools, universities, etc.:					
We can learn much	9%	22%	14%	16%	12%
Something	28	27	41	32	45
Nothing	30	19	29	26	25
No opinion	33	32	16	26	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
In the fields of radio and newspapers:					
We can learn much	14%	30%	22%	23%	25%
Something	23	35	38	33	33
Nothing	26	6	16	15	20
No opinion	37	29	24	29	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Political Life, e.g. city admin., form of government, etc.:					
We can learn much	14	32	22	24	25
Something	30	29	38	32	48
Nothing	23	9	17	16	22
No opinion	33	30	23	28	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of cases:	(43)	(63)	(58)	(164)	(40)

04007

Chapter 4: Attitude towards the "Voice of America"

To disguise the main interest in the "Voice of America" radio listeners were presented with a card that contained besides two VOA programs four diffent programs of the Hessian Radio. (Programs presenting: Popularized scientific matters; new records; symphonic concerts; variety show; VOA musical request program; VOA current reports). They then were asked to indicate familiarity with, and degree of interest in, these features. When results had been tabulated, it was discovered that through this list - incomplete at it was for that purpose - fairly useful additional data on participants vis-a-vis non-participants were available for the analytical comparison of these groups: They differed on some items but not on others*:

(1) Participants showed a higher interest in a program presenting popularized pieces of information on scientific matters; this finding suggests that participants are somewhat more curious basically.

(2) With regard to programs presenting new records (light music), a variety show, and symphonic concerts, participants do not seem to differ from their counterpart group.

(3) On the two programs of the "Voice of America" presented on the list, larger differences show up: more participants are familiar with them, more express greater interest in them. This seems to be especially true for the more important program, the "Current Reports from USA".

---

* Statistically significant with regard to participants vs. non-participants; they are somewhat below reliability level with regard to comparison participants vs. average.

"Here I am showing you a list of some programs that can be heard over the Hessian stations. Would you please indicate those programs you are familiar with?" (List of programs presented on card.)

"And which of these interest you, which interest you somewhat, and which don't interest you at all?" (Asked for those items respondent indicated familiarity with.)

	Non-participants				
	Rejected invitation at once	Accepted but did not come	Participants	Total	Actual Panel Listeners
Popular Knowledge:					
Interested	33%	29%	43%	35%	48%
Somewhat interested	7	13	12	11	10
Not at all interested	7	9	4	7	2
No opinion	6	-	-	1	-
Unfamiliar with	47	49	41	46	40
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
New Records:					
Interested	31%	49%	43%	42%	50%
Somewhat interested	21	19	26	22	17
Not at all interested	5	6	15	9	18
No opinion	5	-	-	2	-
Unfamiliar with	38	26	16	25	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Orchestras of the World:					
Interested	14%	29%	30%	25%	25%
Somewhat interested	21	27	24	24	30
Not at all interested	40	25	29	31	33
No opinion	2	-	-	1	-
Unfamiliar with	23	19	17	19	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Variety (Saturday):					
Interested	61%	78%	79%	74%	78%
Somewhat interested	16	14	16	15	15
Not at all interested	5	2	2	2	2
No opinion	4	-	-	2	-
Unfamiliar with	14	6	3	7	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Musical Request Program (VOA):					
Interested	14%	33%	40%	30%	37%
Somewhat interested	35	33	33	34	30
Not at all interested	28	21	19	22	23
No opinion	2	-	-	1	-
Unfamiliar with	21	13	8	13	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Current Report from USA (VOA):					
Interested	24%	40%	55%	41%	55%
Somewhat interested	37	36	28	33	23
Not at all interested	28	13	14	17	17
No opinion	2	-	-	1	-
Unfamiliar with	9	11	3	8	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of cases:	(43)	(63)	(58)	(164)	(40)

When presented with a list of programs - containing reports on current events, commentaries, besides the "Voice of America" - and asked which of these had heard within the last month, participants did not differ from the average on any one item significantly; they do differ, however, on the number of programs listened to:

> Participants listened to 3.4 programs.
> On the average, members of the sample listened to 3.4 programs.

Especially low (2.49) was the group which rejected the invitation immediately.

When frequency of listening to the "Voice of America" is added to the picture, a greater dissimilarity between the two groups under consideration appears: participants listen more often to the "Voice" than do the others.

With regard to attention paid to the program - as measured by the amount and type of other activities engaged in while "listening" - in both groups about one half claims to be listening only, with the other half being occupied with matters ranging from knitting to putting their children to bed.

"Which of these programs did you listen to recently - say, within the last month?" (Programs presented on card)

	Non-participants				
	Rejected invitation at once	Accepted but did not come	Participants	Total	Actual Panel Listeners
Echo of the Day	9%	10%	12%	10%	12%
Cube (Commentary)	7	8	14	10	12
Germany in RIAS	14	25	23	21	25
Pulsebeat of the Time (Berlin)	5	14	10	10	7
Alfred Boerner	54	82	81	76	85
German Service of BBC	5	16	17	13	17
Truth about America (East)	2	13	5	7	2
Herr (Commentary)	63	73	78	72	82
Voice of America	72	86	88	83	85
Peter von Zahn	2	5	9	5	7
None of them	16	2	3	7	2
	249%*	334%*	340%*	314%*	336%*

* Adds up to more than 100% since respondents indicated listening to more than one program.

"Have you ever listened to the "Voice of America"?" (Asked of those radio listeners who did not indicate having listened to VOA during preceding month.)

Yes	21%	11%	12%	14%	15%
No	7	3	-	3	-
	28%	14%	12%	17%	15%

"How often do you listen to the "Voice of America"?" (Asked of those respondents who indicated having listened to VOA during preceding month.)

6-7 times a week	9%	14%	24%	17%	20%
4-5 times a week	9	11	12	11	17
2-3 times a week	30	36	38	35	40
Once a week	12	10	7	9	3
1-3 times a month	7	2	5	4	3
Less often	5	13	2	7	2
	72%	86%	88%	83%	85%

"Do you sometimes occupy yourself with other things while you are listening to this program (the Voice of America) or do you listen only?" (Asked of all radio listeners who indicated having listened to VOA once.)

Yes, household chores	33%	24%	24%	26%	28%
Paper work	3	7	9	6	10
Reading	10	13	9	11	7
Talking	2	3	-	2	-
Play cards	-	3	-	1	-
Care of children	5	3	2	3	3
Eat	5	3	5	4	5
Do other things	5	-	-	1	-
No, listen only	45	51	53	51	50
No answer	2	3	5	3	7
	110%*	110%*	107%*	109%*	110%*
No. of cases:	(40)	(61)	(58)	(159)	(40)

* Adds up to more than 100% since some respondents cited more than one kind of occupation.

[redacted]

To the invitation to criticise VOA, all groups responded about equally: four out of ten had no criticism, one out of ten expressed like of this program beyond having no criticism, about every seventh expressed a general dislike of it, and the rest stated objections ranging from "it's biased" to "I can't get it clearly enough". Only in one case is a difference high enough to warrant mention: those who rejected the invitation to the sessions immediately expressed a general dislike of the program more frequently. It is possible that this dislike together with the (correct) assumption that the evaluations would deal with the VOA, induced them to say "no" to the invitation at once.

"If you were asked to give one criticism of the "Voice of America" - what would you then say?" (Asked of all radio listeners who indicated having listened to VOA once.)

	Non-participants				
	Rejected invitation at once	Accepted but did not come	Participants	Total	Actual Panel Listeners
It is partial	3%	5%	9%	6%	7%
Unwanted influence	3	5	2	3	-
Politics	-	2	3	2	2
Don't like the music	7	3	5	5	5
Pronounciation	-	-	3	1	2
Poor reception	7	2	3	4	3
Other criticism	7	6	9	8	10
General dislike	25	13	12	16	15
No criticism	33	48	42	42	43
I like it	5	11	14	11	13
No answer	15	5	3	7	5
	105%*	100%	105%*	103%*	105%*
No. of cases:	(40)	(61)	(58)	(151)	(40)

* Adds up to more than 100% since some respondents gave more than one criticism.

To measure the importance attached to the different programs of the "Voice of America" and to see whether, for example, participants valued the political programs more highly, and the non-participants perhaps show greater interest in features on American life, interviewees were asked whether there was any part of the "Voice" they would not like to miss. Somewhat surprisingly, no significant differences between the groups appear: One half throughout all groups state, in effect, that they like all features so well that they would not want to part with any one. This similarity in mentions of program parts they do not care for so much, is striking and suggests more uniformity of these different groups than has been obtained elsewhere in this study.

"Is there any program of the "Voice of America" or a part of one, you would not like to miss? Which?" (Asked of all radio listeners who indicated having listened to VOA once.)

	Non-participants				
	Rejected invitation at once	Accepted but did not come	Participants	Total	Actual Panel Listeners
Would not like to miss:					
Political part	5%	3%	7%	5%	8%
Reports on science	-	5	-	2	-
Questions and answers	8	5	7	6	5
Musical part	2	10	7	7	5
Americana	10	13	16	13	15
Other parts	-	2	-	1	-
No program one would not like to miss	60	58	55	57	55
No opinion	25	16	15	18	17
	110%*	112%*	107%*	109%*	105%*
No. of cases:	(40)	(61)	(58)	(159)	(40)

* Adds to more than 100% since some respondents named more than one part.

[redacted]

Finally, several questions designed to indicate the effectiveness of the "Voice", which with the exception of the last one had been used successfully in a prior study on VOA (see report No. 105, series No. 2, "The Question of Effectiveness".), were asked. As can be seen on the table presented below, again strikingly similar answers were given by members of the different groups.

"Can one find easily the information given by the "Voice of America" on other programs, in the newspapers, etc., is it not so easy to find or is this difficult?" (Asked of all radio listeners who indicated having heard the VOA once.)

	Non-participants				
	Rejected invitation at once	Accepted but did not come	Participants	Total	Actual Panel Listeners
Easy	10%	16%	14%	14%	12%
Not so easy	20	26	29	26	28
Difficult	33	36	33	34	33
No opinion/No answer	37	22	24	26	27
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Have you had any occasion to use anything you have heard on the "Voice of America" in discussions?" (Asked of all radio listeners who indicated having heard VOA once.)

Yes	10%	20%	19%	17%	17%
No	90	80	81	83	83
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Have you ever found that any of your attitudes toward, or your impression of, America have been changed by a program of the "Voice of America"?"

Yes	5%	16%	10%	11%	10%
No	93	82	83	85	83
No opinion/No answer	2	2	7	4	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"And (or) have you ever found that any of your attitudes on the political world situation (the political development in the world) have been changed by a program of the "Voice of America"?"

Yes	2%	3%	3%	3%	5%
No	98	97	97	97	95
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of cases	(40)	(61)	(58)	(159)	(40)

04014

A P P E N D I X

Factors Influencing Amount of Attendance

As was stated earlier in this report, the study was carried through in two phases; it was also said that the first series of evaluations took place in the civic center 55 Myliusstrasse, Frankfurt/Main, and the second series in a studio of Hessischer Rundfunk; a further difference between these two phases was the fact that in the first one interviewees were promised to get 2 movie tickets and 1 DM for street-car fare at the place where the sessions were to take place, whereas in the other one they got both tickets and fare immediately upon agreement to come. This latter procedure was thought to be more expensive since undoubtedly not all persons who had accepted the gift would show up; but at the same time, more were thought to feel committed to come because of this gift.

For the analysis of factors contributing to amount of attendance, it is, of course, bad to operate with two variables. But since it was not feasible to introduce these variables - and possibly other ones, too - one at a time but rather try out a combination looking most promising under existing conditions, one will have to be satisfied with ascertaining their combined effects.

All in all, 179 persons had been interviewed, 97 during the first part and 82 during the second one; out of these 90 and 74 respectively claimed to be radio listeners. These received invitations. In the first part, 27 persons came, i.e. 30%; and in the second part 31 did so, i.e. 42%.

04015

In the second part 15 persons had said they would come and consequently received their two movie tickets and fare, but did not appear; with one movie ticket costing 2 DM and the street-car fare 1 DM, 5 DM have been lost per person, therefore.

Through this loss, costs per interview have been calculated to be 16.37 DM for those in the first series, and 17.80 for those in the second one. If costs are calculated per person having come to the evaluation sessions, however, the picture is reversed: expenses per "completed case" amounted to 58.88 DM in the first, and to 47.09 DM in the second one.

These figures are based on calculations made by DIVO and are based on the assumption that the whole study - from drafting the questionnaire to finished report - had to be financed. This was not the case in the present instance, where RAS provided personnel for drafting of questionnaires, supervision of evaluation sessions, processing the raw material and analysis of data; and DIVO providing interviewers under the general contract with RAS.

[redacted]

PART II: EVALUATION OF INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS

INTRODUCTION

The second part of this report deals with the results of four evaluation sessions on four specific programs of the "Voice of America": those of April 7, 8, 9 and of May 8, 1952. A brief description of the content of these broadcasts is given within the next few pages.

Before the data are presented, a few points have to be made. As was explained in the foreword to this report, participants in these evaluation sessions were given questionnaires on which the answers to individual questions were prefixed; and panel listeners simply had to check off those answers which they thought applied. This method was the only possible one in that situation but it forced people to think in those terms that were presented on the schedule. This mental restriction makes it somewhat difficult for the average woman and man to give a reply, especially if she or he has not thought about the program at all or at least not in those terms that were printed there. This inhibitive momentum, plus the fact that time for thinking, and consultation with the leaders of the experiment was limited to a certain extent, was expected, and the consequent lowering of the quality of the results was considered.

04017

The reader will find in the tables on the following pages frequently a rather large "no opinion" category. The reason for this is that it was believed the failure to answer a question showed a reaction to it that could be interpreted (with interpretations, of course, varying from question to question), respondents were not held to answer all the questions, if they thought some of them did not apply.

The questionnaires that were used after the full replaying of the show and then after a presentation segment by segment were developed in cooperation with Radio Branch, ID.

With an average of 10 persons having attended each session it is useless to present the data other than in raw figures. Only when and where there are practically all cases involved, per cent figures are added. But even in the latter case, the reader should avoid making generalizations on the basis of these findings.

The selection of broadcasts of the VOA series was based purely on administrative considerations, i.e. availability of personnel for interviews and sessions, and of the studios. They were not purposefully selected because of any content or talent unique to them.

CONTENT OF THE VOA PROGRAMS EVALUATED, IN BRIEF:

Monday, April 7th, 1952:

(1) Kurt Lorenz talked about the strike threatening the steel industry
(2) John Albert viewed the Russian proposal for disarmament
(3) Stephan Weyl discussed the Moscow Economic Conference
(4) A speaker not named gave a post mortem on Roosevelt's dog, Fala.

Tuesday, April 8th, 1952:

(1) Henry Michaelis on the strike in the steel industry
(2) Ernst Hoffmeister on peace gestures from Moscow
(3) Egon Stadelmann interviews Dr. Adler of NBC on "The Opera in TV".

Wednesday, April 9th, 1952:

(1) Kurt Lorenz on the primaries in Illionis (bad static at the beginning)
(2) Henry Michaelis on the strike in the steel industry
(3) Georg Schuster on the Point-IV Program
(4) Friedel Zinn and David Berger interview Susanne Erickson, German Beauty Queen 1950, who visited the US representing German fashions.

Thursday, May 8th, 1952:

(1) Speaker not named (m.c.?), on Truman's press conference on the occasion of V-E-day
(2) Tom Voss reviews the last seven years and the lesson Germany got through the last war
(3) John Albert on the problem of having negotiations with Russia on German re-unification
(4) Henry Michaelis on the strike in the oil industry and on the loosening of controls against inflation in the USA.

04019

Chapter 5: Overall Ratings of Programs

As the first step in the process of evaluation of the VOA programs, panel listeners were asked to rate the whole evening show they had just heard on a scale ranging from "excellent" over "good", "mediocre", "bad" to "impossible".

On the average, the four programs received an overall rating that does not appear to be too laudatory: scarcely anybody called them "excellent", more than half "good", and a third "mediocre"; no one chose the expressedly negative choice, "bad" or "impossible".

Taking into account a possible sponsorship effect and the experience that people do not like to go on record saying that something is outright "bad" or even "impossible" (especially when they have received movie tickets for coming), above findings seem to throw an even worse light on the VOA programs under observation. In this connection it should be remembered that those people who gave these ratings - the actual panel listeners - showed a generally more favorable attitude towards VOA programs than non-participants. This suggests that overall ratings on VOA programs given by <u>all</u> radio listeners might well be more adverse than those obtained in the present instance.

In line with these considerations are findings on the relationship between program ratings and some significant attitudes, gathered in the first and personal interviews:

A better rating of individual programs was given by panel listeners who ...

... reported listening to programs of VOA more frequently

... indicated being more interested in this program series generally;

... received more points on a score of receptivity towards American ideas and methods.

Inconsistent with this pattern seem to be the answers to whether it is easy or difficult to obtain material that is presented by VOA from other sources: those who said that this is, generally, difficult, gave the individual programs a lower rating than did their counterparts. The meaning of this finding can, unfortunately, not be clarified in this study. Of course, these results are very tentative because of the few cases involved and should be regarded as providing hypotheses for further studies only.

"What was your general impression of this program?"

	First night	Second night	Third night	Fourth night	TOTAL cases	TOTAL per cent
Excellent	1%	1%	-%	-%	2%	5%
Good	4	5	5	9	23	58
Mediocre	2	3	4	4	13	33
Bad	-	-	-	-	-	-
Impossible	-	-	-	-	-	-
No answer	-	1	1	-	2	4
	7%	10%	10%	13%	40%	100%

[redacted]

	Regarded individual programs as ...			
	Excellent	Good	Mediocre	TOTAL
Listen to a program of VOA:				
6-7 times a week	2	4	1	7
4-5 times a week	-	5	1	6
2-3 times a week	-	10	6	16
Once a week	-	1	-	1
1-3 times a month	-	1	-	1
Less often	-	1	-	1
Have heard VOA but not within last month	-	1	5	6
	2	23	13	38*
Say on "Current Reports from USA" (VOA) that they are:				
Interested in it	2	16	3	21
Somewhat interested in it	-	5	3	8
Not at all interested in it	-	2	5	7
Unfamiliar with it	-	-	2	2
	2	23	13	38*
Say that getting material presented by VOA from other sources, is:				
Easy	1	3	1	5
Not so easy	1	7	4	12
Difficult	-	6	5	11
No opinion/No answer	-	7	3	10
	2	23	13	38*
Received on a scale of receptivity towards US ideas and methods:				
0 points	-	2	1	3
1-2 points	-	1	2	3
3-4 points	1	7	4	12
5-6 points	-	7	4	11
7-8 points	1	6	2	9
	2	23	13	38*

* Total does not add up to 40 cases because two persons did not give an overall rating of program.

Chapter 6: What Found Listeners' Interest?

On the average one-half of panel listeners voiced the opinion that the programs contained something that found their special interest. One may not be quite satisfied with this amount, though it is consoling to see that topics mentioned as being of special interest are mostly the important ones. It is not possible in the present instance to find a logical pattern in these answers that would have enabled us to draw conclusions as to optimal design of programs. Through continuous evaluation tests, however, this would be made possible, provided that considerations regarding sampling are not adverse.

"Was there anything in today's program you were especially interested in?"

	First night	Second night	Third night	Fourth night	TOTAL cases	TOTAL per cent
Yes	4%	5%	6%	5%	20%	50%
No	3	4	2	7	16	40
No answer	-	1	2	1	4	10
	7%	10%	10%	13%	40%	100%

Topics respondents said they were especially interested in follow for each evaluation session separately:

First night:
- "Economic conference in Moscow"
- "The Moscow Economic Conference and the strike in America"
- "The first and third parts of the program" (Strike in the steel industry and Moscow Economic Conference)
- "The reasons for the strike" (In the steel industry)

Second night:
- "The economic report" (On the strike in the steel industry)
- "The strike of the steel workers"
- "The talk by Hoffmeister; he speaks clearly" (On peace gestures from Moscow)
- "The opera in television"
- "The discussion on the opera"

Third night:
- "The strike of the steel workers"
- "Steel strike; politically interesting"
- "Strike of the American metal workers"
- "Report on the steel strike"
- "Strike movements"
- "Not answered"

Fourth night:
- "On the economic situation of America" (Strike in the oil industry and loosening of anti-inflationary controls)
- "The last part" (Strike in oil industry and loosening of anti-inflationary controls)
- "Building of homes and the new type of financing it" (In loosening of anti-inflationary controls)
- "On the Soviets" (On the problem of having negotiations with Russia on German reunification).

Chapter 7: What Was Thought Lacking?

When satisfaction with the program is measured by asking whether anything in it should have been amplified, or whether it did not touch on matters it should have, in the opinion of panel listeners - less than half of them liked them as they were; about a third found something missing; and a fourth did not answer this question, taking a position that can safely be interpreted as being not quite satisfied but not being able to point at specific failures.

With so few cases and programs involved, one can, of course not expect to find a pattern of response that would permit generalizations. However, even at a first glance at the answers it is striking that relatively many participants mentioned "Americana" as material they would have liked to be included - and even were able to name "in the radio van through America". This finding attains some weight if one remembers that this type of program content of VOA had been found to have a rather large audience in an earlier study (see RAS report No. 104, series No. 2, "Program Preferences and Evaluations of VOA Listeners", page 21).

"Was there anything missing in today's program that you would have liked to hear - or was there anything one should have brought more of?"

	First night	Second night	Third night	Fourth night	TOTAL cases	TOTAL per cent
Yes	3%	4%	3%	4%	14%	35%
No	2	5	2	7	16	40
No answer	2	1	5	2	10	25
	7%	10%	10%	13%	40%	100%

The following subjects were mentioned as missing, or should have been elaborated:

First night:
"In the radio car through America"
"It would have been interesting to hear whether the causes for the strike had been only of an economic nature or whether other reasons play a role"
"Also on American agriculture"

Second night:
"More about the country and life in general"
"In the radio car through America"
"Popular music"
"Music from movies"

Third night:
"Problems that above all concern us Germans"
"On understanding between the nations and peace"
"More light music"

Fourth night:
"Ethnological matters of John Albert"
"Cultural matters"
"Current matters"
"The opinion of the American population on Germany".

Chapter 8: What Was Regarded Superfluous?

To get a picture of the medal's other side, a question was asked that was designed to bring up program segments which did not find the listeners' liking.

It is to be noted that 40% thought that there was something in the program that could have been left out altogether. And if a "kicker" (i.e. an entertaining little feature), is in the program it is the focus of criticism, a perhaps surprising and important finding.

Of course, this result may not hold true generally, since the cross-section judging these programs is not representative. Moreover, it is possible that reactions in an unfamiliar and more formal setting, plus the fact that one has taken some efforts to attend the sessions, tend to be on a different level; if serious citizens come to evaluate a radio program, more profound matters are perhaps expected, and not e.g. an interview with a German beauty queen. But at home, recuperating from work sitting on the plush sofa, or sipping soup, or reading the paper while "listening" to VOA, reactions may be quite different, favouring what is rejected in the studio and disliking the more profound. Clearly, more research is needed here to test the different possibilities.

"Was there anything in today's program one could have left out completely?"

	First night	Second night	Third night	Fourth night	TOTAL cases	TOTAL per cent
Yes	3%	4%	6$	3%	16%	40%
No	4	4	1	9	18	45
No answer	-	2	3	1	6	15
	7%	10%	10%	13%	40%	100%

Segments of programs that could have been left out in the opinion of participants were:

First night:
"The dog" (On the death of Roosevelt's dog Fala)
"The story with the dog. It was silly, at least its form"
"The dog's death; Moscow Economic Conference"

Second night:
"Politics"
"The propaganda"
"The opera in TV"
"Dr. Adler; for experts only" (Opera in TV)

Third night:
"USA problems, e.g. strike of the steel workers and election" (Primaries in Illinois)
"The details on the steel strike required a great deal of knowledge; for laymen some things were hard to understand. The interview with Susanne Erickson could have been left out."
"That beauty and fashions fuss"
"The interview with the beauty queen" (Three times mentioned)

Fourth night:
"On the destruction of cities and houses" (Lesson of lost last war)
"On destruction of bombing" (Lesson of lost last war)
"The political talk by the gentleman with the Czech accent - John Albert" (Lesson of lost last war)
"Politics"

04027

Chapter 9: Program Variety

If it was the purpose of program directors to put on the air a program that is varied ("vielseitig"), they have not quite succeeded in the opinion of some panel listeners: about half of them said either outright that it was not varied or didn't mark one of the categories, thereby indicating a rather lukewarm impression that is certainly not positive.

"Do you regard the program you just heard as varied?"

	First night	Second night	Third night	Fourth night	TOTAL cases	TOTAL per cent
Yes	5%	5%	4%	7%	21%	53%
No	2	1	1	4	8	20
No answer	-	4	5	2	11	27
	7%	10%	10%	13%	40%	100%

The problem of whether such a 15-minutes radio broadcast should be "varied", and if so, just what would be regarded as "variety" in VOA type radio programs, is, of course, not solved by above findings; the trial-and-error approach - in this case the evaluation of different types of programs - will have to be utilized for deciding this question.

Chapter 10: Audience Attrition

During the second part of the evaluation sessions, after each segment had been played, the first question put to panel listeners was: "In this part of the program, - would you have stopped listening at some point, or switched off?"

Through this approach it was possible not just to get at the verbal reactions to these programs and their segments, but to find out the possible consequences of disliking something.

First, it is possible to ascertain which program segments were the weakest links. As can be seen in the first table, a variety of programs would have lost listeners, not only the "kickers"; again, the smallness of the study does not permit generalizations.

Second, we can find out the rate with which these programs would have lost listeners, by progressively sorting out those who have said at one segment or another that they would have stopped there. The results are presented in the second table; they seem to underscore the seriousness of the criticism leveled at these VOA programs through other questions: By the end of the first program, only 2 of the 7 participants would have still listened, and 5 would have switched off; 2 out of 10 participants would have stopped by the end of the second show; the third one would have been survived by only 3 out of 10; and during the fourth show, 5 would have been lost (3 already at the beginning!) and 8 would have stayed to the end.

In considering these results it should always be remembered that these answers had been given by that part of the sample that is generally more favourable towards the "Voice of America", which would suggest that if all persons in the sample would have evaluated these VOA shows, even fewer would have liked them all through.

"In this part of the program, - would you have stopped listening at some point, or switched off?"

	First night				Second night		
	Part I	II	III	IV	I	II	III
Yes	2	-	2	3	-	-	2
No	4	6	4	2	5	5	2
No answer	1	1	1	2	5	5	6
	7	7	7	7	10	10	10

	Third night				Fourth night			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
Yes	2	1	1	7	2	4	2	1
No	6	8	6	2	9	7	7	8
No answer	2	1	3	1	2	2	4	4
	10	10	10	10	13	13	13	13

Participants were asked to indicate at what point they would have stopped listening. Here are their answers:

First night:
I "Because of unclear speaking, partly in its last parts"
III Not answered
IV "Immediately"
"Because of the sometimes mushmouthed voice"
"When they said the dog had come into the papers"

Second night:
III "Opera in TV"
Not answered

Third night:
I "When the broadcast was announced"
"The election"
II Not answered (would have stopped listening right at the beginning of the whole broadcast)
III Not answered (as under II)
IV "Fashions"
"Not interested" (Three times)
"The questions had no transitional connection"
Not answered (once as under II)

Fourth night:
I "On 'world peace'"
"Too stilted; at the point 'to keep world peace'"
II "It's always the same"
"At the point 'the destroyed house in Germany'"
"Stilted. Slanted!"
"Uninteresting"
III "Immediately turned off when this disliked speaker appeared"
Not answered
IV "Uninteresting"

Programs would have lost listeners at this rate:

	Segment ...				
	I	II	III	IV	TOTAL
First night					
Lost	2	-	2	1	5
Stayed on	5/7	5/5	3/5	2/3	2/7
Second night					
Lost	-	-	2		2
Stayed on	10/10	10/10	8/10		8/10
Third night					
Lost	2	-	-	5	7
Stayed on	8/10	8/8	8/8	3/8	3/10
Fourth night					
Lost	3	1	1	-	5
Stayed on	10/13	9/10	8/9	8/8	8/13

To define a pattern of response to program content based on the data at hand would be presumptious, as there are too few cases. However, a brief examination of what the tables below show serves two functions: (1) suggests a pattern and (2) indicates the potential value of continuous evaluation based on an ever expanding number of cases.

The first table below contains audience responses to several program segments, which because of similarity of content have been grouped together into three categories. A few findings emerge quite distinctly: The "kickers" have not found listeners' interest for various reasons, - they are thought by the listeners to be "silly", not to contain useful information; they are, however, awarded the characteristics "entertaining". Domestic American Affairs seem to have had a better reception: they are more often called "up-to-date", and, generally, more favourable characteristics were attributed to them by the listeners: 2.15 selected per person as against 1.48 favourable characteristics for the other two program segment categories.

One can see that were there a statistically reliable number of cases - accumulated through a period of time and based upon evaluation sessions to a random selection of VOA programs - a kind of listener profile would develop. Even with the limited number of cases presented below delineation of receptivity are apparent. Were this to become a continuing program, data of the kind presented here would have a high value in locating strengths and weaknesses of the current VOA German service, with the usual proviso that sample problems can be overcome.

	Commentaries on Russian Policy@		Domestic US Economic Affairs@		"Kickers"	
	Cases	%	Cases	%	Cases	%
The content of this part was:						
Interesting	(19)	51%	(24)	60%	(8)	30%
Not so interesting	(9)	24	(7)	17	(8)	30
Dull	(1)	3	(2)	5	(6)	22
No answer	(8)	22	(7)	18	(5)	18
	(37)	100%	(40)	100%	(27)	100%
The material was:						
Well organized	(20)	54%	(23)	57%	(12)	45%
Confusing	(2)	5	(1)	3	(3)	11
No answer	(15)	41	(16)	40	(12)	44
	(37)	100%	(40)	100%	(27)	100%
I did not like in this part:						
Didn't bring anything new	(8)	22%	(5)	12%	(2)	7%
Wasn't within my interest	(6)	16	(7)	18	(8)	30
Too propagandistic	(7)	19	(2)	5	(-	-
Too pedantic	(-	-	(-	-	(-	-
Too exaggerating	(1)	3	(2)	5	(1)	4
Too silly	(-	-	(-	-	(4)	15
Too affected	(1)	3	(-	-	(2)	7
No answer	(20)	54	(26)	65	(15)	56
	(43)*	117%*	(42)*	105%*	(32)*	119%*
I liked in this part:						
Contained useful information	(9)	24%	(18)	45%	(1)	4%
Gave me a new point of view	(3)	8	(7)	18	(1)	4
Impartial and truthful	(4)	11	(9)	22	(2)	7
Up to date	(9)	24	(16)	40	(7)	26
Especially interesting for Germans	(9)	24	(9)	22	(4)	15
Interesting material on American life & thinking	(1)	3	(9)	22	(2)	7
Entertaining	(-	-	(1)	3	(6)	22
Lively	(1)	3	(1)	3	(2)	7
Convincing	(6)	16	(5)	12	(1)	4
No answer	(13)	35	(11)	28	(14)	52
	(55)*	148%*	(86)*	215%*	(40)*	148%*

* Several respondents gave more than one answer.

@ These categories comprise the following segments of VOA programs:

a) Commentaries on Russian Policy:
First night, second and third segments; second night, second segment; fourth night, third segment.

b) Domestic US Economic Affairs:
First night, first segment; second night, first segment; third night, second segment; fourth night, fourth segment.

c) "Kickers":
First night, fourth segment; second night, third segment; third night, fourth segment.

	First night				Second night			Third night				Fourth night			
	Part I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
The content of this part was:															
Interesting	4	3	3	1	8	6	5	5	6	4	2	3	4	7	6
Not so interesting	3	2	2	4	1	3	-	2	2	4	4	4	3	2	1
Dull	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	1	1	3	2	3	1	1
No answer	-	2	2	-	1	1	4	3	1	1	1	4	3	3	5
The material was:															
Well organized	5	5	3	3	6	7	6	3	6	6	3	8	5	5	6
Confusing	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	1
No answer	2	2	3	4	4	3	3	7	4	4	5	5	6	7	6
I did not like in this part:															
Didn't bring anything new	2	3	1	-	1	2	1	-	1	1	1	1	3	2	1
Not within my interest	3	1	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	-	3	3	2	2	2
Too propagandistic	-	3	2	-	1	1	-	1	1	4	-	3	1	1	-
Too pedantic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Too exaggerating	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-
Too silly	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Too affected	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-
No answer	2	2	3	1	7	7	8	8	7	6	6	7	7	8	10
I liked in this part:															
Contained useful information	2	-	2	-	4	3	1	3	5	2	-	3	1	4	7
Gave me a new point of view	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	2	1	-	1	-	2	3
Impartial and truthful	4	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	-	3	5	3	2
Up to date	5	2	2	1	2	1	3	1	4	3	3	3	1	4	5
Especially interesting for Germans	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	3	2	1	2	3	3	3
Interesting material on American life and thinking	1	1	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
Entertaining	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1
Lively	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Convincing	1	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	2	1	-	2	1	3	2
No answer	1	1	3	2	3	3	5	6	2	3	7	5	6	7	5
No. of cases:		(7)				(10)			(10)				(13)		

Chapter 12: Evaluation of Speakers

Besides an evaluation of program content an attempt was made to include one with regard to speakers, too.

The first two questions dealt with the master of ceremonies: a few did not notice that there was one; and half of the panel listeners thought it was a good idea having one in the program, with the other half taking an undecided attitude on this issue. Reasons given for liking to have an m.c. in the program indicate that he did what he was supposed to do, i.e. he focused listeners' attention to program segments, and generally made for a more close-knit program.

"Did you notice that in the program you just heard there was a master of ceremonies, i.e. a speaker who introduced the other ones?"

	First night	Second night	Third night	Fourth night	TOTAL cases	TOTAL per cent
Yes, noticed	7%	6%	5%	8%	26%	65%
No	-	3	2	3	8	20
No answer	-	1	3	2	6	15
	7%	10%	10%	13%	40%	100%

"Do you regard the idea of having a master of ceremonies in such a program in principle as good or bad?"

	First night	Second night	Third night	Fourth night	TOTAL cases	TOTAL per cent
Good	7%	3%	3%	6%	20%	50%
Bad	-	-	-	-	-	-
Undecided	-	3	3	6	12	30
No answer	-	4	4	1	8	20
	7%	10%	10%	13%	40%	100%

Participants were asked to give the reasons for regarding the idea of having a master of ceremonies as good:

First night:
"Because the listener is especially directed towards a program through that, and can better concentrate on it"
"I think it is good for the introduction"
"Because one is better informed about the program and the speakers"
"Better overall view"
"For a change in the way of speaking"
"He keeps the program together"
"I regard it as good"

Second night:
"For the general understanding"
Not answered (Two times)

Third night:
"One is prepared"
"One can concentrate on the program properly"
"It makes for a better transition"

Fourth night:
"Program becomes more lively"
"Because that makes the program more easy-flowing"
Not answered (Four times)

[redacted]

Finally, every speaker was to be judged on four characteristics:

(1) Did he have a pleasant voice?
(2) Did he speak clearly enough?
(3) Did he speak with the right tempo?
(4) Did he seem convinced of what he read?

The following summary of findings is given only for the purpose of illustrating the kind of information that would be available to program directors of VOA through continuous studies of this type. Again, the reader is warned that too few cases are involved to allow conclusions.

Lorenz:	To most of the panel listeners he had a pleasant or acceptable voice
	Clearness of speech was lacking for some
	Tempo was all right
	Spoke with conviction
Albert:	Pleasant voice
	Clear
	Right tempo
	Spoke with conviction
Weyl:	Pleasant voice
	Clear
	Tempo all right
	Conviction so-so
Michaelis:	Pleasant voice
	Clear
	Right tempo
	Conviction doubtful for some
Hoffmeister:	Pleasant voice
	Clear
	Tempo all right
	Conviction so-so

Stadelmann: Pleasant voice
Clear
Tempo all right
Spoke with conviction

Schuster: Pleasant voice
Clear
Tempo all right
Conviction all right

Zinn: Pleasantness of voice doubtful
Clear
Tempo all right
Conviction questionable

Berger: Pleasant or acceptable voice
Clear
Tempo all right
Conviction questionable

Voss: Pleasant or acceptable voice
Clear
Tempo all right
Conviction questionable

Unknown speaker:
(April 7th) Pleasantness of voice doubtful
Clear
Tempo all right
Conviction questionable

Unknown speaker:
(May 8th) Pleasant voice
Clear
Tempo all right
Conviction doubtful

"What is your impression: the speaker ...

	Kurt Lorens			John Albert			Stephan Weyl
	1/I	3/I	T	1/II	4/III	T	1/III
... has a pleasant voice	3	2	5	5	6	11	4
... has an unpleasant voice	1	1	2	-	1	1	-
... his voice did not impress me one way or the other	3	1	4	2	2	4	2
No answer	-	6	6	-	4	4	1
	7	10	17	7	13	20	7

	Henry Michaelis				Ernst Hoffmeister	Egon Stadelmann
	2/I	3/II	4/IV	T	2/II	2/III
... has a pleasant voice	7	5	6	18	5	4
... has an unpleasant voice	-	1	1	2	-	-
... his voice did not impress me one way or the other	2	1	1	4	2	2
No answer	1	3	5	9	3	4
	10	10	13	33	10	10

	Georg Schuster	Friedel Zinn	David Berger	Tom Voss
	3/III	3/IV	3/IV	4/II
... has a pleasant voice	7	-	1	6
... has an unpleasant voice	-	2	1	1
... his voice did not impress me one way or the other	1	2	2	1
No answer	2	6	6	5
	10	10	10	13

	Unknown speaker	Unknown speaker
	1/IV	4/I
... has a pleasant voice	2	8
... has an unpleasant voice	1	-
... his voice did not impress me one way or the other	1	2
No answer	3	3
	7	13

[redacted]

"What is your impression: the speaker ...

	Kurt Lorenz			John Albert			Stephan Weyl
	1/I	3/I	T	1/II	4/III	T	1/III
... spoke clearly	6	4	10	6	8	14	6
... did not speak clearly	1	3	4	-	-	-	-
I can't judge it	-	2	2	1	2	3	1
No answer	-	1	1	-	3	3	-
	7	10	17	7	13	20	7

	Henry Michaelis				Ernst Hoffmeister	Egon Stadelmann
	2/I	3/II	4/IV	T	2/II	2/III
... spoke clearly	9	7	9	25	8	6
... did not speak clearly	-	2	-	2	1	-
I can't judge it	-	-	-	-	-	1
No answer	1	1	4	6	1	3
	10	10	13	33	10	10

	Georg Schuster	Friedel Zinn	David Berger	Tom Voss
	3/III	2/IV	3/IV	4/II
... spoke clearly	7	2	3	8
... did not speak clearly	1	1	-	-
I can't judge it	1	2	3	1
No answer	1	5	4	4
	10	10	10	13

	Unknown speaker	Unknown speaker
	1/IV	4/I
... spoke clearly	6	10
... did not speak clearly	-	1
I can't judge it	1	1
No answer	-	1
	7	13

[redacted]

"What is your impression: the speaker ...

	Kurt Lorenz			John Albert			Stephan Weyl
	1/I	3/I	T	1/II	4/III	T	1/III
... spoke too fast	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
... spoke too slowly	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
... spoke in the right tempo	5	7	12	7	9	16	6
No answer	-	3	3	-	4	4	1
	7	10	17	7	13	20	7

	Henry Michaelis				Ernst Hoffmeister	Egon Stadelmann
	2/I	3/II	4/IV	T	2/II	2/III
... spoke too fast	1	-	2	3	-	-
... spoke too slowly	-	1	-	1	-	-
... spoke in the right tempo	8	8	6	22	9	5
No answer	1	1	5	7	1	5
	10	10	13	33	10	10

	Georg Schuster	Friedel Zinn	David Berger	Ton Voss
	3/III	3/IV	3/IV	4/II
... spoke too fast	1	1	1	-
... spoke too slowly	-	-	-	1
... spoke in the right tempo	8	3	4	6
No answer	1	6	5	6
	10	10	10	13

	Unknown speaker	Unknown speaker
	1/IV	4/I
... spoke too fast	-	1
... spoke too slowly	-	1
... spoke in the right tempo	5	9
No answer	2	2
	7	13

"What is your impression: the speaker ...

	Kurt Lorenz			John Albert			Stephan Weyl
	1/I*	3/I	T	1/II	4/III	T	1/III
... just read off the text indifferently	-	1	1	1	-	1	-
... seemed to be convinced of what he said	3	6	9	3	7	10	2
I didn't notice whether he spoke with or without conviction	4	1	5	1	1	2	4
No answer	-	2	2	2	5	7	1
	7	10	17	7	13	20	7

	Henry Michaelis				Ernst Hoffmeister	Egon Stadelmann
	2/I	3/II	4/IV	T	2/II	2/III
... just read off the text indifferently	1	1	2	4	-	-
... seemed to be convinced of what he said	4	3	4	11	3	5
I didn't notice whether he spoke with or without conviction	3	4	1	8	5	1
No answer	2	2	6	10	2	4
	10	10	13	33	10	10

	Georg Schuster	Friedel Zinn	David Berger	Tom Voss
	3/III	3/IV	3/IV	4/II
... just read off the text indifferently	-	1	1	1
... seemed to be convinced of what he said	7	1	1	5
I didn't notice whether he spoke with or without conviction	2	1	3	2
No answer	1	7	5	5
	10	10	10	13

	Unknown speaker	Unknown speaker
	1/IV	4/I
... just read off the text indifferently	1	2
... seemed to be convinced of what he said	1	6
I didn't notice whether he spoke with or without conviction	2	2
No answer	3	3
	7	13

* The first figure indicates the night the speaker was on the air, the second figure gives his position in that evening's broadcast; e.g. 3/I shows that he appeared on the third night's test as the first speaker. In the "T" column ratings of more than one appearance are combined.

04042

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The data contained in this report seem to indicate a certain pattern: participants are generally more interested in world events, attend more regularly to the media, and have a generally more favourable attitude towards the "Voice of America". Consequently, this group which participates in evaluation sessions cannot be regarded as representative of the total radio audience.

Thos does not mean, however, that evaluation studies of this kind are worthless. On the contrary, they can give valuable information for programming because of these reasons:

(1) Differences in the background characteristics and attitudes of participants vs. all radio listeners do not appear to be of such a magnitude that participants must be regarded as completely atypical.

(2) Criticisms expressed by participants with regard to VOA are "real"; since these persons are generally somewhat more favourable disposed toward VOA, their negative reactions probably constitute the minimum one would get if all radio listeners' reactions had been obtained.

(3) If this study were put on a continuous basis, the larger number of cases gathered eventually would permit a more intensive cross-analysis between participants' reactions to individual programs and their background data; and through such an analysis and a comparison of participants vs. non-participants, one will probably be able to infer what the latter ones would have said about the tested VOA programs.

On the basis of this pilot study it is recommended that a continuing program of VOA evaluation be initiated in Germany.

04043

WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO VISIT OF EAST ZONE DELEGATION

With An Appraisal of Current Temper On the Unity Issue

Report No. 156
Series No. 2
October 3, 1952

RESTRICTED

Classification cancelled by authority of Leo P. Crespi FUB/RAS.

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

ISIT APPROVED OR DISAPPROVED? ...

at the idea of talking to East Zone representatives strikes a responsive ord in West German feelings is abundantly evident from the almost six one preponderance of approval over disapproval. And approval is most idespread, it is interesting to note, among the opinion leading population e ents - the men, the better educated and the economically better situated. e indication is also not without implications that approval of receiving e East Zone delegation is most widespread among the younger generation of st Germans.

"Do you approve of it or not that this East Zone delegation was received by representatives of the Bundestag?" (Asked of all respondents after those unaware of visit were told the following:

"The East Zone delegation, among which was the acting minister president of the East Zone government, came to Western Germany to discuss with the West German Bundestag steps preparatory to a reunification of Germany, and was received by Dr. Ehlers, chairman of the Bundestag.")

	WEST GERMANY
Approve of it	64%
Don't approve of it	11
No opinion	25
	100%

	Approve of it	Don't approve of it	No opinion	No. of cases
ex:				
Men	70%	16%	14%...100%	190
Women	58	7	35	209
ducation:				
Elementary school	62	10	28	333
Beyond elementary	73	18	9	66
ncome (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	57	10	33	78
150 - 299 DM	63	8	29	153
300 - 399 DM	68	13	19	98
400 DM and more	67	19	14	63
ge:				
Up to 29 years	74	9	17	99
30 - 49 years	61	10	29	154
50 years and over	59	15	26	146
arty Preference:				
SPD	75	13	12	105
Coalition	69	13	18	111
Other parties	65	4	31	23
No party	63	10	27	90
Don't know	37	10	53	70

REASONS ADVANCED FOR APPROVING VISIT ...

That no possibility should be neglected, however remote, to come to an understanding was the single most frequent theme running through the comments of respondents in approval of the East Zone visit.

"Do you approve of it or not that this East Zone delegation was received by representatives of the Bundestag?"

IF "Approve of it":

"For what reasons do you approve of it?"

WEST GERMANY

Every opportunity to come to an understanding should be seized: 20%

"Because no approach should be neglected which may lead to an ultimate unification, even if it looks pretty hopeless at the moment."
"To seize every opportunity to realize a reunification."
"Even the smallest chance should not be missed in order to remove tensions."
"Because no stone should remain unturned."
"You should always leave the door open."
"Every chance to come to an understanding should be seized."
"Every attempt at reaching an agreement between East and West Germany should meet with the approval of the people."
"If they honestly desire a reunification, why not? We should go out of our way to prove our good will."
"There have to be discussions, they may bring positive results."
"In order to get in touch with the East at last."
"One has to show one's good will."

The other side should be heard: 12

"You have to find out what your political opponents have to say, too, if the issue at stake concerns all of us."
"Of course the East Zone should have a chance to be heard."
"It was their right to be heard."
"You have to consider the views the other side holds on the aims of unification, too."
"To listen to the proposals, in order to push this business ahead so we'll be able to settle it by compromise."
"They have to be heard, otherwise no agreement will be reached."
"The delegation has to be received for they want to inform us about opinions and views of the people in the East Zone."
"To find out what's behind the visit of the East Zone delegation."
"To find out what they have got to say."

To realize German reunification: 11

"There is no reason why any chance should be missed to end the division of Germany."
"No approach should be neglected which may lead to a unification."
"Everything should be tried to achieve unity."
"Maybe German reunification will come about in that way some day."
"You have to keep watching for a chance to bring about a reunification of Germany."
"These people should meet, no doubt, so that Germany will be reunited some day."
"Maybe negotiations will open the road to a united Germany."
"That unity will be reached and the parties stop quarrelling."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

Through personal contacts a rapprochement may come about: 7%

"So that both parties can state their views, that will work more smoothly than if a correspondence is carried on."
"Because in that way they established personal contacts with people representing the East Zone, the reunification issue may thus be pushed ahead more vigorously than by negotiating by letter or by telephone, only."
"A person-to-person talk is better than a lot of things in writing."
"To bring about a discussion, if they don't meet Germany will not be unified."
"Maybe it will result in a rapprochement."
"We have to get in touch with those people."
"They have to straighten things out some time."

Germans will be more successful in negotiating about questions that concern Germany: 5

"If an issue concerning Germany is to be discussed, it should be Germans on both sides who take part in negotiations."
"These people are Germans, too, after all, if pending questions are discussed sensibly, it should be possible to settle all controversial points."
"These people are Germans just as well as we are, it's better to discuss things with them than to be on bad terms."
"They are Germans, too, if Germans show hostility towards each other, we'll never get anywhere."
"We have to clarify those issues that concern Germany ourselves, that can't be done without talking things over."
"We should see to it that Germans will solve these problems."

Negotiations are preferable to war: 3

"They should discuss matters sensibly, otherwise things will work out the way they did in Korea. As long as they negotiate there will be no war."
"Why not, if there is a chance to settle issues peacefully it should not be neglected."
"If they can settle a matter by peaceful means, that's just fine."
"Through a discussion in time, much trouble can be avoided."

To check on whether or not intentions of the East are honest: 2

"By negotiating with the East Zone delegation one can find out how serious the East Zone people are about desiring unification."
"We have to get to know each other, if they mean what they say it's all right. We have to discuss together why there still is such an influx of refugees into our Zone."
"Then we'll have a better idea of what they're up to."

It's the job of the representatives of the people to negotiate: 1

"That's the job of our delegates to the Bundestag to get into touch with the others."
"I approve of it because it enables our government to discuss the views of the East Zone delegation."
"Because both sides are interested in such a step, the East Zone government seriously wishes that we'll listen to what they've got to say."

Others: 4

"Nothing is lost by it."
"Well, a delegation is sent to negotiate, they were asked to come."
"The Bundestag people should know best whether or not it's the right thing to do to receive the delegation." Etc.

No opinion/No answer: 6%

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS ADVANCED FOR DISAPPROVING VISIT ...

Accusations of insincerity and unrepresentativeness figure most prominently in objections voiced to the Eastern delegates' visit.

"Do you approve of it or not, that this East Zone delegation was received by representatives of the Bundestag?"

IF "Don't approve of it":

"For what reasons don't you approve of it?"

WEST GERMANY

Tho East Zone delegates are not sincere in their desire to open negotiations: 4%

"Because the East Zone delegation was not serious about opening purposeful negotiations."
"Their designs are quite different from their words."
"They are not sincere towards us."
"It's no use anyway, for they are not ready to enter into negotiations with us."
"All the East Zone delegates want is to spy, God knows what they've got up their sleeve."
"What did they plan to do here after all, just talk a lot of nonsense, I'm sure."
"That's all just eye-wash."
"They don't honestly want peace."

Those delegates are not true representatives of their people: 3

"These people were not representatives of a legal government."
"Because there's absolutely no sense to it if so-called ministers or men in whom the people have no confidence want to open negotiations."
"They would not be able to negotiate independently because nobody there can breathe a word or he'll find himself in Bautzen penitentiary, it would have been a futile question-and-answer game."

Tho delegates represent a government that covers up for abductions and acts of terror: 2

"Such criminals have no business here, these people look on when Germans are deported to Siberia, and now they expect to be treated like regular politicians."
"They should release Dr. Linse first."

All the delegates wanted to do was carry on propaganda: 1

"They only wanted to carry on propaganda here."
"They should have stayed in Berlin, it's nothing but propaganda."
"Because it's no use, it's just a big bluff."

Because nothing will come of such negotiations: 1

"It's just no use."
"Nothing will come of it." Etc.

Others: 1

"These people didn't admit a United Nations delegation, now they themselves were admitted here." Etc.

No opinion/No answer: * 12%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04051

REACTIONS TO DEMONSTRATIONS ...

Among respondents aware of the fact that demonstrations had occurred against the East Zone delegation, disapproval of the actions predominated.

"Have you heard of or read about any demonstrations by the people against the reception of the East Zone delegations?" (Asked of respondents indicating awareness of visit).

	WEST GERMANY
Yes	42%
No	19
	61%

"Did you approve or not of these demonstrations against the East Zone delegation?" (Asked of respondents aware of demonstrations).

Approved of them	12%
Didn't approve of them	26
No opinion	4
	42%

	Approved of them	Didn't approve of them	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	18%	39%	5%	38%...100%	190
Women	8	13	3	76	209
Education:					
Elementary school	11	22	3	64	333
Beyond elementary	21	43	6	30	66
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	10	18	1	71	78
150 - 299 DM	9	23	4	64	153
300 - 399 DM	17	32	2	49	98
400 DM and more	16	33	10	41	63
Age:					
Up to 29 years	15	25	1	59	99
30 - 49 years	12	29	2	57	154
50 years and over	11	22	8	59	146
Party Preference:					
SPD	16	27	3	54	105
Coalition	14	24	4	58	111
Other parties	13	26	9	52	23
No party	9	37	4	50	90
Don't know	10	12	1	77	70

04052

REASONS FOR DISAPPROVING DEMONSTRATIONS ...

The demonstrations were mainly attacked as being out of keeping with democratic fairness and discipline, and as only reducing chances for reaching an understanding.

"Did you approve or not of these demonstrations against the East Zone delegation?"

IF "Didn't approve of them":

"Why didn't you approve of them?"

WEST GERMANY

Demonstrations are detrimental to the cause of democracy; they mean a lack of discipline: 9%

"In Western Germany people talk so much about political freedom, they should have lived up to their convictions, they should have left these people alone."
"That lets the so-called democracy appear in a rather unfavorable light."
"These are the same methods the Nazis used."
"It's against all rules of decorum, it's a lack of discipline."
"It was not a proper thing to do, it may well be used as agitatory propaganda later on."

Demonstrations only reduce chances for reaching an understanding: 7

"I'm against any rabble rousing, I hold the view that these so-called spontaneous manifestations of the will of the people are pre-arranged and are detrimental to the cause they are supposed to serve."
"The course of politics is not decided by street brawls and rabble rousing, the demonstrations made Dr. Ehlers' job more difficult."
"Nothing is gained by it."
"Any demonstrations against Germans will only serve to widen the gap between East and West and will jeopardize a possible reunification."
"Because the atmosphere for negotiations will only become more unfavorable, nothing is ever gained that way, such demonstrations usually turn into political brawls and the general situation remains unchanged."
"The gap should not be made even wider."

Delegations should have adequate protection: 3

"Delegations always enjoy diplomatic immunity, they should be provided with adequate protection."
"In every country delegations are protected against any sort of outrage."
"If a delegation is invited to come to a country, they should be left in peace and should be heard."
"In my opinion, a delegation once it has arrived at some place, should not be annoyed, I think such demonstrations are not proper."

(Cont'd on next page)

Delegation members only perform their duty, they are Germans just as we are: 2%

"All these people do, is to perform their duty."
"These demonstrations were quite unnecessary, those people are human beings just as we are." Etc.

Demonstrations were poorly planned, they were unnecessary: 1
"Everything that's started by a mob is wrong. If there were to be demonstrations at all, they should have been organized differently."
"If demonstrations are to be successful, the whole population must participate, not just a few measly people who happen to stand on the curb."

Nobody should have paid attention to the delegation: 1

"People shouldn't have paid any attention to the delegation, they should simply have ignored their presence."
"Streets should have been altogether empty, people should have shown nothing but contempt towards them, they considered themselves to be pretty important, they were proud of the stir they caused."

East Zone residents will have to pay for it: *

"I'm afraid they will take it out on the East Zone population as happened before repeatedly, besides, people should first have let the delegation present their proposals without bothering them."
"Demonstrations always breed bad blood, East Zone people - the population, I mean, will have to pay for it."

Others: 3
"The motive behind demonstrations is to influence people."
"Personally I dislike demonstration, but I quite see the point of those who start them, those guys are guilty of high treason, after all."
"Because it makes a bad impression once they are here, I'm in favor of negotiations."

No opinion/No answer: -
26%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

MOTIVES FOR VISIT ...

The widespread support for receiving the East Zone delegates apparently does not preclude the judgment preponderating that propaganda objectives rather than an honest desire to come to an understanding were chiefly motivating the visit. Particularly do the cross tabulations below indicate that much of the approval of the East Zone visit amounts to grasping at what the Germans themselves widely acknowledge to be little more than straws. This kind of finding carries the suggestion, of course, that emotional inclinations rather than logic are figuring most prominently in the present complex of attitudes.

"Why, in your opinion, did the East Zone delegation come to Western Germany: chiefly out of an honest desire to come to an understanding with the West, or chiefly for propaganda purposes?" (Asked of respondents who indicated awareness of East Zone visit).

	WEST GERMANY
Chiefly out of an honest desire	12%
Chiefly for propaganda purposes	36
No opinion	13
	61%

Those who knew about visit of East Zone politicians in Bonn:

"Do you approve of it or not that this East Zone delegation was received by representatives of the Bundestag?"

"Why, in your opinion, did the East Zone delegation come to Western Germany: chiefly out of an honest desire to come to an understanding with the West, or chiefly for propaganda purposes?"	Approve of it	Don't approve of it	No opinion	
Chiefly out of an honest desire	96%	2%	2%	...100%
Chiefly for propaganda purposes	67	21	12	
No opinion	71	4	25	

"Why, in your opinion did the East Zone delegation come to Western Germany: chiefly out of an honest desire to come to an understanding with the West, or chiefly for propaganda purposes?".

	Chiefly out of an honest desire	Chiefly for propaganda purposes	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	16%	45%	16%	23%...100%	190
Women	8	28	11	53	209
Education:					
Elementary school	11	31	14	44	333
Beyond elementary	12	62	12	14	66
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	5	35	10	50	78
150 - 299 DM	14	27	12	47	153
300 - 399 DM	14	46	13	27	98
400 DM and more	10	48	17	25	63
Age:					
Up to 29 years	10	40	11	39	99
30 - 49 years	10	35	14	41	154
50 years and over	14	35	14	37	146
Party Preference:					
SPD	16	38	12	34	105
Coalition	5	47	8	40	111
Other parties	17	31	22	30	23
No party	18	34	18	30	90
Don't know	4	20	16	60	70

II. GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGOTIATING WITH PRESENT EAST ZONE GOVERNMENT

EXTENT OF APPROVAL ...

Is the widespread West German approval of the recent East Zone visit limited to this specific instance with all its special circumstances, or is it expressive of a more fundamental urge for "Germans around one table" even to the point of sitting in with members of the present Soviet Zone regime? That the latter is closer to the facts is strongly suggested by the two out of three support evidenced below for the idea of the Federal government negotiating with the present East Zone government on the problem of German unity. Among no population groups compared does approval of such negotiations fail to preponderate.

"Would you be for or against the Federal government negotiating with the present leaders of the East Zone government about a reunification of Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY
For it	65%
Against it	17
No opinion	18
	100%

	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	62%	27%	11%...100%	190
Women	67	8	25	209
Education:				
Elementary school	66	16	18	333
Beyond elementary	62	24	14	66
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	68	13	19	78
150 - 299 DM	66	16	18	153
300 - 399 DM	69	18	13	98
400 DM and more	54	24	22	63
Age:				
Up to 29 years	72	16	12	99
30 - 49 years	66	16	18	154
50 years and over	59	18	23	146
Party Preference:				
SPD	65	27	8	105
Coalition	64	20	16	111
Other parties	78	9	13	23
No party	75	13	12	90
Don't know	50	6	44	70

RESTRICTED

04056

ARE PRESENT EAST ZONE LEADERS FREELY ELECTED? ...

And that willingness to conduct negotiations with present East Zone officials does not, in general, spring from ignorance of their unrepresentative status is evident from the mere 6 per cent below who were willing to state that they have been freely elected. Sixty per cent of the West Germans sampled state flatly that the present leaders of the East Zone government have not been freely elected, and the suggestion from an earlier study* is that this figure would be closer to 80 per cent with correspondingly fewer "no opinion" if some people were not embarrassed by having to answer this question just after approving negotiations with the present East Zone regime.

"Are you of the opinion that the leaders of the East Zone government have been elected by the population in free elections or not?"

	WEST GERMANY
Yes, in free elections	6%
No, not in free elections	60
No opinion	34
	100%

"Are you of the opinion that the leaders of the East Zone government have been elected by the population in free elections or not?"

"Would you be for or against the Federal government negotiating with the present leaders of the East Zone government about a reunification of Germany?"

	Yes, in free elections	No, not in free elections	No opinion
For it	8%	60%	32%...100%
Against it	-	97	3
No opinion	1	29	70

* See RAS Report number 152, dated Sept 2, 1952, entitled, "West German Opinion in Re the Latest Russian Note."

04057

WHY NEGOTIATE WITH UNREPRESENTATIVE EAST ZONE LEADERS? ...

Respondents who both approved of negotiating with present East Zone leaders and conceded that these officials were not freely elected, were asked their reasons for favoring negotiations under such circumstances. The contention that one should try everything figured prominently in the argumentation. Also advanced with some frequency was the contention that there is no alternative to negotiating with those who are presently in power. A small proportion (5%) changed their minds under this kind of follow-up inquiry and shifted to the position that the Federal government should not negotiate with the present East Zone regime.

"Are you of the opinion that the leaders of the East Zone government have been elected by the population in free elections or not?"

IF "No, not in free elections":

"Why should the Federal government then negotiate with the East Zone government about a reunification of Germany?"

WEST GERMANY:

Because negotiations always offer a chance to achieve reunification: 10%

"That doesn't matter, one must try everything, if the first attempt doesn't turn out successfully, the third or fourth might."
"Reunification can be achieved only if East and West get together."
"One must try even if things look hopeless."
"Some points could perhaps come up which might lead to a mutual approach."
"One should try everything."
"They might come to an agreement after all."

Because there is no alternative to negotiating with those persons who are in power in the East Zone at present: 7

"Well, they run the show over there, and there is nobody else to negotiate with."
"They are the leaders over there, after all, one might attain reunification."
"That something is done as soon as possible. There are no other people to turn to."
"They are the top men."
"They are the only representatives who are competent right now."
"One must look out for a chance, these people are the leaders at the moment."

Because reunification may be brought about peacefully through negotiations: 3

"In order to achieve peace everything must be tried."
"Because negotiations always leave some hope for a peaceful solution."
"Because reunification might be realized by peaceful means."
"In order to restore peace and order."

In order to get in touch with the East Zone: 3

"In order to learn what the East Zone government wants to suggest."
"It is important to get to know what these people want."
"In order to establish at least a person-to-person contact."
"To come into contact with the East."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

Because we should demonstrate our good will towards the East: 2%

"In order to demonstrate our good will, and to offer no chance to the East to claim, "people in the West don't really want a united Germany."
"In order to show the Russians our good will."

Because there is no hope for a freely elected East Zone government in the near future: 1

"If one wants to wait for representatives who are legally elected we may have to wait another couple of years until this problem would be settled."
"If the Federal government is to wait for legally elected representatives, reunification will never be attained."

Reunification would cause a change of government anyhow: 1

"In order to come to an agreement. When reunification is attained, people will remove the East Zone government anyhow."
"In the event reunification is achieved, another government will come into office in any case."

Negotiations between Germans might turn out more successfully: 1

"Because the other nations don't want Germany to be reunited."
"Maybe the Russians could be kept out of this for once." Etc.

Others: 4

"If the Federal government doesn't negotiate the East Zone people will suffer from reprisals."
"Sooner or later it must come to light that their intentions are dishonest."
"They should let them negotiate provided they keep our interests in view only. But I'm sure there will be another war."
"It would be better for the people over there if reunification could be brought about (but it won't be brought about)."
"Germany must be reunited for humane reasons only, not for political reasons."

Federal government should not negotiate: 5

No opinion/No answer: 4

41%

R E S T R I C T E D

III. REACTIONS TO WESTERN POLICIES ON GERMAN UNITY

WHAT MOTIVES DO GERMANS SEE IN THE WEST'S INSISTENCE ON FREE ELECTIONS BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS? ...

West German eagerness for unity even to the point of dealing with Soviet minions from the East Zone rather than insisting upon true representatives of the people, raises the possibility of course that West Germans interpret the West's insistence upon free elections prior to negotiations as a maneuver to impede the progress of reunification. If this is the case, however, there is no evidence for it in the findings below. When asked an open question in a form inviting any expression of adverse sentiments few of the answers, it will be noted, prove to be unmistakably negative in tone. The indication thus seems to be that whatever the frustration West Germans may feel on the score of unity, in general they have not been led to question the West's motives in insisting upon free elections prior to negotiations.

"The West insists on free elections prior to negotiating with the East about a reunification of Germany and a peace treaty. Why do you think the West insists on this?"

WEST GERMANY

<u>To have as conferees true representatives of the East Zone people:</u> 22%

"In free elections the people choose the personages they really want as their representatives, those who are in power over there now, were not freely elected."
"So that the government in the East Zone will at last be made up of persons of whom the people approve."
"To make sure to sit down at the conference table with legitimate representatives of a nation."
"Because you only can negotiate with the leaders of a nation who have come into power through free elections."
"Because the present East Zone government does not reflect the will of the people, therefore it cannot be recognized as a party at negotiations."
"If free elections are held in the East Zone it will be known at last whom the people want as their leaders, at present there's nothing but machinations."
"There has to be a legally elected government first, with which negotiations can be conducted."

<u>To find out how people in the East Zone actually feel:</u> 17

"Because the West wants to find out about how East Germans feel, at present this can't be done."
"How could a peace treaty be concluded when you don't know what stand people who live in the other half of Germany take."
"In order to learn what public opinion really is."
"They want to find out first what people in the East Zone really think."
"If there are no free elections, you aren't any wiser in the end as to what political party the people favor."
"Maybe they want to make sure how many people favor rightist parties and how many people favor leftist parties - who is on the side of the West."
"To get an idea as to how people over there feel, you have to know how people think over there, whether or not they are pro-Communist."
"To find out how strong a group will favor the West, before they tackle this problem they want to know how many people are on their side."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

To weaken Communist influence - to strengthen the position of the West: 9%

"Because the West is convinced that Communism will take a beating in free elections."
"The West is interested in Communism losing ground and in free elections the Communist party would take a bad beating."
"Because they assume that the people in the East Zone will declare for the West if free elections are held."
"Because they think people would rather favor the Adenauer-government than the Ulbricht-government."
"To demonstrate to the East Zone government that the voters disapprove of the present regime."

As a test of the real intentions of the East: 4

"To put their good will to a test."
"America wants to find out whether or not the Russians are straightforward in their views."
"Because otherwise you never can tell what it is the Russians really are after."
"In order to force the Russians to own up, if they are honest about their democracy they'll accept this proposal, that's the test they are put to."
"They want to find out if the East really is ready or if it's all just eye-wash if the East is well-intentioned they will consent to free elections."
"The West wants to find out if East Zone citizens are allowed to vote for whomsoever they may want to or if they are suppressed."

Because they want to bring about a reunification by peaceful means: 1

"Because they want to realize unification by using a peaceful approach."
"To come to an understanding without war."
"They want to steer clear of another war."

Others: 11

"Because those people who are presently in control in the East advocate their system too insistently."
"To stall for time, they want to overcome internal crises in the different countries in order to be able to face the Russians as a solid bloc later on."
"So we'll have one government for the whole country, as things are now both parties want to be the dominant power, thus they will never come to an agreement."
"Because free elections are the prerequisite for any further steps to be taken."

Answers proving a negative attitude towards the intentions of the West: 1

"Regarding this issue, one thing is certain: both parties do nothing to bring about amity."
"The Americans just want to make the Russians sore, if you come down to it they couldn't care less about what's going to happen."

No opinion/No answer: 35
100%

IS AMERICA REALLY FOR GERMAN REUNIFICATION? ...

That the continued blockage to German unity is not, thus far at least, being accompanied by rising antagonism toward the West on this score, ... is additionally suggested by trend figures relating to American interest in German unification.

The latest returns, it will be noted below, reveal no evidence of any growing suspicion of American motives in re German unity. On the contrary the current trend indications are in a direction of increase in confidence, to the point where at the present time a majority express certainty in US interest in unity and only one in five express doubt - with 23 per cent voicing no opinion.

"Which of the following views comes closest to what you think is the attitude of the United States concerning the reunification of Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY			
	Apr 52 (395)	Apr/May 52 (800)	May 52 (791)	Sept 52 (399)
I'm sure the United States is for a reunification of Germany	57%	47%	50%	58%
I have some doubts that the United States is for a reunification of Germany	15	19	22	12
I'm very doubtful that the United States is for a reunification of Germany	6	6	6	4
I'm sure the United States is not for a reunification of Germany	2	3	5	3
No opinion	20	25	17	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%

These figures do not mean the West can afford to relax on the unity issue.* In the latest survey 42 per cent - if no opinion is included as it probably should be in the present case - must be looked upon as not entirely convinced of America's sincerity. The point is only in the present connection that there is no evidence of a worsening trend.

* Especially in view of the fact that there is less confidence in England being for German unity, and hardly any confidence at all in the French. See report # 139, dated May 27, 1952, entitled, "Do the West German People Believe the US is For German Unity? - With Comparative Judgments about the British and French."

Group comparisons reveal the important fact that conviction that the US is for German unity is not at its maximum among the less critical and informed population elements, but among the more critical and more informed - the men, the better educated and the higher income. Notable, too, is the indication that even among respondents of SPD political persuasion confidence in US interest in German unity preponderates over doubts and indecision.

	I'm sure the US is for a reunification of Germany	I have some doubts that the US is for a reunification of Germany	I'm very doubtful that the US is for a reunification of Germany	I'm sure that the US is not for a reunification of Germany	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	64%	12%	4%	3%	17%	...100% 190
Women	53	13	4	2	28	209
Education:						
Elementary school	56	11	4	3	26	333
Beyond elementary	67	20	-	1	12	66
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	54	8	4	2	32	78
150 - 299 DM	54	16	3	2	25	153
300 - 399 DM	68	11	7	3	11	98
400 DM and more	64	11	-	3	22	63
Age:						
Up to 29 years	64	14	4	2	16	99
30 - 49 years	54	16	5	4	21	154
50 years and over	59	8	2	1	30	146
Party Preference:						
SPD	60	15	7	3	15	105
Coalition	72	12	3	-	13	111
Other parties	52	13	-	4	31	23
No party	58	12	3	4	23	90
Don't know	34	10	3	3	50	70

[redacted]

HOW MUCH RESENTMENT ABOUT NO FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE? ...

In a final effort to sound out the extent of West German resentments in the unity area, respondents were questioned about whether or not they desired a Four-power conference, and then whether or not they believed America approved such a course. The results reveal appreciable resentment potential on this score in the fact that almost half of the West Germans who desire a conference are either sure that America opposes or are not sure that America approves of such a course.

"Would you be for or against America, England, France and Russia joining in a Four-power conference on Germany at the present time?"

	WEST GERMANY
For it	70%
Against it	7
No opinion	23
	100%

"Do you believe America is for or against holding a Four-power conference on Germany between the Western powers and Russia at the present time?" (Asked of respondents in favor of such a conference)

For it	37%
Against it	15
No opinion	18
	70%

But further analysis adds to the general indications throughout the present section that the West's reputation on the unity issue - or more particularly America's - is not faring too badly despite the continued absence of any success. The cross tabulations below disclose that not less than a majority of the respondents who want a Four-power conference and do not see America in accord with their desire, state nevertheless that they are sure the US is for the reunification of Germany. So if there are resentments about the absence of Four-power negotiations on German problems, they do not in general appear to be of the intensity that corrodes faith in American sincerity on the unity issue.

Those for conference, but believe that America is against it or don't know:

"Which of the following views comes closest to what you think is the attitude of the United States concerning the reunification of Germany?" (Asked of respondents in favor of Four-power conference who believe America is opposed, or who are undecided about America's stand)

I'm sure the United States is for a reunification of Germany	20%
I have some doubts that the United States is for a reunification of Germany	4
I'm very doubtful that the United States is for a reunification of Germany	2
I'm sure the United States is not for a reunification of Germany	1
No opinion	6
	33%

APPENDIX

Some Early Returns on Public Reactions to West Reply to Latest Russian Note

Among the one in four in the West German population who at the present time demonstrate awareness of the latest Western move in the battle of notes, favorable reactions give indications of clearly outweighing unfavorable.

"Do you know if the Western powers have already replied to the last proposals of the Russians regarding Germany or not? (When?)"

	WEST GERMANY
Yes, replied in the past few days	23%
Incorrect and don't know	77
	100%

"Do you generally agree to the reply of the Western powers or don't you agree?" (Asked of those aware of the note).

Agree to it	14%
Don't agree to it	2
No opinion	7
	23%

	Agree to it	Don't agree to it	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	24%	2%	12%	62%...100%	190
Women	5	1	5	89	209
Education:					
Elementary school	11	1	7	81	333
Beyond elementary	30	5	12	53	66
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	9	1	6	84	78
150 - 299 DM	14	1	7	78	153
300 - 399 DM	15	4	8	73	98
400 DM and more	17	2	13	68	63
Age:					
Up to 29 years	15	1	6	78	99
30 - 49 years	15	2	9	74	154
50 years and over	12	2	8	78	146
Party Preference:					
SPD	16	3	9	72	105
Coalition	15	-	9	76	111
Other parties	22	4	4	70	23
No party	11	3	12	74	90
Don't know	9	-	1	90	70

04065

[redacted]

ARE THE DIFFICULTIES OF RECENT EAST ZONE REFUGEES BREEDING DISAFFECTION WITH THE WEST?

Report No. 157
Series No. 2
October 13, 1952

R [redacted] OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

[redacted]

INTRODUCTION

The current heavy influx of East Zone refugees into West Berlin, adding new burdens to already strained facilities, raises the question of repercussions. It is a matter of the utmost seriousness, of course, if the situation has become a breeding ground for disillusionment and disaffection with the West. The object of the present study was to ascertain whether or not the recent refugees believe in general that they have been encouraged to come to the West only to encounter the kind of difficulties which leave them with the feeling that they have been sold down the river.

The sample in the present study comprises 401 cases selected on a random basis between September 4th and 12th, 1952 in four temporary camps in West Berlin (Karlsbad, Asconiawerke, Gatow and Fichtebunker). These camps were chosen to focus upon recent refugees who would have fresh in mind the experiences involved in coming over in the current heavy inflow. It should therefore be understood that the attitudes of refugees who have resided for extended periods in permanent camps do not fall within the scope of the present study.

Interviewing was conducted under the auspices of DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt - und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organisation working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. There were no instances in the present study of refusal to be interviewed.

In the discussion it will be noted that distinctions are made between refugees acknowledged by Western officials to qualify as political refugees, refugees not yet completely evaluated, and refugees who have not qualified as political, and are hence not eligible for certain rights and benefits.

As usual with samples of the present limited size, population breakdowns of the returns should be interpreted as more suggestive than conclusive.

SOME SUMMARY EXCERPTS

I. Do Refugees Feel They Were Encouraged to Come West?

... Initially disclosed in the present study is that the large majority of the refugees who have recently poured into West Berlin, have not gathered the impression that they were specifically encouraged by the West to come over. So whatever frustrations the refugees may be experiencing in discrepancies between expectations and realities, for most difficulties are not being compounded by possible feelings that the West is falling down on promises made.

II. Reasons Given For Leaving the East Zone

... Respondents' explanations on why they quit the East Zone offer a very revealing picture of the kind of pressures and persecutions to which East Germans are currently being subjected. Details can be found in the report.

III. Effect of Refugee Experiences on Attitudes Toward the West

... Despite whatever difficulties recent refugees have encountered in flooding into West Berlin, the clear indication from the present study is that the result has not been to worsen attitudes toward the West. The majority indicate their attitudes have remained unchanged, i.e. presumably favorable in view of their coming to the West. And among those reporting changes in attitude, shifts for the better clearly exceed those for the worse.

... Even among those refugees who have been refused the status of political persecutees - and hence have the most reason for feeling cool toward the West - less than one in five indicate adverse changes in attitude.

... Refugees who have been subjected to the trials of initial processing for longer periods of time also do not give evidence of any net worsening of attitudes, though adverse changes tend to be slightly more frequent under such circumstances.

... And finally, cross comparison reveals refugee attitudes toward the West following their processing experiences are no worse among those who felt encouraged to come over than among those who did not. So to the finding that only a minority of refugees felt encouraged to come West, is added the indication that among those who did, their reception has not been evaluated by them to be such as to worsen their attitudes toward the West.

... Better than anticipated political and economic conditions are the reasons most frequently brought forward by refugees who report an increase in favor toward the West as a result of their coming. Almost a third, however, specifically compliment the treatment they have received in the West as the reason for their heightened appreciation. The few refugees who speak of worsened attitudes primarily adduce instances of alleged inequities in their processing as reasons for their less favorable orientations.

... In strong corroboration of the indication of predominantly favorable reactions on the part of West Berlin refugees to their reception and experiences, is a 97% figure for those who would choose the same course if they had it to do all over again. Even among the refugees who were denied the status of political persecutees, only one in twenty (6%) indicates that if he had it to do all over again he would remain in the East Zone.

... The conclusion seems evident on the basis of the present sampling, that whatever tribulations recent refugees are undergoing under present West Berlin conditions, with small exception their pro-Western orientation and their satisfaction with the course of action they have chosen have not been impaired.

IV. Reactions to Kaiser's Admonition to East Germans

... The large preponderance of the recent refugees sampled in the present study express themselves in agreement with the view recently broadcast by Jakob Kaiser, minister of all-German affairs, that East Zone Germans should remain where they are unless their lives and freedom are endangered.

... The reasons advanced for agreeing with Kaiser that only really endangered East Germans should come to the West, disclose considerable understanding on the part of the refugees of the advantages of having pro-West East Germans where they are, and disadvantages of flooding the West with hordes of refugees. There is more than a trace in the comments, however, of respondents' agreeing that the logic is fine - for other people.

... The minority who felt that all East Germans should feel free to come to the West if they so desired, argue mainly that everyone in the East Zone is in danger. Some emphasize that to wait until danger is acute may only result in escape being cut off.

I. DO REFUGEES FEEL THEY WERE ENCOURAGED TO COME WEST?

ONLY MINORITY FEEL REFUGEES ENCOURAGED TO COME ...

Initially disclosed in the present study is that the large majority of the refugees who have come to West Berlin have by their own admission not gathered the impression that they were specifically encouraged by the West to come over. So whatever frustration the refugees may be experiencing in discrepancies between expectations and realities, for most the situation is not being compounded by possible feelings that the West is falling down on promises made.

"Apart from your personal reasons: did you feel encouraged by the West to come over or not?"

	All refugees (401)	Acknowledged political refugees (94)	Not yet evaluated refugees (274)	Rejected refugees (33)
Felt encouraged to come	24%	15%	27%	27%
Didn't feel encouraged to come	76	85	72	73
No opinion	*	-	1	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Though cases are too few in many instances for firm conclusions, in no population element among the refugees does the feeling that the West has encouraged flights from the East Zone exceed minority status.

	Felt encouraged to come	Didn't feel encouraged to come	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	22%	78%	%...100%	273
Women	27	72	1	128
Education:				
Elementary school	24	75	1	297
Beyond elementary	24	76	-	102
Age:				
Up to 24 years	29	71	-	155
25 - 49 years	20	79	1	183
50 years and over	22	78	-	63
Occupation:				
Professionals and businessmen	15	85	-	48
White-collar workers	28	72	-	74
Skilled laborers	19	80	1	80
Semi-skilled laborers, apprentices, domestic service	37	62	1	82
Farmers	20	80	-	45
Housewives	8	92	-	40
Land:				
East Sector Berlin	17	83	-	18
Brandenburg	20	80	-	66
Saxony	17	82	1	85
Saxon-Anhalt	34	66	-	76
Thuringia	33	65	2	60
Mecklenburg	19	81	-	96
City Size:				
Village	26	73	1	135
Small town	21	78	1	96
City	22	78	-	98
Large city	26	74	-	61

* Less than one half of one per cent.

04070

AND ENCOURAGEMENT FOR MANY CAME ONLY FROM RELATIVES AND FRIENDS ...

The one in four minority who professed to having felt encouraged by the West to leave the East Zone were asked to indicate the source of this encouragement with the results following. It will be noted that a large proportion are referring only to encouragement from relatives and friends in the West rather than from more formal sources. Only five per cent speak of radio encouragement for their act. All this would suggest that only a relatively small proportion of the refugees are coming over with any idea that the Western powers or the Bonn Republic have formally committed themselves to provide for each and every refugee.

"Apart from your personal reasons: did you feel encouraged by the West to come over, or not?"

IF "Felt encouraged to come":

"What made you feel encouraged to come over?"

EAST GERMANY

Relatives and friends living in the West: 11%

"Letters from people whom I know who live in the West. They told us to come over if things should go wrong with the firm."
"My father who lives in the West."
"My fiancé, a lot of people told me that they don't make any trouble for young people who come over to the West, therefore I left, too."
"My husband who has been living in the West for a year now."
"My former boss who is from West Berlin told me to come over if I got into trouble, he said he would help me."
"My relatives wrote to me that prospects for sheep-farming are much better over there, that's why I felt called upon to come to the West."
"Some of my boys live in the West, they have asked me time and again to come over, too."
"A sister of mine lives in West Berlin, she asked me long ago to come over."
"The reports by my brother who has a job in the Ruhr area was one more reason to come over."

Information on better political and economic conditions in the West: 6

"The freedom that exists over here, I know West Berlin pretty well, I frequently stayed with relatives here when on leave."
"Because I'll be free over here, I can work in my profession without being bothered with politics, I got this impression through conversations with West Berliners when I passed through the city on my way to friends."
"Because I stayed here for a while during the World Youth Festival, at that time I noticed the difference, the speech Dr. Schumacher delivered last year at the Funkturm (Berlin exhibition site) impressed me very much, too, it was one of the reasons that made me want to go over to the West."
"Because living conditions over here are better."
"I used to come to Berlin now and then, I took a good look around and compared conditions with those in the East."
"Because things over here are very much different from conditions in the East, people over here especially the women aren't exploited the way they are in the East, quotas fixed for workers are monstrous, I know how things are here from my trips to the West, I often crossed the border illegally ."
"Through conversations with young people from our vicinity we learned how good things are in the West, people over there only talk about the Golden West."
"People over here get more to eat."
"I guess I felt called upon to come over because there is political freedom in the West and living conditions are much better."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) EAST GERMANY

The radio: 5%

"Radio broadcasts led to this opinion."
"Radio programs broadcast by the West."
"Various radio programs."
"RIAS radio station."
"Well, I know that refugees are being admitted in the West, they kept telling us so over the radio."
"Because of RIAS radio station, time and again they announced that a considerable number of members of the People's Police have reported over here."
"We regularly listened to RIAS, after the news they kept repeating that people should come over if they were under pressure - people, too, told each other how kind people in the West are."
"Because I kept track of the developments in the West by listening to RIAS."
"The radio."

The Western press: 1 @

"Because of the papers."
"I got this impression reading the papers."
"The press." Etc.

Resistance groups: 1

"The fighting committee (against inhumanity), I inquired whether I should come over and they told me to do so."
"We have been warned twice by resistance people fighting for the West, in one case it was a man, in the other a woman, they told us things had come to a head." Etc.

Rejecting the regime in the East Zone and feeling attracted by the free West: 1

"I took refuge in the West because I felt this is a world in which people think and feel the same way I do."
"I felt little liking to support the regime in the East Zone."
"Because I was opposed to the system over there, I didn't under any circumstances want to fire on my own father or German fellow-countrymen if the situation would change some day."

Others: 1

"As thousands of refugees had been admitted - some of them having not too convincing reasons, we felt sure we would be admitted as we had solid reasons." Etc.

No opinion/No answer: * 26/0

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

II. REASONS GIVEN FOR LEAVING THE EAST ZONE

Respondents' explanations on why they quit the East Zone are tabulated in some detail below because they offer a most revealing picture of the kind of pressure and persecutions to which East Germans are currently being subjected. Even if the commentaries are discounted somewhat for dramatization or exaggeration, in their variety and wealth of concrete detail they have the ring of authenticity.

"For what reason did you leave the East Zone?
(What was the chief reason?)"

EAST GERMANY

Persecution for political reasons: rejecting the Communist system, refusing to join Communist organizations, criticising the administration, being spied upon: 39%

"I reject the system because of experiences I had as a POW in Russia, I said so in public and therefore I was in danger of being arrested."
"I insulted a party functionary, therefore I was in danger of being arrested."
"I was under surveillance in spite of the fact that I was a party functionary I secretly tried to help people, that didn't work any longer."
"My husband was about to be arrested on charges of boycott and agitation, he never kept quite when they denounced the West. A member of the People's Police warned us of my husband's imminent arrest."
"Because my husband was persecuted for telling the truth about the Russians."
"My husband used to work in a socialized plant when he refused to join the party he got into arguments with and was harrassed by the SED and trade union association people, so we left for West Berlin."
"I was fired on the spot because I refused to join the party, where should I go? I had no choice but to go to the West."
"I was arrested because I made propaganda against the People's Police, when I was released I beat it for the West."
"For political reasons, I had skated over thin ice as I had spoken up repeatedly I was in danger of being arrested."
"To avoid arrest, I had denounced the government at the place where I used to work."
"I was in the VAB and was fired for carrying on political agitation, they were about to start proceedings against me and hinted at a penitentiary term."
"Because of the church, they always kept after me because I am a loyal member of the church. I arranged the altars on Corpus Christi Day, for this they wanted to send me to Aue (uranium mines)"
"Because I was in danger of being deported to Siberia, I am looked upon as a reactionary having been in the army. They took away real estate belonging to me, so I beat it because I was fed up."
"Because I was spied on and watched, the moment the police arrive it's too late to do anything. I couldn't stand life in the East Zone any more because you are spied on all the time."
"My wife tried to betray me to the police, we are separated."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) EAST GERMANY

Pressure to join the People's Police: 24%

"Because they wanted me to join the People's Police, that, however, I didn't want to do, I didn't want to take up arms for the East."
"Because of the People's Police I was about to be drafted."
"I worked as a lathe operator in a SAG-plant and they worked on me to join the People's Police. My father said, "You shouldn't do that, you'd better go to Berlin."
"We were prodded to join the People's Police to be trained to become political officers (commissars)."
"I worked as a maker of orthopedic equipment, there was one too many, however, we were eleven and an independent artisan is allowed to have only ten people on his staff, I was the youngest of them all and thus I was to join the People's Police, but I didn't want to go."
"Because I didn't want to join the People's Police, I worked at an MAS-plant and the younger ones among us were to sign up, otherwise we would have been out of job."
"First of all because of their insistent enlistment campaign for the People's Police, they refused to admit me to a university and tried to force me to serve with the People's Police first."
"Because both of my daughters were to join the People's Police, when one of them was asked for the third time to sign up they warned her that she would lose her job if she didn't comply, so we all went over to the West."
"I was expected to join the People's Police, all of us who had graduated from high school should be trained as political officers (commissars), they worked on us again and again, until we didn't see any other way out of this but to set out for West Berlin."
"Because they wanted me to work as a typist for the People's Police, they kept bothering me about it, so I went to the West."

Persecution because of alleged offenses against the country's economy, sabotage, failure to meet quota requirement, etc.: 16

"I worked as a shop supervisor in a state-owned plant, a colleague of mine told me that they had started proceedings against me on the grounds of sabotage."
"They accused me of sabotage, while I was on duty some freight papers belonging to a machinery consignment vanished, I got a summons to appear at 13:30 hours before state security authorites, so I fled."
"My mother was about to be arrested to serve a six months' jail term because of crimes against the economy. We had a farm of 58 hectars and were unable to meet the quota requirements. She had been in jail before while an investigation had been carried on, so we fled."
"Because my husband was about to be arrested, after we had been dispossessed he was in danger of being arrested because of offenses against the economy."
"Because I was accused of sabotage against the economy. They said I, as director of a factory turning out slippers, was to blame for there being more stocks on hand than fixed by quota, they held me responsible for costs involved. As this sum came up to between 30,000 and 50,000 marks I was in danger of being arrested."
"I am a construction engineer, when I refused to tear down a barn, they closed my firm, that's what they call offenses against the economy."
"In our plant a boiler exploded and I was blamed for it, they were about to start proceedings against me on the grounds of sabotage."
"Because of the unreasonably high quotas fixed, we were unable to meet quota requirements any longer, they wanted to call us on the floor for that."
"I was a newly settled farmer and couldn't meet the quota fixed for me, I was about to be jailed."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Persecution because of active opposition against the East Zone regime, underground activities, distribution of pamphlets, freeing prisoners, assisting people to flee: 10%

"For political reasons: I was seen while distributing and fixing at bulletin boards pamphlets published by RIAS, I was about to be arrested."
"I had to, my cousin who was a go-between to the Eastern office drew a 12 years' prison term, the sentence passed on me was even stiffer. We had distributed pamphlets, publications and so on."
"I distributed pamphlets we had published ourselves, in which we attacked conditions in the East Zone, somebody told on us, a friend of mine was arrested, that's why I had to flee."
"I worked with underground forces in the East Zone, I was interrogated repeatedly and was arrested, then I lost my nerve and fled."
"I had cooperated with RIAS and a fighting committee in West Berlin when I was denounced by an agent, a person who had worked together with me (he had been blackmailed)."
"I had helped a Russian first lieutenant get across the border to the West, a person who knew about this affair suddenly discovered his enthusiasm for Bolshevist ideas."
"For political reasons, my life was in danger, I was an underground agent for the CDU."
"Because I got a political prisoner out of jail."
"They wanted to summon me by force to an interrogation because I had assisted in the flight of my cousin."
"My brother-in-law was an inmate of Bautzen penitentiary, I went there to see him. As he was on a work detail at a railroad coach factory at Lona I had a chance to talk to him. We fixed a day for his escape. I had procured an identification card and clothes for him before that, we drove with a friend in a truck to Berlin. We are glad that everything went off all right."
"I had to leave the Zone as I had arranged for my girl friend to flee to West Berlin, I had accompanied her to West Berlin."
"I worked for two years in the underground movement against the East Zone regime, I'm sure they watched me, I didn't feel safe any longer."
"We cooperated with Dr. Linse, somehow that leaked out."
"For political reasons, I didn't act up to their doctrines, my husband cooperated with some agency in the West."
"I tore down four flags in Bautzen, for that I drew a prison term of 1 year and 2 months."

Pressure to become informers for the state security agencies, GPU, MWD, etc.: 5

"Because they wanted me to work for the SSD."
"Because I should once more work for the GPU, therefore the only chance I had was to flee to the West."
"I was supposed to spy on people, that's the reason I left."
"I was interrogated by MFS people on the 2nd of September, they wanted me to act as informant, I told them I wouldn't let them abuse me in such a way, they demanded that I should supply material on people I know who live in West Berlin, that's why I fled."
"My future wife was supposed to work as an agent for the Russians, they wanted to get material on me, too, so we beat it."
"I was summoned to appear before the SSD to carry out certain mission for them as I was under pressure I signed my name to a document, I didn't stick to the terms, however, and fled to West Berlin."
"I couldn't stay on any longer over there because I was told to spy on my buddies. As I hail from Western Germany they called me an enemy of the people when I refused their request. So I got scared and fled."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) EAST GERMANY

Opposition to regime because of conscientious scruples: 3%

"I'm a former member of the People's Police, when they established a restricted area around Berlin to cut it off, we received orders to do things which I wouldn't have on my conscience."
"My husband is a teacher, on the 1st of August 1952 he had to take over the job of headmaster at the school, he couldn't reconcile this with his conscience, therefore we left for West Berlin."
"I was a member of the People's Police, as a human being able to think I couldn't reconcile the things they ordered me to do with my conscience. When I refused to carry out an order I was dismissed, I won't be a party to those illegal dealings. I was jailed for five days because of that. The only chance to work in the field I was trained for was to go to the West."

Personal reasons: reunion with next of kin, relatives, etc.: 3

"My father lives in Bonn and I wanted to go to the West, too."
"We wanted to be reunited with our children, they all live in the West."
"I want to join my father in Koenigstein in the Taunus mountains, the family wants to be together again."
"I want to join my husband, he has been in the West for a year already."

Evacuation from districts along the zonal border: 3

"The main reason was that we live within the 5-mile belt along the border, my husband had to go."
"We used to live in the restricted area, we didn't leave, we were kicked out."
"We were thrown out of our homes in the restricted border area and dispossessed."
"We were expelled when the restricted zone was established."

Economic reasons: unemployment, low wages and low living standard compared to the West: 2

"I didn't find a suitable job, therefore I came over."
"Because I was unemployed and there was no chance of finding another job."
"Because I was badly off."
"Because I have gone hungry for seven years now."
"I was a member of the railroad police, I didn't have a single moment for myself any more, as I didn't like this I was dismissed with the remark "not satisfactory", after that I couldn't find another job in the German Democratic Republic, therefore I left for the West."
"I want to get ahead in my profession, I have a better chance in the West than over there."
"I didn't get a permit to work any longer not even in the firm that belongs to my parents, so I had no choice but to flee."

Others: 2

"In front of our house my daughter was fatally injured when she was knocked down by a Russian car, we beat up the Russians. We were arrested and jailed and later on we escaped."
"My fiancé was present when back in 1946 a Russian was slain, that didn't leak out until recently when a friend of his blabbed. I took money from my father's account to give it to him, therefore they wanted to indict me, too, for you are not allowed to do a thing like that, so we fled together."

No opinion/No answer: 4. 10%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

III. EFFECT OF REFUGEE EXPERIENCES ON ATTITUDES TOWARD THE WEST

NET INCREASE IN FAVORABLE ATTITUDE ...

Despite whatever difficulties recent refugees have encountered in flooding into West Berlin, the clear indication from the present study is that the result has not been to worsen attitudes toward the West. The majority indicated their attitudes to have remained unchanged, i.e. presumably favorable in view of their coming to the West. With those reporting changes in attitude, shifts for the better clearly exceed those for the worse.

"Has your opinion of the West changed since you came here? (Very much for the better - somewhat for the better?) (Very much for the worse - somewhat for the worse?)"

	All refugees	Acknowledged political refugees	Not yet evaluated refugees	Rejected refugees
Very much for the better	14%	18%	13%	9%
Somewhat for the better	9	11	8	9
Remained unchanged	72	66	75	67
Somewhat for the worse	1	1	*	6
Very much for the worse	4	3	4	9
No opinion	*	1	*	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%

It will be noted above than even among those refugees who have been refused the status of political persecutees - and who hence have the most reason for feeling cool toward the West - less than one in five indicate adverse changes in attitude.

And even those refugees who have been subjected to the trials of initial processing for longer periods of time do not give evidence of any net worsening of attitudes, though adverse changes under such circumstances apparently tend toward a slight increase. It remains for separate study to determine what attitude changes may have occurred among refugees who have been living in permanent camps in West Berlin for extended periods of time.

Length of time in West Berlin:	For the better	Remained unchanged	For the worse	No opinion	No. of cases
1 week	18%	77%	4%	1%...100%	68
2 week	30	70	-	-	84
3 weeks	26	71	3	-	76
1 month	19	75	6	-	79
Over a month	21	66	12	1	94

And finally cross tabulations with an earlier question discloses refugee attitudes toward the West following their processing experiences are no worse - and possibly a shade better - among those refugees who felt encouraged to come over than among those who did not. So to the finding that only a minority of refugees felt called to come West, is added the indication that among those who felt encouraged, their reception has not been evaluated by them to be such as to worsen their attitudes toward the West.

"Has your opinion of the West changed since you came here? (Very much for the better - somewhat for the better?) (Very much for the worse - somewhat for the worse?)"

"Apart from your personal reasons: did you feel encouraged by the West to come over, or not?"	Better	Same	Worse	No opinion
Felt encouraged to come	28%	68%	4%	-%...100%
Didn't feel encouraged to come	20	73	6	1

* Less than one half of one per cent.

04077

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

In no population strata among the refugees sampled does more than one in ten report worsened attitudes toward the West following their experiences in West Berlin. In most groups the net result of the refugee experience has been to increase favorable orientations.

"Has your opinion of the West changed since you came here? (For the better, remained unchanged, for the worse?)"

	For the better	Remained unchanged	For the worse	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	25%	68%	6%	1%...100%	273
Women	17	79	4	-	128
Education:					
Elementary school	20	75	4	1	297
Beyond elementary	29	63	8	-	102
Age:					
Up to 24 years	25	71	3	1	155
25 - 49 years	16	77	6	1	183
50 years and over	35	57	8	-	63
Occupation:					
Professionals and business	29	63	8	-	48
White-collar workers	22	71	7	-	74
Skilled laborers	26	72	1	1	80
Semi-skilled laborers, apprentices & domestic service	21	73	6	-	82
Farmers	29	62	7	2	45
Housewives	10	87	3	-	40
Land:					
East Sector of Berlin	28	72	-	-	18
Brandenburg	20	70	10	-	66
Saxony	28	66	6	-	85
Saxon-Anhalt	25	73	1	1	76
Thuringia	22	73	5	-	60
Mecklenburg	17	77	5	1	96
City Size:					
Village	21	73	5	1	135
Small town	25	71	4	-	96
City	20	74	6	-	98
Large city	23	69	6	2	61

REASONS ADVANCED FOR BECOMING MORE PRO-WEST ...

Better than anticipated political and economic conditions were the reasons most frequently brought forward by refugees who reported an increase in favor toward the West as a result of their coming. Almost a third, however, specifically complimented the treatment they have received in the West as the reason for their heightened appreciation.

"Has your opinion of the West changed since you came here?"

IF "Changed for the better":

"In what respect did your opinion change for the better?"

EAST GERMANY

Political freedom is greater than expected: 10%

"Here you can feel a human being once more, here you are allowed to speak freely, I didn't expect things to be that grand."
"In the political field - here you can talk, here you are a free human being, we were treated like slaves in the East Zone, everybody is free over here."
"Here you can express your opinion freely."
"I didn't expect so much freedom for everybody in the West. I did know that there was liberty in the West, but I didn't think that everybody could enjoy the same rights and freedom, but I know it now."
"There are no political posters in streets, restaurants and similar places. The only topic in our zone is politics and especially war."
"How I see the difference clearly: personal freedom of the individual is absolutely guaranteed while in the East Zone everything depends on the political attitude."

Standard of living and conditions are better than expected: 10

"I'm surprised about the standard of living, about well-balanced wages and prices. Even the unemployed can manage here."
"Everything is obtainable without coupons and without restrictions, the quality is good. I can see the difference now."
"Everything here is much better, the standard of living and so on."
"Because in the East Zone living conditions in the West Zone are described in a different light. They told us that we must starve here, but I still found conditions to be better than expected."
"Because I have seen that people over here are still better off than I thought they would be."
"I have seen the reconstruction work, I knew that reconstruction work is under way, but I had no idea that it was done on such a large scale."
"I got to know the difference between the living conditions in the East and the West, I didn't expect that people over here are so well off."
"Because everything one needs can be bought here, it's like before the war."
"I was dumb-founded when I saw the shop-windows here."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

EAST GERMANY

Reception given to and attention shown to refugees surpassed expectations: 8%

"It was comforting to see how kindly we were received here by everybody, from the guard to the doctor of the camp, in spite of the fact that everybody is terribly overworked. Everything functioned smoothly and in a friendly manner."
"Because of the fact that people from the East Zone are admitted and fed here, and that money is spent so that they can fly to West Germany. That shows a true concern for these people, a thing that's only talked about in the East Zone, here in the West concrete help is given to these people when they arrive here."
"Because I saw how people are aided here. We were shown great hospitality. We are well fed and there is the chance to earn some pocket money. We didn't know that we would be treated so well."
"The kind welcome: a policeman gave me the fare to the Kuno-Fischer street when I arrived. Plenty of food and accommodation in a camp, I didn't expect this, I'm surprised."
"That the refugees, especially the young people, are received and helped in such a friendly manner and are flown to the West within a short time."
"I noticed it upon the arrival of the refugees - I'm sure it isn't easy to arrange things for such a lot of refugees. Because we are well fed and accommodations are good."
"I wouldn't have expected the refugees to be received in so friendly a manner."
"I was very much surprised about the good accommodations and food they provided for us though it's a huge crowd that cross the border."

Others: 1

No opinion/No answer: * 29%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS ADVANCED FOR BECOMING LESS PRO-WEST ...

The few refugees who spoke of worsened attitudes as a consequence of their coming over, primarily adduced instances of alleged inequities in their processing as reasons for their less favorable orientations.

"Has your opinion of the West changed since you came here?"

IF "Changed for the worse":

"In what respect did your opinion change for the worse?"

EAST GERMANY

Refugees are processed in an unsatisfactory manner (bureaucratic, unjust, corrupt officials): 4%

"The bureaucracy in the West is quite an obstacle, I wouldn't have expected that, it takes ages and is very complicated to get anything accomplished here."
"Red tape in recognising refugees, an offender against the economy is more readily admitted than a political refugee, the former had cost the state 200,000 marks, he was recognised while I as a political refugee was turned down."
"I want to stay on in Berlin because my fiancé lives here, at the Central Youth Department (Hauptjugendamt), however, they told me in a rather unfriendly way I had to go to Western Germany."
"The way they treat us, they make trouble for us unnecessarily, they are not humane enough."
"I didn't expect there would be such wide-spread corruption, officials judge everything from the point of view of their political party."
"I was surprised to find that the commission didn't take us seriously, they seem to think it isn't economic distress that makes us come here."
"I'm disappointed about processing methods, I can't understand why they detain me here as I have got funds and property in Aachen (West German town)."
"I had not expected to share quarters in the camp with so many people, nor that we'd got no leave passes for four days if we were few minutes late at night, we are not in jail, after all."

People in the West are not interested in the fate of refugees: 1

"I had expected the people in the West would show some concern, but I found out that they feel rather secure here and do not feel there is any need to be on the alert."
"The attitude the people show, I don't think they realise how grave the situation is." Etc.

Others: *

"First they ask us to come over, then they don't admit you, it's the same big lie as in the East, the poor always are the losers." Etc.

No opinion/No answer: -
5%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

FEW REFUGEES REGRET HAVING COME WEST ...

In strong corroboration of the indication thus far of predominantly favorable reactions on the part of West Berlin refugees to their reception and experiences, is a 97% figure for those who would choose the same course if they had it to do all over again. Even among the refugees who were denied the status of political persecutees, only one in twenty (6%) indicated that if he had it do do all over again he would stay in the East Zone.

The conclusion seems evident on the basis of the present sampling, that whatever tribulations recent refugees are undergoing under present West Berlin conditions, with small exception their pro-Western orientation and their satisfaction with the course of action they have chosen have not been impaired.

"Supposing you would once more be faced with the decision, whether to go to the West or to stay on in the East Zone: what would you do?"

	All refugees	Acknowledged political refugees	Not yet evaluated refugees	Rejected refugees
Go to the West	97%	99%	87%	91%
Stay on in the East Zone	1	-	1	6
No opinion	2	1	2	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Go to the West	Stay on in the East Zone	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	97%	1%	2%...100%	273
Women	97	1	2	128
Education:				
Elementary school	98	*	2	297
Beyond elementary	96	3	1	102
Age:				
Up to 24 years	98	-	2	155
25 - 49 years	97	1	2	183
50 years and over	94	3	3	63
Occupation:				
Professionals and businessmen	100	-	-	48
White-collar workers	95	4	1	74
Skilled laborers	98	1	1	80
Semi-skilled laborers, apprentices and domestic service	98	-	2	82
Farmers	98	-	2	45
Housewives	98	-	2	40
Land:				
East Sector of Berlin	100	-	-	18
Brandenburg	94	1	5	66
Saxony	98	1	1	85
Saxon-Anhalt	96	1	3	76
Thuringia	98	-	2	60
Mecklenburg	98	1	1	96
City Size:				
Village	96	-	4	135
Small town	100	-	-	96
City	98	2	-	98
Large city	94	3	3	61

* Less than one half of one per cent.

04082

IV. REACTIONS TO KAISER'S ADMONITION TO EAST GERMANS

MOST AGREE ONLY REALLY ENDANGERED SHOULD COME TO WEST ...

The large preponderance of the recent refugees sampled in the present study express themselves in agreement with the view recently broadcast by Jakob Kaiser, minister of all-German affairs, that East Zone Germans should remain where they are unless their lives and freedom are endangered.

> "By and large, do you agree to what Federal Minister Kaiser said, or do you reject it?" (Asked of all respondents after those unaware of recent speech to East Zone were told:
>
> "In his last speech, Federal Minister Kaiser held the view that the people of the East Zone should stay on in the East Zone and should come over to the West only if their lives and freedom are endangered.")

	All refugees	Acknowledged political refugees	Not yet evaluated refugees	Rejected refugees
Agree with view	74%	75%	76%	61%
Reject view	21	21	20	24
No opinion	5	4	4	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Agree with view	Reject view	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	74%	22%	4%...100%	273
Women	76	18	6	128
Education:				
Elementary school	76	19	5	297
Beyond elementary	67	28	5	102
Age:				
Up to 24 years	77	19	4	155
25 - 49 years	76	18	6	183
50 years and over	62	33	5	63
Occupation:				
Professionals and Businessmen	71	27	2	48
White-collar workers	69	27	4	74
Skilled laborers	70	25	5	80
Semi-skilled laborers, apprentices & domestic service	83	16	1	82
Farmers	78	18	4	45
Housewives	85	5	10	40
Land:				
East Sector of Berlin	72	17	11	18
Brandenburg	88	5	7	66
Saxony	77	22	1	85
Saxon-Anhalt	70	22	8	76
Thuringia	68	30	2	60
Mecklenburg	70	25	5	96
City Size:				
Village	75	19	6	135
Small town	73	20	7	96
City	74	23	3	98
Large city	75	23	2	61

REASONS ADVANCED FOR AGREEMENT WITH KAISER'S VIEW ...

The reasons advanced for agreeing with Kaiser that only really endangered East Germans should come to the West, disclose considerable understanding on the part of the refugees of the advantages of having pro-West East Germans where they are, and the disadvantages of flooding the West with hordes of refugees. There is more than a trace in the comments, however, of respondents agreeing that the logic is fine - for other people. I am a legitimate refugee - is the frequent intimation - but many of the others are not, and as for people still in the East Zone they should remain where they are.

"By and large, do you agree to what Federal Minister Kaiser said, or do you reject it?"

IF "Agree with view":

"Why do you agree to it?"

	EAST GERMANY
Economic strain and aggravated housing shortage would ensue if everybody fled from the East Zone:	36%

"It's no go if half of the East Zone population comes here to the West, that would lead to a catastrophe, there would be no work."
"Otherwise too many people would come over here, and the West would not know where to house them all."
"As a sensible human being one can imagine that one would be only a burden for the citizens and the government here in the West."
"Because then the number of unemployed would increase in the West, all fields are overcrowded, as it is."
"The West is so densely populated, there is no living space, people must stay on in the East as long as possible."
"Because West Germany is overcrowded already, they hardly can accommodate more people, the housing program can't keep up with the demand."
"It's impossible for the whole population from the East to come here, that would lead to chaos in the West because it would be an enormous financial burden if everybody who doesn't like it any more would come here."
"The West would become overcrowded, the West couldn't provide a living for all of them, because we all arrive empty-handed and our property remains in the East and falls into the hands of the Communists."
"A sensible person has to admit that we are a heavy financial burden to the state, we are idle all day as we can't find work, it's the prevailing unemployment and the bad housing situation."
"Because many people come here just to lead a comfortable life and they are an enormous financial burden to the West."
"The West is not inexhaustible, there must be a slump some day and they won't be able to manage the influx of refugees any more."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) EAST GERMANY

Some people must stay in the East Zone in order to resist the Russians and the Communists: 17%

"If all those who offer resistance will leave, the Western influence in the East will dininish more and more."
"Some people who are for the cause of freedom have to stay on there - that is to say as outposts of freedom."
"Those who are not endangered should stay on there and fight for freedom. In free discussions they should tell the truth and always cite examples in order to show the government of the DDR that they are no fools and that they don't believe the lies they are told."
"People in the East Zone have to hold out, otherwise if the situation is changed some day, all capable people would be in the West."
"Those who are not yet in danger should continue to make trouble for Communist elements."
"Because they can still do something over there to prevent all of the people being exploited, if everybody would flee the East Zone government will only be glad about it as they could carry out any plan they might have."
"If all those would go who oppose the regime in some way or other, the East Zone would be nothing but a tool in the hands of the Russians."
"Some decent people should stay on in the East Zone, not just SED people and party functionaries, otherwise the Soviets will have free play in everything, a sufficient number of people with a pro-Western attitude should stay on so that the Soviets will become aware of a resistance."

Only politically persecuted people are entitled to flee, everybody would come if this condition is not set up: 10

"Because people are really free here, those who are persecuted should come over, there is no need to do so for the others."
"Only that is a justification for a flight, a person who runs no risk by staying on, has no right to come over."
"He is quite right, because otherwise all of them would come over."
"If a person is not endangered he should stay on over there."

Because the East Zone must remain a territory with a German population: 9

"He is right, if we would all leave our country, it would mean to give up our country for lost without struggle."
"If everybody would flee because of some trifle, the whole territory of the East Zone would be depopulated some day, then the Russians would have a pretext to annex this territory as unclaimed. Perhaps they would settle Chinese there, as they did in Silesia."
"If we all go to the West we might lose the East Zone territory."
"Because in my opinion the Russians even encourage the East Zone population to run away in order to settle Eastern people there later on."
"The East would be completely empty one day."
"They may even settle foreign people in the East Zone."
"It's German territory and must not be depopulated."
"Not everybody can leave the East Zone, otherwise it would be empty."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Because otherwise too great a number of refugees will come over to seek material advantages only: 7%

"Because most of them don't come to Berlin as political refugees but for material advantages or to have a good time, they should try to stop such practices."
"Because everybody will come for whom something went wrong and who thinks in the West he will find a paradise."
"Many will come who don't like to work over there, and here they will show the same attitude."
"The others come here only because they want to lead a more comfortable life and that won't do."
"Because most people don't know what they're after, they come over here and hope for miracles."
"It would be unjust if all people would be allowed to come whose only concern is to eat better."

The West must use its limited means for actually persecuted people: 6

"There are so many people who could hold out there without any risk, they shouldn't crowd out those who really are in danger." O
"Because many people just want to lead a more comfortable life, they just come out of a sense of adventure, that's out, for otherwise there is no room for the really persecuted."
"So that the West can continue to settle those people whose lives are in danger."
"Because otherwise it would be extremely difficult for the West to help in cases where it's really necessary."
"If a person is not in danger, he should not desert his home, so that those who really are in danger can come over here."
"Those who only come to eat better and to have things more pleasant ruin everything for the others."
"Those who had valid reasons to leave have to suffer because so many who would not have run any risk by staying on have a lot of pretensions, I think that's unjust."

Because otherwise criminals would flee to the West, too: 2

"It would lead only to an influx of criminals, of people who have committed some sort of an offense."
"There are many among them who have been charged with some offense and who would try to start a new life in the West Zone."
"Because many come over who are criminals."
"Because I had the experience that the others are just good-for-nothings and shirkers, the West doesn't need them."

Others: 3

"It's better to be diplomatic and to take one's time for a decision, conditions over here aren't too favorable for the refugees, it's not wise to give up one's property recklessly."
"Because everybody has replaced some property after the war, he shouldn't leave that behind if he can help it."

No opinion/No answer: 1

91%

O Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS ADVANCED FOR DISAGREEING WITH KAISER ...

The minority who felt that all East Germans should feel free to come to the West if they so desired argued mainly that everyone in the East Zone is in danger. Some emphasized that to wait until danger is acute may only result in escape being cut off.

"By and large, do you agree to what Federal Minister Kaiser said, or do you reject it?"

IF "Reject view":

"Why do you reject it?"

EAST GERMANY

Because everybody who lives in the East Zone is in danger: 9%

"Because the freedom of every person who lives in the East Zone is endangered."
"Everybody is endangered over there, if he opens his mouth he may be in jail the next day."
"Because the people are suppressed and treated like slaves over there."
"That's a plea people cannot fulfill especially the intellectuals can't do it because every single move they make is watched."
"Because people there are starving and they can't bear it any longer."
"Because the average citizen can't be expected to stay there any longer, conditions are unbearable."
"Because we all are in danger every day, and because we can't stand this life any longer."
"There are so many people whose spirit will be broken in the long run. Everybody wants to go away even those who don't live in an acute danger."

Flight prevents actual danger: 5

"Because you can't stay there until the very last minute if freedom or life are in danger. It will be too late then, you have to leave in time."
"You never know the hour when these people decide to arrest you, should one wait for it?"
"Because you don't know when danger becomes acute, it might be too late then. And all those people in the East Zone who sympathise with the West are in danger."
"It generally is too late if you wait till your life is in danger or until they start to persecute you."
"It's better to leave at once for you may not manage to cross the border later on."
"You can't wait until you feel the hand of fate pressing down on you."
"If a person is already in danger it usually is too late for him to be saved. He then won't have the chance to come over here."

Slogans that urge people to stay are idle words because one doesn't realize the danger: 2

"Because addresses that call on people to hold out only sound good."
"It's easy for the people in the West to say, 'hold out'."
"Because it's impossible to advise somebody in this field." Etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) EAST GERMANY

Economic reasons should be recognized, too: 2%

"The economic situation can be decisive for a person's flight, too."
"One shouldn't forget that those who get a pension of 50 East-marks can't live on this sum."
"Many go to the West because they are hard up. Disabled veterans, too, are forced to leave the East."

Recruitment to the People's Police should be recognized as a justification for fleeing, too: 1

"Because otherwise all young people will be forced to join the Vopo (People's police). They must be given the chance to go to the West even though they are not actually in danger, otherwise the military power of the East is strengthened."
"Some day everybody who lives in the East would be forced to join the Vopo, this would be unfavorable for the West, too."
"Because one would be forced to join the Vopo."

Everybody should be admitted out of pity: 1

"Because we have to help these people in every respect. One can't leave them homeless."
"One must be broad-minded."
"Because I feel sorry for the people who are unhappy and who do everything under pressure."

Every German has a right to choose where he wants to go: 1

"We all are Germans and we have the same right for employment and payment, in the West as well as in the East."
"Everybody has a right to live as a free person but only in the West Zone can you do it, and we can't be blamed for living in the East Zone."

Others: 3

"Because otherwise all those people who don't have to fear for their lives will give way to the pressure so that the DDR (German Democratic Republic) will get even more followers for these people then feel left in the lurch by the West."
"The more people from the East are absorbed by the West, the more Communism will be weakened. Decent people can't live in this zone." Etc.

No opinion/No answer: -
24%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

APPENDIX

Composition of the Obtained Sample of Recent West Berlin Refugees

Sex:	
Men	68%
Women	32
	100%
Education:	
Elementary school	75%
Beyond elementary	25
	100%
Age:	
Up to 19 years	15%
20 - 29 years	34
30 - 39 years	18
40 - 49 years	17
50 - 59 years	11
60 years and over	5
	100%
Occupation:	
Professionals	5%
Businessmen	7
White-collar workers	19
Skilled laborers	20
Semi-skilled laborers	11
Apprentices	1
Domestic Service	4
Farmers	11
Housewives	10
Unemployed	*
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	8
People's Police	4
	100%
Land:	
East Sector of Berlin	4%
Brandenburg	17
Saxony	21
Saxon-Anhalt	19
Thuringia	15
Mecklenburg	24
	100%
City Size:	
Village	34%
Small town	24
City	24
Large city	15
No answer	3
	100%
Refugee status:	
Acknowledged political refugee	24%
Rejected refugee	8
Not yet evaluated refugee	68
	100%
Length of time in West Berlin:	
1 - 3 days	3%
4 - 7 days (one week)	14
2 weeks	21
3 weeks	19
4 weeks	20
2 months	16
3 months	3
More than 3 months	4

04089

WEST GERMANS APPRAISE THEIR PRESENT DAY PRESS

I. Newspaper Readership and Preferences

Report No. 158
Series No. 2

October 14, 1952

RESTRICTED
OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

HIGHLIGHTS

I. THE GERMAN NEWSPAPER AUDIENCE

ONLY SMALL MINORITY OF GERMANS DO NOT READ NEWSPAPERS ...

Over one-half of West Germans read the press at least six times a week, and another one-fourth read papers from two to five times weekly.

Only one in six adults read the press less than once a week or not at all.

Higher-status elements in the population read newspapers regularly to a much greater extent than do other groups. The well-educated, the well-to-do and the prestige occupations report three-fourths or more as very frequent readers (six times a week or more).

More men than women and more large city residents than people living in small towns and rural communities are frequent readers.

II. SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEWSPAPERS READ

READING IS CONCENTRATED IN CERTAIN KINDS OF PAPERS ...

Papers read by most people -- by seven in ten of West Germany's adult readers -- are politically "independent", according to the judgment of HICOG Press Branch. Reading of the major-party press is about equally divided between SPD and CDU/CSU papers -- with one in seven reading each.

Newspaper-reading in Germany tends to be concentrated in the largest circulation papers rather than spread out over a large number of smaller publications. Only 11% of the people read papers having 10,000 circulation or under, and 43% read papers having a circulation of over 100,000.

III. WHAT DO GERMANS READ IN THEIR NEWSPAPERS?

LOCAL NEWS IS FAVORITE NEWSPAPER FARE ...

Local news is read <u>most of the time</u> by most Germans -- by more people, in fact, than any other kind of news or features published in the press. Two-thirds of West Germans follow regularly their local communities' activities through newspaper reading.

Crime and accident reports have the next largest regular audience. One-half of the people read such reports in the press most of the time.

The next largest audience (about two in five Germans) are those who attend regularly to news about political and economic news; one in three read press editorials most of the time.

THE AUDIENCE FOR SERIOUS NEWSPAPER CONTENT IS DIFFERENT FROM AVERAGE ...

While local news is read regularly by all types and classes of Germans, regular attendance to political/economic news and editorials is centered largely among men and among the better-educated segment of the population.

04091

IV. HOW DOES RADIO SUPPLEMENT NEWSPAPER READING?

OVER ONE-HALF OF WEST GERMANS LISTEN TO RADIO NEWS EVERY DAY ...

About the same proportion of people listen to radio news at least once a day as read the press six times a week or more. All in all, radio news contributes continuously to the information of three-fourths of German adults.

RADIO IS CHIEF NEWS SOURCE FOR GERMANS ...

One-half of the population named radio as their primary news source, compared with 37% who depend mainly upon the newspaper for their news of world and domestic events.

The newspaper in Germany, as in the United States, is the preferred news source of the better-educated.

Radio news listening is more diffused among all kinds of people than newspaper reading, although radio commentary listening (like newspaper reading) is regularly done by some groups more than others -- by men, the better-educated, and the prestige occupation groups. Two of every five Germans hear radio commentaries frequently.

V. AUDIENCE OVERLAP BETWEEN MEDIA

AVID NEWS CONSUMERS USE MORE THAN ONE MEDIUM OF NEWS ...

The more often people listen to radio newscasts the more likely they are to be frequent newspaper readers; they supplement one medium by turning to another. Sixty-one per cent who listen daily to newscasts also read the press six times a week or more, compared with 42% doing so among those who don't listen to the radio at all.

While 57% of those who do not read newspapers also never read magazines or pictorials, only 31% of regular press readers never read magazines and pictorials.

One-half of avid newscast listeners are regular listeners to radio commentaries, contrasted with the 19% of less regular or non-listeners to newscast who hear commentaries regularly.

REGULAR COMMENTARY LISTENERS ARE PARTICULARLY LIKELY TO SELECT SERIOUS PRESS CONTENT ...

Two-thirds of regular commentary listeners also read German political and economic news most of the time; only a fourth of those who don't listen to radio commentaries do so.

About six in ten of them read editorials regularly; only 20% of the non-commentary group do so.

Four in ten read cultural news in the press most of the time; only 22% of those who do not listen to commentaries read such material most of the time.

INTRODUCTION

This is the first in a series of three studies which are to describe and assess the German press today. The present study will define the size and structure of the German newspaper audience, its composition and the nature of its exposure to the some 1,000 newspapers in West Germany. The second report in this series will be concerned with the German people's evaluation of the press. The third will be devoted almost entirely to inquiring into the readership and effectiveness of the Neue Zeitung, the American-sponsored newspaper in Germany.

This report is really a preface to the two succeeding it, as it is largely a description of what is available to the German newspaper consumer. It also describes the consumer himself -- the important characteristics of the newspaper audience and some of the uses it makes of other news media.

I. THE GERMAN NEWSPAPER AUDIENCE

ONE HALF OF WEST GERMANS READ PAPERS ALMOST DAILY ...

Over one-half of West Germans are regular readers of newspapers (56% read them at least six times a week), and another one-fourth (23%) read them from two to five times weekly.

"Do you read the newspaper? Approximately how often do you read the newspaper during the week?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
6 times a week	56%	67%	42%	53%	63%
4 - 5 times a week	8	3	12	19	1
2 - 3 times a week	15	8	24	12	14
Once a week	5	5	5	6	12
Less than once a week	2	1	3	1	3
Don't read newspaper	14	16	14	9	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

People who either do not read papers at all or who read them less than six times a week were asked, "Can you tell me why you don't read the newspaper (more often)?" They gave three principal kinds of reasons -- in about the same frequency: they lack the money to buy the paper more often or to subscribe to it at all; the paper they read is not published more often, and some form of the near-rationalization, "I don't have the time". Others are more frank, saying simply that they haven't enough interest to read more, if at all.*

---

* Their reasons, and certain other data relevant to succeeding parts of this report, can be found in the Appendix. Tables showing in detail group differences - both reported and unreported -- and some coded comments have been placed there. They appear in the same order as related material appears in the text.

ONE IN EVERY FIVE READERS READS MORE THAN ONE NEWSPAPER ...

Nearly a fifth of German readers read more than one paper, and another fifth say they would like to read more than one. However, the bulk of readers limit their reading to only one newspaper and indicate no desire to read more.

"Which newspapers do you read? IF ONLY ONE NAMED: "Would you like to read more than one newspaper, or is one enough for you?"

Read three or more	4%
Read two	15
Read one but would like to read more	23
Read one and one is enough	57
No opinion	1
100% =	(1024)*

MOST READERS SUBSCRIBE TO NEWSPAPERS THEY READ ...

Most German readers subscribe to the newspapers they read, as only about one in ten buy them at newsstands and another 16% get them in some other way.

"Have you or your family subscribed to (a) newspaper(s), or do you buy them at the newsstand, or do you get your newspaper elsewhere?"

Yes, subscribe to newspaper	75%
Buy at newsstand	9
Get the newspaper elsewhere	16
	100%

WHO ARE THE MOST FREQUENT READERS OF NEWSPAPERS?...

The higher-status elements in the population read newspapers regularly to a much greater extent than other groups. The well-educated, the well-to-do, the prestige occupations report three-fourths or more of themselves as daily newspaper readers. Men are considerably more frequent readers than women; and people living in cities than those in small towns. The table below shows these group differences.

FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING

	6 times a week	5 to less than once a week	Don't read	No. of cases
Elementary school	52%	31%	17%	100% (966)
High school and university	74	21	5	(232)
Male	63%	28%	9%	(542)
Female	50	31	19	(656)
Professionals	74%	26%	-	(39)
Businessmen	84	14	2	(81)
White-collar workers	69	25	6	(118)
Skilled laborers	57	30	13	(133)
Semi-skilled laborers	47	38	15	(98)
Farmers	52	42	6	(77
Housewives	55	27	18	(384)
Unemployed	36	49	15	(45)
Not employed:pensioners; students; retired; etc.	48	30	22	(176)
400 DM per month and over	73%	23%	4%	(172)
300-399 DM per month	68	26	6	(354)
0 - 299 DM per month	46	33	21	(670)

* All figures in parentheses throughout the report indicate actual number of cases.

RESTRICTED

WHERE THEY LIVE IS IMPORTANT IN INFLUENCING THE AMOUNT OF NEWSPAPER READING ...

A major factor in newspaper reading habits is the size of the place where a person lives. This factor is particularly important among people with limited education, as the table following shows.

	Per cent reading newspapers 6 times a week	Per cent never reading newspapers
Among the well-educated:		
Living in cities over 100,000 population	78%	8%
Living in communities under 2,000	65	7
Among the less educated:		
Living in cities over 100,000	64%	10%
Living in communities under 2,000	45	23

One reason that one would expect the last above finding is that newspapers in small communities are published less frequently than are city newspapers. It is always possible, of course, that residents of these small towns and villages could supplement their reading of local newspapers by subscriptions to daily newspapers serving their area, but as was indicated earlier only a small proportion of people read more than one newspaper.

ONE-FOURTH FEWER WEST GERMANS READ MAGAZINES THAN READ NEWSPAPERS ...

Readership of magazines and pictorials is more limited than that of newspapers. Frequency-of-reading figures are not comparable, of course, because of the difference in publication frequency between newspapers and magazines, but while 14% of West Germans say they do not read newspapers at all, 38% of them do not read magazines or pictorials.

"Do you read magazines or pictorials?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Yes, magazines	17%	18%	16%	17%	13%
Yes, pictorials	29	35	23	22	36
Yes, both	16	13	16	27	26
Don't read any	38	34	45	34	25
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

04095

II. SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEWSPAPERS READ

POLITICAL TONE OF THE PRESS ...

It is possible to identify most German newspapers as to their political coloration, editorially. Using such a classification (which was developed by the Press Branch, Information Division, HICOG),* almost three-fourths (72%) of West Germany's newspaper readers read "independent" publications. (It must be noted that the degree of "independence" varies, and that this is not intended to be a hard-and-fast definition of those papers so classified; however, it can be said that these papers differ generally from those classified into the other groups and do not publish consistently along the line of certain party or other group interests).

> 15% read SPD and near-SPD publications, while 14% read CDU/CSU papers. Four per cent are exposed to FDP publications. Extreme rightist and extreme leftist party papers are read by less than 2% of the newspaper-consuming public.

NEWSPAPER READING IS CONCENTRATED IN THE CITY PAPERS ...

Newspaper-reading in Germany tends to be concentrated in the largest circulation newspapers rather than spread out over a large number of smaller papers.

> Only 11% of the people read papers having 10,000 circulation or under and 43% read papers having a circulation of over 100,000.

---

* The criteria developed by HICOG for this designation were the known political affiliations or tendencies of regular contributors (columnists, etc.) to the newspapers and of people whose names appear in the newspaper mastheads, in addition to a continuing analysis of editorial comment published in the papers.

III. WHAT DO GERMANS READ IN THEIR NEWSPAPERS?

LOCAL NEWS IS FAVORITE NEWSPAPER CONTENT OF WEST GERMANS ...

The following question was asked of all newspaper readers:

> "Can you tell me what you generally read in the newspaper? (CARD) (Do you read ..... most of the time, occasionally, or rarely?)"

WEST GERMANY

	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Don't read this content	Non-newspaper readers
Local news	68%	12%	4%	2%	14%..100%
Economic and political news from Germany	40	21	14	11	14
Economic and political news from all over the world	36	23	15	12	14
Cultural part	28	27	17	14	14
Sport news	31	15	15	25	14
Crime and accident reports	48	20	11	7	14
Entertainment and novel	33	17	15	21	14
Editorials (attitude of the newspapers toward current political and economic events	33	18	15	20	14
Advertisements	43	23	12	8	14
Other	2	1	*	83	14

Local news is read most of the time by most Germans -- by more Germans, in fact than any other kind of news or features published in the press. (Studies of news preference in the United States have found consistently the same thing). Two-thirds (68%) of West Germans follow regularly their local communities' activities through newspaper reading.

As in the United States, interest in local events is universal throughout the population; but only the better-educated and those with related characteristics are likely to have a strong interest in political affairs -- sufficiently strong to encourage their reading about such matters regularly in the press.

Crime and accident reports have the next largest regular audience. 48% of Germans read such reports in the press most of the time.

Running third in size of loyal audience is news about political and economic affairs in Germany (40%), with world political and economic news virtually the same (36%).

Another indication of the extent of readership of serious press content is the finding that one-third (33%) of West Germans read editorials most of the time.

*Asterisks appearing within tables indicate proportions of less than one per cent.

AUDIENCE FOR SERIOUS NEWSPAPER CONTENT DIFFERS MUCH FROM GENERAL GERMAN POPULATION ...

Local news is read regularly by all types and classes of Germans; but when it comes to "serious" newspaper content — political and economic news of Germany and the world, and editorials — there are wide group differences. Serious newspaper content is read by men, and the well-educated; their opposite groups show little interest in such subjects.

	PER CENT OF REGULAR READERSHIP OF:		
Groups:	Economic and political news of Germany	Economic and political news of the world	Editorials
Men	62%	56%	50%
Women	22	20	18
Elementary school	33%	30%	27%
Beyond elementary school	70	62	56

Of these two variables most highly related to the regularity of serious press content readership, sex is the more important. When the amount of education is controlled, strong difference remain between the sexes in the amount of reading political/economic news and editorials -- with more of the less-educated men reading such content regularly than of the well-educated women:

REGULARITY OF SERIOUS PRESS CONTENT READERSHIP ACCORDING TO EDUCATION AND SEX

	ELEMENTARY EDUCATION		MORE THAN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION	
Readership of press content:	Men	Women	Men	Women
Regularly read German political-economic news	61%	20%	88%	51%
Regularly read world political/economic news	54%	20%	81%	40%
Regularly read editorials	49%	18%	73%	38%

The broad pattern of press reading, certain newspaper audience characteristics and selectivity of newspaper content have been described. While this is a study primarily of the West German press, it is wise to include a consideration of a major competitor in the distribution of news. In Germany, as in most other countries of the world, radio enjoys a dominant position -- with the newspaper -- in the dissemination of information and interpretation. It would be well to know something about the radio news audience in West Germany and about how it compares with that of the press.

IV. HOW DOES RADIO SUPPLEMENT NEWSPAPER READING?

OVER ONE-HALF OF WEST GERMANS LISTEN TO RADIO NEWS EVERY DAY ...

About the same proportion of West Germans listen to radio news at least daily (54%) as read a newspaper six times a week (56%) and these are largely the same people. An additional 22% tune in their radio for news several times a week.

"Do you listen to the radio? Do you listen to the news over the radio? Approximately how often during the week?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Several times daily	17%	15%	20%	17%	27%
Daily	37	40	35	36	44
Several times a week	22	22	22	24	12
Once a week	4	3	3	5	3
Less than once a week	3	4	1	1	*
Don't listen to news	4	5	5	2	3
Don't listen to radio	13	11	14	15	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

It is evident from these figures that radio news is a very important product contributing continuously to the information of three-fourths of West German adults.

RADIO IS CHIEF NEWS SOURCE FOR WEST GERMANS ...

The radio is named as their primary news source by more people than any other of the media: newspaper, magazines and pictorials, and conversation with acquaintances. About one-half (51%) of West German adults say they depend mainly on the radio for information about world and German events.

"From which source do you mainly learn what is happening in the world and in Germany? (If several mentioned: Which is the main source?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Radio	51%	52%	50%	46%	52%
Newspapers	37	34	39	48	41
Conversation with acquaintances	4	5	5	2	3
Magazines and pictorials	*	*	*	-	-
Others	5	7	3	1	4
No opinion	3	2	3	3	*
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

MORE DEPENDENCE UPON NEWSPAPERS THAN RADIO AMONG BETTER-EDUCATED GERMANS ...

The newspaper is the preferred news source of the better-educated, generally speaking, while the radio is preferred by those with a more limited education.

More people having had elementary schooling or less name radio than name the newspaper (53% of this group prefer the radio, and 35% name the press). Among people having had a high school education, but without Abitur,* the proportions nominating the two media are virtually the same. Germans holding at least an Abitur are more likely to prefer the newspaper, as the following table shows:

CHIEF SOURCE OF NEWS
ACCORDING TO AMOUNT OF EDUCATION

Chief news source:	Elementary	High school without Abitur	Abitur & university
Radio	53%	48%	33%
Newspaper	35	43	57
Other	9	9	10
No opinion	3	-	-
100% =	(965)	(179)	(60)

RADIO NEWS LISTENING MORE DIFFUSED AMONG ALL KINDS OF PEOPLE THAN IS NEWSPAPER READING ...

We have seen that certain groups -- men, the well-to-do, the well-educated, those living in large cities -- are far more likely to read newspapers regularly than their opposite groups are. The same situation applies when it comes to listening to radio news; but the differences between these groups are considerably less. Apparently radio news listening is much more diffused through the total population than is regular newspaper reading.

There is more newscast listening in cities and larger towns than in villages and rural communities of West Germany:

While 44% of residents of villages and towns under 2,000 population (also having an elementary education or less) listen daily, 61% of those with the same amount of education and who live in cities of over 10,000 do so.

There is not much difference in amount of radio news listening according to formal schooling of West Germans. Eighty-four per cent of the well-educated compared with 75% of the less educated listen at least several times a week.

---

* A holder of an Abitur has, roughly, the equivalent of a junior college education.

04100

TWO OF EVERY FIVE GERMANS HEAR RADIO COMMENTARIES FREQUENTLY ...

Another kind of news presentation is of interest -- the radio commentary on political and economic events which comprise the day's news. Listening to these interpretative commentaries demands on the part of the listener more than average interest in political and economic affairs. Those who listen to radio commentators go beyond the necessarily short newscasts and the straight newspaper accounts of (and comment on) events in order to get the "expert" evaluation of what the news means. The question is: how many Germans bother to follow up news reports by listening to interpretation by the radio commentator?

About the same proportion of West Germans listen to political/economic commentaries rather regularly (at least several times a week) as read political/economic news in the press most of the time. Two of every five Germans (39%) claim such listenership.

"Do you sometimes listen to political or economic commentaries by a radio commentator? (On which days?)"

Yes, daily	7%
Yes, several times a week	32
Yes, once a week	15
Yes, less than once a week	12
Don't listen	33
No opinion	1
	100% - (1046)

RADIO COMMENTARY LISTENING HEAVIER AMONG CERTAIN GROUPS ...

Group differences are apparent when amount of listening to radio commentaries is examined:

There is a notable difference between men and women in the extent of their commentary listening: Seven in ten (72%) of men listen to commentaries compared with 47% of women.

Better-educated people are more likely than others to listen to commentators; 76% of the former and 54% of the latter are listeners.

Farmers have the lowest proportion of commentary listeners of any occupation group.

V. AUDIENCE OVERLAP BETWEEN MEDIA

THE MORE FREQUENTLY ONE LISTENS TO RADIO NEWS, THE MORE FREQUENTLY HE READS NEWSPAPERS ...

Studies of audience overlap -- exposure of the same people to various media -- have often demonstrated that the media are to a large extent supplemental to each other. Instead of being competitive in the sense that people get their information from one -- to the near-exclusion of the other -- the press and radio provide news for many of the same people. The more often Germans listen to radio newscasts the more likely they are to be more frequent newspaper readers. They do not consume so much news from the radio that their interest in getting information is satiated by radio newscast listening; they are more likely than those who do comparatively little radio news listening to turn to the newspaper frqquently to supplement their news supply.

> Sixty-one per cent of West Germans who listen daily to newscasts also read the newspaper six times a week, compared with 42% of those who don't listen to the radio at all. As the amount of one's newscast listening decreases the likelihood of his frequently reading the newspaper also decreases.

The following table shows how news listening and news reading go together:

FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF RADIO NEWS LISTENING

	Radio News Listenership			
Read newspapers:	Listen daily	Once to several times weekly	Less than once a week or don't listen	Don't listen to the radio
6 times a week	61%	53%	47%	42%
2 - 5 times a week	23	24	10	26
Once a week or less	6	7	16	7
Don't read newspaper	10	16	27	25
	100% = (651)	(310)	(82)	(152)

NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE READERSHIP ALSO OVERLAPS ...

People who do not attend to one of the printed media are particularly unlikely to read the other. As frequency of newspaper reading decreases there is a generally progressive increase in the proportion of people who never read magazines and pictorials.

FREQUENCY OF MAGAZINE/PICTORIAL READERSHIP ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READERSHIP

	Newspaper-Reading Frequency		
Magazine/pictorial reading frequency:	Six times a week	Less than six times a week	Don't read newspaper
Frequently	52%	37%	33%
Seldom	17	16	10
Never	31	47	57
	100% = (670)	(354)	(174)

RADIO-MINDED NEWS CONSUMERS — A COMPARISON OF NEWSCAST WITH COMMENTARY LISTENING ...

One-half (53%) of avid newscast listeners -- who listen several times or at least once daily — are regular listeners to radio commentaries. Contrasted to them are the 19% of less regular or non-listeners to newscasts who hear commentaries frequently.

REGULARITY OF RADIO COMMENTARY LISTENING ACCORDING TO REGULARITY OF RADIO NEWSCAST LISTENING

	HIGH Radio News Listening	LOW Radio News Listening
FREQUENT commentary listening	53%	19%
INFREQUENT commentary listening	47	81
	100% = (585)	(319)

The pattern appears to be that those people who are not regular newscast devotees are very unlikely to attend much to commentaries.

MORE FREQUENT COMMENTARY LISTENERS MORE LIKELY ALSO TO SELECT SERIOUS NEWSPAPER CONTENT FOR REGULAR READING ...

People who listen to radio commentaries are likely to be readers of serious newspaper content.

Two-thirds of them (68%) read German political and economic news regularly; only a fourth (27%) of those who don't listen to radio commentaries do so.

About six in ten (58%) of them read editorials regularly; only 20% of the non-commentary group do so.

Four in ten (42%) of them read cultural news regularly; a fourth (22%) of those who don't listen to radio commentaries read such material.

But when it comes to less serious newspaper content, both groups are alike; about eight out of ten of both groups read local news regularly in their newspapers; and about two in five of both groups read entertainment.

It can be seen, then, that those West Germans who attend regularly to political and economic commentaries on the radio are more likely to select the same kind of content from the newspapers -- to be more "sophisticated" in their attention to serious content of the media.

[redacted]

APPENDIX

CODED COMMENTS AND GROUP DIFFERENCES

04104

"Can you tell me why you do not read newspapers (more often)?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Not enough money to buy the paper more frequently or to subscribe to it:		
I have no money for that; my money doesn't even cover the expenses for food, there is no money left to buy a paper; I can't afford it; that costs too much but I haven't got the necessary money, the radio is just expensive enough; we don't keep a paper, too expensive; we have no money to buy a paper; we are poor refugees; I cannot afford a paper, had to start a new business that means I need each Mark; can't afford it with social insurance; lack of money, I have no job; I can't afford a paper more often; it costs money; we have not much time, we get a periodical (Erbenheimer Anzeiger) and that is enough; got a subscription for one day per week, otherwise it would cost too much; I have not enough money to read each day; etc.	14%	23%
Not enough time to do so, otherwise occupied:		
I can't do it more often, I can't spare the time to do it more often; I'm too busy, I am working in a canteen and have to run a household besides, I am too tired in the evening; I simply haven't the time to do so, that is all; I do much needlework and go early to bed and don't read a lot; I'm too tied up with examination work at school; I cannot spare any time to do so; I am too busy, there is too much work to do on the farm; I have a ten person family who demands most of my time; I'm tied up with business matters, I run a barber-shop and therefore can't spare enough time; I have no time to spare, I have a job that means I have to do my housework in the evening, that is the main reason; I'm working all the day long and when I come home in the evening, the first thing to do is my housework and then it is time to go to bed; I have no time to do so, I have just opened up a shop; etc.	11	7
The paper is not published more often:		
The paper doesn't appear more often; I don't get it more often; our paper only appears three times a week; it doesn't appear every day; it appears only five times; on Wednesdays there is no paper available, otherwise I always read it; it only appears four times a week; etc.	12	-

(con't on next page)

04105

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Lack of interest: No interest at all, I just keep them to light the fire with them; I'm not very much interested in it; what is written in the papers doesn't always interest me; no interest in what is going on in the world, I'm fed up; no interest in them; mainly political matters are found, they don't interest me; I don't understand what is written in the papers, I am old and I'm not interested in anything any more; only politics is found in the papers which I'm not interested in, I prefer a novel; by reading the paper once or twice a week I know what is going on, and that is enough; we get the paper only three times a week, there is no more interest, moreover, my husband handles it as he likes it; etc.	6%	5%
Obtain information in other ways: What I want to learn is being broadcast and the papers only repeat it; a magazine and the wireless are good enough for us; all that I'm interested in I find in "Westermanns Monatsschrift" - this periodical is completely enough for me; what happens in the world we can learn from the radio; my opinion is that all I can read in the papers is on the radio as well, and I'm not interested in more; etc.	2	4
Physical infirmities prevent reading: Because I'm blind I depend on my husband to read the paper to me but he can't spend too much time on it; my eyes ache and I'm not very much interested in it; my eyes are weak and reading means too much an effort to me; I can't read myself, I'm blind and there is not always a person around to read to me; my eyes won't do it any longer and I'm unable to comprehend it all; the doctor doesn't want me to read because I'm nervous; the doctor prohibited reading to me as I have weak eyes and a heart ailment; etc.	2	1
Borrows newspaper from others: Don't keep a paper of my own, only get it lent, once a week only; read it alternately, either at my friends or in the office; don't keep a paper of my own, I borrow it; don't buy a paper for my own use but borrow it from my hostess occasionally; I only get it from my landlady and I believe it doesn't appear more often; etc.	2	*
Other opinions: The paper won't help me get out of my troubles, therefore I don't see a reason why I should read it; no paper is being sent up to us and I very seldom go down to the village; the paper we used to read was always read by other people as well, therefore we stopped subscribing to it six months ago; I can't either read or write; there are only lies to find in the papers why should I have a look at it at all?; etc.	1	1
No opinion/ No answer:	2	2
	52%**	43%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.
** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Do you read magazines or pictorials? (Which?) Approximately how often do you read magazines or pictorials?"

	Magazines and pictorials	Don't read any	No. of cases:
Sex:			
Men	65%	35%...100%	542
Women	60	40	656
Education:			
Elementary school	57	43	966
Beyond elementary	82	18	232
Income (per month):			
0 - 299 DM	52	48	700
300 - 399 DM	69	31	255
400 DM and more	83	17	229
Age:			
Up to 29 years	66	34	266
30 - 39 years	68	32	240
40 - 49 years	59	41	292
50 years and over	58	42	393
Party Preference:			
SPD	66	34	307
CDU/CSU	65	35	238
FDP/LDP/DVP	77	23	78
Other parties	56	44	62
No party	60	40	288
Don't know	51	49	225
Occupation:			
Professionals	79	21	57
Businessmen	80	20	156
White-collar workers	73	27	157
Skilled laborers	67	33	233
Semi-skilled laborers	50	50	135
Farmers	42	58	134
Unemployed	60	40	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	49	51	214
Religion:			
Catholics	62	38	499
Protestants	61	39	641
Origin:			
Natives	64	36	944
Expellees, Refugees	55	45	253

"Can you tell me what you generally read in the newspaper? (Do you read "economic and political news from Germany" most of the time, occasionally or rarely?)"

	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Don't read German political/economic news	Non-newspaper readers		No. of cases
Sex:							
Men	62%	20%	6%	3%	9%	100%	542
Women	22	22	20	17	19		656
Education:							
Elementary school	33	22	15	13	17		966
Beyond elementary	70	18	7	*	5		232
Income (per month):							
0 - 299 DM	33	19	13	14	21		700
300 - 399 DM	43	25	17	9	6		255
400 DM and more	58	23	10	4	5		229
Age:							
Up to 29 years	31	22	22	12	13		266
30 - 39 years	39	23	13	10	15		240
40 - 49 years	39	23	11	13	14		292
50 years and over	48	18	10	9	15		393
Party Preference:							
SPD	45	23	13	8	11		307
CDU/CSU	45	22	15	7	11		238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	61	22	10	3	4		78
Other parties	39	14	26	8	13		62
No party	41	20	9	11	19		288
Don't know	20	20	16	22	22		225
Occupation:							
Professionals	59	18	12	2	9		57
Businessmen	55	20	17	6	2		156
White-collar workers	52	24	10	7	7		157
Skilled laborers	37	26	15	10	12		233
Semi-skilled laborers	30	22	14	11	23		135
Farmers	34	20	14	16	16		134
Unemployed	31	24	7	8	30		58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	33	15	12	17	23		214
Religion:							
Catholics	38	20	15	12	15		499
Protestants	41	22	12	11	14		641
Origin:							
Natives	41	23	14	11	11		944
Expellees, Refugees	38	15	10	9	28		253

* Asterisks appearing within tables indicate proportions of less than one per cent.

04108

"Can you tell me what you generally read in the newspaper? (Do you read "economic and political news from all over the world" most of the time, occasionally or rarely?)"

	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Don't read world political/economic news	Non-newspaper readers	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	56%	22%	9%	4%	9%...100%	542
Women	20	23	20	18	19	656
Education:						
Elementary school	30	23	16	14	17	966
Beyond elementary	62	23	10	*	5	232
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	31	20	13	15	21	700
300 - 399 DM	36	29	20	9	6	255
400 DM and more	53	25	13	4	5	229
Age:						
Up to 29 years	30	22	21	14	13	266
30 - 39 years	38	21	16	10	15	240
40 - 49 years	33	26	15	12	14	292
50 years and over	41	22	11	11	15	393
Party Preference:						
SPD	41	26	15	7	11	307
CDU/CSU	40	25	15	9	11	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	55	23	15	3	4	78
Other parties	32	19	21	15	13	62
No party	37	19	13	12	19	288
Don't know	18	21	16	23	22	225
Occupation:						
Professionals	59	16	14	2	9	57
Businessmen	48	27	17	6	2	156
White-collar workers	45	28	14	6	7	157
Skilled laborers	33	25	21	9	12	233
Semi-skilled laborers	26	24	15	12	23	135
Farmers	30	19	13	22	16	134
Unemployed	36	17	9	8	30	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	31	18	11	17	23	214
Religion:						
Catholics	33	22	16	14	15	499
Protestants	38	24	14	10	14	641
Origin:						
Natives	36	25	16	12	11	944
Expellees, Refugees	35	17	11	9	28	253

04109

"Can you tell me what you generally read in the newspaper? (Do you read "editorials" (attitude of the newspapers toward current political and economic events) most of the time, occasionally or rarely?)"

	Most of the time	Occasionally	Rarely	Don't read editorials	Non-newspaper readers	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	50%	19%	11%	11%	9%...100%	542
Women	18	17	18	28	19	656
Education:						
Elementary school	27	17	16	23	17	966
Beyond elementary	56	20	10	9	5	232
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	25	16	14	24	21	700
300 - 399 DM	35	24	18	17	6	255
400 DM and more	53	18	10	14	5	229
Age:						
Up to 29 years	26	17	22	22	13	266
30 - 39 years	32	19	13	21	15	240
40 - 49 years	31	19	15	21	14	292
50 years and over	39	17	10	19	15	393
Party Preference:						
SPD	36	20	16	17	11	307
CDU/CSU	39	20	15	15	11	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	48	27	6	15	4	78
Other parties	34	19	19	15	13	62
No party	32	15	13	21	19	288
Don't know	16	13	16	33	22	225
Occupation:						
Professionals	60	16	10	5	9	57
Businessmen	46	20	15	17	2	156
White-collar workers	43	20	13	17	7	157
Skilled laborers	29	24	18	17	12	233
Semi-skilled laborers	30	11	15	21	23	135
Farmers	20	16	15	33	16	134
Unemployed	24	12	12	22	30	58
Not employed: pensioners; students;retired;etc.	28	15	11	23	23	214
Religion:						
Catholics	30	19	14	22	15	499
Protestants	34	17	15	20	14	641
Origin:						
Natives	33	19	15	22	11	944
Expellees, Refugees	31	15	13	13	28	253

04110

"Do you listen to the radio?
Do you listen to the news over the radio? Approximately how often during the week?"

	Several times a week	Once or less than once a week and don't listen to news	Don't listen to the radio	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	83%	7%	10%	*	...100% 542
Women	72	13	15	*	656
Education:					
Elementary school	75	11	14	*	966
Beyond elementary	84	7	8	1	232
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	72	11	17	*	700
300 - 399 DM	85	8	7	*	255
400 DM and more	83	12	5	*	229
Age:					
Up to 29 years	77	14	9	*	266
30 - 39 years	82	9	9	-	240
40 - 49 years	79	9	12	*	292
50 years and over	73	9	18	*	393
Party Preference:					
SPD	80	7	12	1	307
CDU/CSU	79	10	11	-	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	86	5	9	-	78
Other parties	73	13	14	-	62
No party	81	10	9	*	288
Don't know	62	17	21	-	225
Occupation:					
Professionals	70	14	16	-	57
Businessmen	85	9	6	-	156
White-collar workers	84	6	9	1	157
Skilled laborers	84	9	7	*	233
Semi-skilled laborers	75	15	10	-	135
Farmers	69	9	22	-	134
Unemployed	83	7	10	-	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	63	13	24	*	214
Religion:					
Catholics	79	10	11	-	499
Protestants	75	10	15	*	641
Origin:					
Natives	79	10	11	*	944
Expellees, Refugees	70	10	20	*	253

"Do you sometimes listen to political or economic commentaries by a radio commentator? (On which days?)"

	Yes	Don't listen No opinion	Don't listen to radio	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	72%	18%	10%...100%	542
Women	47	38	15	656
Education:				
Elementary school	54	32	14	966
Beyond elementary	76	16	8	232
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	53	30	17	700
300 - 399 DM	64	29	7	255
400 DM and more	68	27	5	229
Age:				
Up to 29 years	55	36	9	266
30 - 39 years	60	31	9	240
40 - 49 years	59	29	12	292
50 years and over	58	24	18	393
Party Preference:				
SPD	64	24	12	307
CDU/CSU	60	29	11	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	74	17	9	78
Other parties	50	36	14	62
No party	60	31	9	288
Don't know	41	38	21	225
Occupation:				
Professionals	65	19	16	57
Businessmen	67	27	6	156
White-collar workers	69	22	9	157
Skilled laborers	61	32	7	233
Semi-skilled laborers	55	35	10	135
Farmers	47	31	22	134
Unemployed	66	24	10	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	46	30	24	214
Religion:				
Catholics	57	32	11	499
Protestants	58	27	15	641
Origin:				
Natives	59	30	11	944
Expellees, Refugees	56	24	20	253

04112

"From which source do you mainly learn what is happening in the world and in Germany? (If several mentioned: Which is the main source?)"

	Radio	Newspaper	Conversation, magazines & pictorials, others	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	47%	45%	7%	1%..100%	542
Women	55	31	11	3	656
Education:					
Elementary school	53	35	9	3	966
Beyond elementary	44	47	9	-	232
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	51	35	11	3	700
300 - 399 DM	53	36	10	1	255
400 DM and more	48	45	5	2	229
Age:					
Up to 29 years	59	32	8	1	266
30 - 39 years	52	35	12	1	240
40 - 49 years	56	33	8	3	292
50 years and over	41	45	10	4	393
Party Preference:					
SPD	54	37	8	1	307
CDU/CSU	54	39	6	1	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	45	50	5	-	78
Other parties	52	34	14	-	62
No party	49	40	8	3	288
Don't know	49	29	16	6	225
Occupation:					
Professionals	44	46	10	-	57
Businessmen	41	49	9	1	156
White-collar workers	55	36	8	1	157
Skilled laborers	58	33	7	2	233
Semi-skilled laborers	59	28	11	2	135
Farmers	47	41	8	4	134
Unemployed	62	28	8	2	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	45	39	10	6	214
Religion:					
Catholics	53	38	7	2	499
Protestants	49	36	12	3	641
Origin:					
Natives	50	40	8	2	944
Expellees, Refugees	55	28	14	3	253

04113

APPENDIX

TABLES

[redacted]

EXTENT OF READING DIFFERENT KINDS OF NEWSPAPER CONTENT ACCORDING TO MAIN NEWS SOURCE

	MAIN NEWS SOURCE	
	Radio	Newspaper
LOCAL NEWS:		
Most of the time	81%	79%
Occasionnaly or rarely	17	18
Don't read this content	2	3
100% =	(501)	(441)
GERMAN ECONOMIC/ POLITICAL NEWS:		
Most of the time	43%	53%
Occasionally or rarely	44	36
Don't read this content	13	11
100% =	(501)	(441)
WORLD ECONOMIC/ POLITICAL NEWS:		
Most of the time	39%	47%
Occasionally or rarely	48	41
Don't read this content	13	12
100% =	(501)	(441)
EDITORIALS:		
Most of the time	34%	45%
Occasionally or rarely	41	35
Don't read this content	25	20
100% =	(501)	(441)

	MAIN NEWS SOURCE	
	Radio	Newspaper
CULTURAL INFORMATION:		
Most of the time	31%	37%
Occasionally or rarely	54	48
Don't read this content	15	15
100% =	(501)	(441)
SPORTS NEWS:		
Most of the time	39%	36%
Occasionally or rarely	37	31
Don't read this content	24	33
100% =	(501)	(441)
CRIME AND ACCIDENT NEWS:		
Most of the time	59%	54%
Occasionally or rarely	33	39
Don't read this content	8	7
100% =	(501)	(441)
ENTERTAINMENT:		
Most of the time	42%	36%
Occasionally or rarely	36	37
Don't read this content	22	27
100% =	(501)	(441)

TABLE Ia

FREQUENCY OF NEWSPAPER READING
ACCORDING TO SIZE OF COMMUNITY
(EDUCATION CONTROLLED)

	LOW EDUCATION				HIGH EDUCATION			
	Population				Population			
Frequency of Newspaper Reading:	Under 2,000	2,000- 10,000	10,000- 100,000	Over 100,000	Under 2,000	2,000- 10,000	10,000- 100,000	Over 100,000
6 times a week	45%	46%	56%	64%	65%	69%	76%	78%
2 - 5 times a week	26	29	22	18	26	25	15	11
Once a week or less	6	9	7	8	2	6	7	3
Don't read newspaper	23	16	15	10	7	-	2	8
100% =	(312)	(239)	(191)	(224)	(43)	(32)	(58)	(99)

TABLE Ib

"Approximately how often do you read magazines or pictorials?" (Asked of magazine or pictorial readers).

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Several times a week	15%	18%	11%	15%	2%
Once a week	29	29	29	32	55
Several times a month	11	11	10	11	10
Once a month	4	4	3	3	6
Less than once a month	1	2	*	1	2
No opinion/No answer	2	2	2	4	-
	62%	66%	55%	66%	75%

TABLE Ic

"And which newspapers do you read?" (Asked of all newspaper readers).

	WEST GERMANY
Under 5,000 (circulation)	6%
5,000 - 10,000	5
10,000 - 25,000	16
25,000 - 50,000	13
50,000 - 100,000	30
Over 100,000	43
	113%**

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04116

TABLE Id-T

AMOUNT OF RADIO NEWS LISTENING ACCORDING TO EDUCATION AND SIZE OF COMMUNITY

	LOW EDUCATION				HIGH EDUCATION			
	City Size				City Size			
	Under 2,000	2,000-10,000	10,000-100,000	Over 100,000	Under 2,000	2,000-10,000	10,000 100,000	Over 100,000
Listen to Radio News:								
Daily	44%	51%	61%	61%	63%	53%	55%	66%
Once to several times a week	30	25	25	22	23	28	35	21
Less than once a week or don't listen	8	9	5	7	2	13	3	5
Don't listen to radio	18	15	9	10	12	6	7	8
100% =	(312)	(239)	(191)	(224)	(43)	(32)	(58)	(99)

TABLE Id

DIFFERENT TYPES OF CONTENT OF NEWSPAPER READING ACCORDING TO RADIO COMMENTARY LISTENING

	FREQUENCY OF LISTENING TO POLITICAL/ECONOMIC RADIO COMMENTARIES		
	Listen daily or several times weekly	Once a week or less	Don't listen or no opinion
LOCAL NEWS:			
Most of the time	79%	79%	79%
Occasionally or rarely	19	18	18
Don't read this content	2	3	3
	100% = (375)	(268)	(381)
GERMAN ECONOMIC/ POLITICAL NEWS:			
Most of the time	68%	44%	27%
Occasionally or rarely	27	47	50
Don't read this content	5	9	23
	100% = (375)	(268)	(381)
WORLD ECONOMIC/ POLITICAL NEWS:			
Most of the time	62	43	23
Occasionally or rarely	34	49.	50
Don't read this content	4	8	27
	100% = (375)	(268)	(381)
EDITORIALS:			
Most of the time	58%	38%	20%
Occasionally or rarely	31	45	39
Don't read this content	11	17	41
	100% = (375)	(268)	(381)

	Listen daily or several times weekly	Once a week or less	Don't listen or no opinion
CULTURAL INFORMATION:			
Most of the time	42%	36%	22%
Occasionally or rarely	51	54	50
Don't read this content	7	10	28
	100% - (375)	(268)	(381)
SPORTS NEWS:			
Most of the time	45%	38%	27%
Occasionally or rarely	35	37	32
Don't read this content	20	25	41
	100% - (375)	(268)	(381)
CRIME AND ACCIDENT NEWS:			
Most of the time	54%	59%	55%
Occasionally or rarely	37	35	35
Don't read this content	9	6	10
	100% - (375)	(268)	(381)
ENTERTAINMENT:			
Most of the time	40%	37%	38%
Occasionally or rarely	36	41	36
Don't read this content	24	22	26
	100% - (375)	(268)	(381)

04119

WEST GERMANS APPRAISE THEIR PRESENT DAY PRESS

II. Evaluations and Recommendations

Report No. 159
Series No. 2

October 15, 1952

R OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04120

INTRODUCTION

The first report in this series described the newspaper-reading audience in West Germany - how they differ from non-readers, what use they make of other media, certain characteristics of the newspapers they read - and inquired briefly into exposure to various kinds of newspaper content. The present study is a partial evaluation of the German press - an assessment based upon what the German people themselves think about the purposes and practices of the newspapers they read.

HIGHLIGHTS

I. WHAT DO WEST GERMANS THINK OF TODAY'S PRESS?

WEST GERMAN PRESS RATED "GOOD" BY HALF OF GERMAN PUBLIC ...

About half of the German public rate their press as "good".

Those most likely to criticise the newspapers are the better educated and those who use the press to inform themselves of the more important developments of the day---who read political/economic news and editorials regularly. Most frequent criticism concerns the alleged bias of newspaper content or some related belief that newspapers do not tell the truth.

BUT CRITICISMS ARE NOT LACKING ...

Only three in ten are satisfied that papers today always report truthfully on important questions. Indeed, only a bare majority was willing to say that press stories are more truthful today than under Hitler.

Six in ten reader-listeners would be more likely, they say, to believe the radio than the newspaper version of the news.

PUBLIC OPINION IN GERMANY NO SLAVE TO PRESS OPINION ...

West Germans do not buy their papers' opinion along with the paper itself. Press opinion is not public opinion, and it is not safe to infer the state of German public thinking from the pattern of views expressed in the press. Nearly all West German newspaper readers manifest one or more indications of independence of their newspaper's published opinions.

1. Two-thirds say they rely on media other than the press as their chief means of forming opinions on current political and economic questions.

2. Three in ten say they disagree, occasionally or frequently with the stand taken by the newspaper they read on current political and economic questions.

3. Seventeen per cent differ with the stand taken by the newspaper they read on a specific major issue - West German participation in a West European army.

4. Eight per cent read newspapers identified with one political party, but support another party themselves.

It should be remembered that the four criteria of independence by no means cover all of the possible indications of reader independence. Nor does this analysis take into count the fact that 14 per cent of German adults do not even read newspapers.

II. SOME GERMAN VIEWS ON WHAT NEWSPAPERS SHOULD AND DO PRINT

NOT MANY GERMANS WANT NEWSPAPERS TO REPRESENT PARTY INTERESTS ...

Only 17 per cent of West Germans personally consider it "good" that newspapers represent the viewpoint of certain groups or parties.

Two kinds of comments predominate among reasons given for not wanting the press to speak for groups: a newspaper should be objective and independent, or it should direct itself to the interests of the general public and should satisfy diverse interests.

MANY READERS UNAWARE OF THEIR NEWSPAPERS' PARTY AFFILIATION ...

When the HICOG Press Branch's designation of political affiliation or leaning of newspapers is compared with the readers' image of those papers' political tone, there is considerable discrepancy. Four in ten SPD newspaper readers and one-third of CDU/CSU publication readers say that their newspapers do not represent any group or party.

Those who do attribute a party-leaning or affiliation to their papers are very likely to label them correctly (for example, only 2% of readers of SPD publications say they represent the CDU/CSU, and only 4% of CDU/CSU readers believe that those papers offer the SPD point of view).

NO MAJORITY SUPPORT INDICATED FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS ...

Two indices of attitude towards freedom of the press are available: whether or not readers favor publication of corruption, even at the risk of damaging the government's reputation, and whether or not they favor publishing news of neo-Nazi activities. Those who oppose one or the other publication are obviously departing from the principle of press freedom in exhibiting a willingness to compromise in a particular instance.

Less than half (42%) of the West German people pass the two specific tests, and hence can qualify as possible supporters of a free press.

II. GERMAN VIEWS ON THE PRESS WITH RESPECT TO THE OCCUPATION

ONLY MINORITY BELIEVE PRESS FREEDOM EXISTS UNDER OCCUPATION ...

Only one in five people say that no control whatever is exerted by the occupation authorities over newspaper content, and only one-third say that free criticism of the occupation powers is possible in the press.

One half of those who feel that papers do not criticise the occupation authorities freely say this is true because of some direct imposition of censorship upon the press. Most of the other comments are along the line that newspapers are afraid of prejudicing their position with the occupation forces.

ONE-THIRD SAY THAT GERMAN PRESS IN GENERAL GIVES FAVORABLE PICTURE OF AMERICANS AND THEIR PROGRAM IN GERMANY ...

Only 5 per cent of the population think that press treatment of Americans and their policies in Germany is unfavorable.

Those who think the press picture of Americans and their program is untrue are much more likely to think that the bias is too pro-American than think it is too anti-American.

FEW GERMANS THINK LICENSING REQUIREMENT OF POST WAR YEARS WAS OF ANY VALUE ...

There is no prevailing opinion that the post-war press licensing program was either useful or harmful.

Indications are that most people did not realize the purpose of the post-war press licensing program (to control publication by undemocratic elements), and those who did were not convinced that it was successful in its purpose.

[redacted]

I. WHAT DO WEST GERMANS THINK OF TODAY'S PRESS?

WEST GERMAN PRESS RATED "GOOD" BY HALF OF GERMAN PUBLIC ...

About half of the respondents rate the German press favorably; a fourth consider it fair; and less than a tenth give specifically unfavorable ratings - indication of a favorable climate of opinion for the German press, though not necessarily of complete satisfaction on all points.

"How would you judge, in general, our present newspapers: as good or as bad? (Very good or good - very bad or bad?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Very good	1%	2%	1%	-%	3%
Good	47	45	52	48	58
Fair	22	23	22	18	20
Bad	7	9	4	4	7
Very bad	1	1	*	1	*
No opinion/No answer	22	20	21	29	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

WHO ARE THE CRITICS? ...

There is definitely more positive dissatisfaction with the press among the better educated segment of the population.

Nearly one-half (47%) of those with more than elementary schooling say that the press is only "fair" or "bad". Only 25% of those with less formal education rate today's German press negatively. Somewhat more of them, in fact, judge newspapers as "good".

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Newspaper readers who read serious content of the papers regularly are much more likely to be critical of today's press than are those who regularly read only light content.

These readership groups were defined as follows:

Serious content readers: Those who read most of the time two or all three of these types of material: German economic-political news, international economic-political news and editorials.

Light content readers: Those who read no serious content (as defined above), but who read most entertainment, crime and accident news most of the time.

Forty per cent of the "serious" readers rate newspapers as "fair" or "bad", compared with the 18 per cent of "light" readers who do so. Those who are most likely to criticise the German press, then, are those who use it to inform themselves of the more important developments - who read newspapers with the most serious purpose.

JUDGMENT OF NEWSPAPERS ACCORDING TO KIND OF NEWSPAPER CONTENT READ BY RESPONDENTS

Evaluation of Press:	Serious content readers	Readers of light content only
Good	52%	67%
Fair/bad	40	18
No opinion/No answer	8	15
100% =	(448)+	(122)

Over twice as many men as women express an opinion, with 37 per cent of men labeling newspapers as "fair" or "bad", compared with 23 per cent of women who do so.*

The data indicate that the most dissatisfied group among people who reveal their political party affiliation are members of the FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV - generally a well-educated, high income group. 50 per cent of them appraise the press negatively, while only 29 per cent of SPD members and 22 per cent of CDU/CSU adherents say papers are "fair" or "bad".

People who think that the German press cannot freely criticize the occupation authority in their respective zones are more likely to assess the press as "fair" or "bad" than are those who think free criticism is possible. Two in five persons (42%) who think the press privilege to criticize is limited rate the newspapers negatively, compared with 27 per cent of those who attribute a freedom of criticism to the press.

JUDGMENT OF NEWSPAPERS ACCORDING TO WHETHER PRESS IS FREE TO CRITICIZE OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES

Evaluation of Press:	Can criticize	Cannot criticize
Good	63%	50%
Fair/bad	27	42
No opinion/No answer	10	8
100% =	(403)	(355)

* Complete statistical breakdown of material cited here and throughout the report can be found in the tables of the Appendix.

\+ All figures in parantheses are actual numbers of cases.

R E S T R I C T E D

04125

WHAT IS WRONG WITH NEWSPAPERS, ACCORDING TO THE CRITICS? ...

Those who rated present newspapers as "fair", "bad" or "very bad" were asked, "What do you have to criticize about the present newspapers?" About one-fourth of this group mentioned the bias of content, determined - in their opinion - by various interests. A kind of remark made almost as often is the assertion that newspapers do not tell the truth (thus, the single most often-voiced objection to the press questions whether newspapers can be believed). Another group of critics indicate varying dissatisfaction with press content.

"And how would you judge, in general, our present newspapers? As good or as bad?"

IF "Fair", "Bad" or "Very bad":

"What do you have to criticize about the present newspapers?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Newspapers are not neutral, not impartial, they do not take into consideration the interests of all groups: They don't show enough objectivity, the Swiss papers I read formerly were much more impartial; several papers take too few things into consideration; papers are not neutral enough, propaganda always comes through; most of the papers are not independent enough, they are too much directed by party considerations; the press is influenced by powers which give the orders in Germany, and that are not Germans; there is too much propaganda, you can't believe all what they tell you; their political standpoint is one-sided. They seem to support the CDU because they criticize all parties except the CDU, they are too "schwarz" (i.e. Catholic); lack of toleration and objectivity, are influenced in some way or other; most of the papers are directed by party interests, they are not independent enough; etc.	7%	10%
Other criticism relating to content of newspapers: I can only express my opinion on the paper I read: too little is published about the East and the local surroundings; nothing but murder on two to three pages, carry little for all-round interests; the reports on sports don't suit me. There are articles which report on matters which happened a long time ago; there is a great number of avenue papers, they often produce rubbish; the level is pretty low; don't report all things that happen; etc.	7	7
Newspapers do not tell the truth: Too many lies; they don't report the truth; the papers tell lies only; a lot of things are untrue; because no one tells the truth; they sometimes report things which do not correspond with the truth; etc.	6	4
Newspapers contradict each other: Because there is often a discrepancy in accounts of the same events, one paper writes like this the other one like that, the one often reports the contrary of what the other writes; because they all report differently, contrarily; they permanently contradict each other, today they report like this, tomorrow like that, see the reports on the economic situation for instance; they often contradict each other; they report differently; etc.	2	2

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Newspapers are too much engaged in politics: Too much politics; they report too much about wars and soldiers; far too much politics, nothing more; too much on politics in the papers; they bring too much on political matters; they shouldn't write so much about wars - that only stirs up people; etc.	2%	3%
The attitude of the papers is not always clean and proper: There is too much agitation in the papers, the one accuses the other; do not show enough responsibility towards publication. They don't feel it necessary to get full information before publication. They probably mean they could afford all this under a democratic government, they don't understand the real meaning of democracy; the middle-class papers help to turn people into gangsters, the press of the opposition misleads them on purpose; they became careful again, try to get backing for instance when writing articles against the KP; they make too much ado about an affair; they always give somebody a hard time which I feel unnecessary; etc.	2	2
No objections: No real objections; I cannot find fault with them; nothing you can put your fingers on; nothing at all; they don't bring much that's new, part of it I already heard via radio; etc.	2	-
Newspapers report all the same: They write all the same; one writes the same as the other does; etc.	*	-
Newspapers are too difficult to understand: The style is too difficult to understand for a simple worker, they ought to express themselves simpler so that they are understandable; they don't seem to be in a position to express the political problems simpler; the style is too grand; etc.	*	-
Other opinions (objections): They are too expensive and as to the contents I can't say anything because I don't read a paper; generally spoken, they should be better; etc.	2	2
No opinion/No answer:	2	2
	32%@	32%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ONLY A MINORITY GIVE PRESS A CLEAN BILL OF HEALTH ON TRUTHFUL REPORTING ...

Only three in ten (28%) are satisfied that papers today always report truthfully on important questions.

"As far as you know, is what the newspapers of today report on important questions of the day true to the facts, or is it not always true to the facts?

IF "Not always true to the facts":

"Does it happen often, not so often or only seldom that what the newspapers report is not true to the facts?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
True to the facts	28%	29%	25%	32%	34%
Not true to the facts (happens seldom)	13	14	12	10	20
Not true to the facts (happens not so often)	23	21	27	22	31
Not true to the facts (happens often)	19	20	19	18	11
No opinion	17	16	17	18	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT A MAJORITY BELIEVE THAT PRESS STORIES ARE MORE TRUTHFUL TODAY THAN UNDER HITLER ...

Somewhat more than one-half (55%) say that their nation's press reports more truthfully today than during the Third Reich.

"Do you believe that what the newspapers today report about important daily questions is more true to the facts or less true to the facts than during the Third Reich?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
More true to the facts today	55%	54%	54%	60%	84%
Less true to the facts today	1	2	1	1	2
Just as true to the facts	4	4	5	4	4
Just as little true to the facts	17	15	18	16	4
No opinion	23	25	22	19	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

More better-educated people than those with elementary education or less say that current press reports are more accurate than those of the Third Reich, and more men than women express the same opinion.

SOME THINK THAT TODAY'S PRESS REPORTS ARE NO MORE TO BE TRUSTED THAN THOSE OF THE THIRD REICH ...

The minority holding the belief that current newspaper accounts are less or no more accurate than those of Hitler-era publications gave various kinds of reasons:

	WEST GERMANY
Newspapers always tell falsehoods ...	4%
The press is supervised, controlled by the government	2
Occupation authorities exercise control ...	2
Papers are responsible to their political parties ...	2
Business interests determine newspaper policies ...	1
Reports are not objective, often contradictory ...	1
Other reasons ...	2
No opinion/No answer ...	5
	19%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

RADIO VOTED MORE RELIABLE NEWS SOURCE THAN NEWSPAPERS ...

An evaluation of German newspapers is given more meaning when the press is placed into the context of its actual competitive environment - at least in one respect: reliability of its output when compared with radio news by the news consumer. Six in ten of German reader-listeners would be more likely to believe the radio than the newspaper version of the news.

"If the radio news differ from what your newspaper reports, which would you be more apt to believe - the radio or the newspaper?" (Asked only of radio listeners and newspaper readers).

	WEST GERMANY
Radio	59%
Newspapers	14
Both lie	5
No opinion/No answer	22
	100% = (908)

There are not any significant differences between subgroups. The greater belief in the radio is general throughout the population, even among the high-education group which, in the United States, has traditionally preferred the newspaper.

WHY DO PEOPLE TRUST RADIO MORE THAN THE PRESS?...

Radio news can be heard over a much wider area than that of the usual newspaper audience, therefore the radio must be more responsible for the news it disseminates; radio newscasters are better informed because they "get their news directly"; radio is better controlled or enjoys a kind of quasi-public position and therefore is more responsible than the press; the radio can be considered more impartial than newspapers because the latter often represent particular political groups. These are the main reasons given by those who trust the radio more.

Why Would You Believe More In Radio Reports?

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
More confidence in radio on account of the unreliability, exaggerations, misrepresentations and denials of the newspapers (radio is more trustworthy):		
Because I noticed frequently that newspapers don't always report true to the facts; because newspapers are liable to exaggerate; the newspapers often make up things, one paper more, the other less; because it's happened occasionally that the newspapers printed articles they had to deny afterwards - that is not the case with the radio; sometimes it can be noticed that a newspaper was not informed correctly - much is written just to fill up the paper; the press often misrepresents and tinges things; because this news is original for the most part, without being misrepresented by reporters; I think the newspaper reporters sometimes aren't successful in catching truthful news; because there are spoken words; paper is patient - one can write everything on it; it is trustworthy, while the newspapers "trim" their news too much - from mouth to ear is always more trustworthy; they (the radio) wouldn't say anything wrong since they are at the top - the newspapers quite frequently deny what they reported previously; etc.	9%	14%

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Radio news can be heard everywhere (all over the world) they are widely spread - not localised - therefore they can be better checked:		
Because radio news directly spreads over the whole world - the persons in responsibility know that and take it into account; I think, radio news is conveyed to a greater number of people than newspaper news, so these people have to take into account whether they broadcast truthful news or not; a newspaper is only for local use, but the radio broadcasts the news all over the world, so that it has to tell the truth; radio is listened to by all people; because radio is a media of the public life and is listened to by foreign countries, therefore it must give correct information; I think because the entire public is addressed by the radio, while the newspapers address only part of the population; because the radio news is listened to by more people, so it has to carry more responsibility; etc.	7%	9%
The radio is impartial and neutral, while the newspapers represent different political tendencies:		
The radio is more neutral, the newspapers represent many different political lines; the newspapers are more biased; because the newspapers are more or less tied to party-politicism which is not the case with the radio; the various newspapers report the facts differently tinged, according to their party line, while the radio is more neutral; I think it is politically independent; the radio is more neutral, the newspapers usually have party-leanings; a newspaper is more easily being influenced by a party, while the radio reports more neutrally; the newspapers usually tinge their news according to their party policy, while the radio has to remain neutral, lest it runs the risk of being opposed; it is actually more objective and more unpolitical, as the newspapers are to the most part politically dependent; etc.	5	8
The radio is better informed - has first hand information while the press gets only second hand or third hand information:		
Because the radio gets first-hand information; the radio has more reliable source, it gets first-hand information, the newspapers print a lot without checking on its correctness; because radio news comes from first-hand sources, in newspapers misprints can occur; the radio gets everything first-hand and doesn't distort anything; people are directly responsible and get the news first-hand, while the press is informed second-hand or third-hand; because the radio has connections with immediate agencies, while the newspapers get the news by transmission; because the radio gets all information directly, while the newspapers get the news from the radio and from other newspapers; the radio brings the news just the way it is released, the newspapers add something to it; etc.	8	12

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
The radio is better controlled (government control) in contrary to the newspapers:		
In my opinion, the radio is more controlled; the radio is an official voice that is controlled by the state, while newspapers on the other hand frequently report nonsense; because the radio is stronger controlled than the newspapers before any news is published; because the management of the radio stations is under state-control; the newspapers have greater independence so they can easily report as they please; this news is released by government while the newspapers are privately owned; because the radio receives its news from higher authorities; I consider the sources of radio news more competent; the radio is in closer relation to the government than the newspapers; I consider it more official although they too deny their reports sometimes; etc.	6%	6%
The radio brings the news faster, more frequently and more detailed:		
The radio is being informed faster; I think the newspapers neglect news coverage somewhat; the radio brings it first; the radio broadcasts news that is last-minute-information and that would be too late for the newspapers to publish; the radio brings the news much earlier than the newspapers - besides I read the newspapers not often enough; because the radio reports faster; because the radio broadcasts the news first and also more frequently - sometimes things even have changed by the time the newspapers publish it; the radio is being faster informed on facts; the radio is much more detailed, the newspapers hint at things; etc.	4	4
Radio news is more trustworthy and more reliable (without mentioning any reasons - led by feeling):		
It just seems more trustworthy to me; I don't know but I just trust the radio more than the newspapers; because it seems more truthful; I think the radio is more truthful. I think the radio is more truth-telling; I'm just judging according to my feeling, I don't have any specific reasons; I have more confidence in it; one just trusts the radio more; etc.	3	3
The radio is more varied, more topical and more correct:		
The broadcasts are more varied, one can listen to various stations and make comparisons; as the newspapers get their news by radio, mistakes might occur; the radio is possibly somewhat more accurate than a newspaper which is not independent, although one is more apt to believe written matters; etc.	2	2
Others:		
Because printed words represent a document, while the spoken word cannot be reiterated by the public, newspapers can be sued; the radio can't go on telling lies because the radio broadcasts often, a newspaper is printed only once a day; newspapers always have to take into account that they might suffer losses so they won't report as trustworthy; because denials can be broadcast in very short time, if something was not correct; etc.	3	2
No opinion/No answer:	1	*
	48%●	60%●

* Less than one half of one per cent.
● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

SOME DEPEND MORE ON THE NEWSPAPERS ...

The fourteen per cent who think newspaper news more reliable often express the opinion that the printed word is more reliable than the spoken word because it can be checked by the news consumer. Others feel that the newspaper itself is more likely to check the authenticity of its reports (many of these comments imply that the radio is deficient in this respect because it wants to get the news to the public immediately). These and other reasons can be examined below:

Why Would You Believe More In Newspaper Reports?

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Printed word more reliable than spoken word (explicit or implicit statement that newspaper news can be checked by news consumer more easily than radio news):		
You see the issue in question in black and white; I mean that the printed word must be right; because I take all printed things (to be true); the paper can be read again and what is printed reexamined easily; because I have something in hand which I always can reexamine; printed text is easier to reexamine than an oral one. News can be reread and appears in another light then; written things are always better, a speaker may make mistakes; etc.	3%	5%
Newspaper checks authenticity of its reports:		
My opinion is that the radio want to be first even though the news is not properly checked; because the newspapers publish the news half a day later than they get it you have the feeling that the news is checked better; the press news is checked by several persons so that mistakes don't happen as often as they might be on the radio where the news is broadcasts on the spot; etc.	1	3
Institutional independence of newspapers:		
I think that the papers are more independent in those things than the radio is; I suppose that the radio is still under supervision and more easily influenced than a man from the paper; because I think that the papers aren't so much under control as the radio; because the papers are independent; etc.	1	2
Newspaper offers more details:		
The papers report more details, and I cannot form a good idea of what is broadcast because there is too little; the papers report more thoroughly; because newspapers have more space to explain things clearly; the newspapers give more time to it and are more objective; etc.	1	1
Responsibility of reporting can be fixed more easily in newspaper news:		
The man who writes reports for the paper can't afford to publish untrue reports because he has to sign them; because they have to verify their news; newspapers are dependent on their subscribers and must reckon at a loss if they report falsely; the area where the paper is read is limited (ours comes from Hagen) and they don't dare to tell lies; the papers print and report only from good authority while you sometimes don't know at all from what source the radio news came; etc.	1	1

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
More familiarity with the newspaper: I'm more familiar with the paper. I seldom listen to the radio; I can choose the paper according to my taste. It fits me more than the radio; I can't explain it quite right, but I mean, the paper is just more familiar to me; we know the people who make the paper while the radio people are unknown to us; because I read the papers only; etc.	1%	1%
Others: Because the radio gets the news from the papers; newspapers have more sources of information than the radio; because the newspapers get their information directly from the government, that's not the case with the radio; because the papers get the latest news, therefore it's the truth, no doubt; reporters working for radio stations don't get around as much as do press people; etc.	1	1
No opinion/No answer:	1	-
	10%	14%

PUBLIC OPINION NO SLAVE TO PRESS OPINION ...

To what degree is newspaper opinion public opinion? Those who analyse press content cannot assume that in so doing they are acquainting themselves with much more than an influence unevenly exercised on public opinion. Newspaper readers may give generally favorable ratings to the press, but there is evidence that in Germany today the bulk of German newspaper readers are by no means chained to the press for their views on issues of the day. This is clearly shown by the results on the four questions which follow; but before citing the results on individual questions, the combined results on all the four questions will be given as a means of indicating the amount of "independence" of German newspaper readers - not just from "the press" in general but from their own newspaper.

MOST GERMANS INDEPENDENT OF THEIR PRESS ...

Nine out of ten West German newspaper readers show their independence of their press in at least one of the following ways:

65 per cent of German newspaper readers say they rely on media other than the press as their chief means of forming opinions on current political and economic questions.

31 per cent say they disagree occasionally or frequently with the stand taken by the newspaper they read on current political or economic questions.

17 per cent differ with the stand taken by the newspaper they read on the issue of West German participation in a West European army.

8 per cent read newspapers identified with one political party, but support another party themselves.

Hardly any West German newspaper readers fail to fall into one of the classes of "independence" mentioned above.* The majority is independent in at least two respects, as shown by the table following.

Independent of their newspapers	in no respect examined	9%
	in one respect examined	33
	in two respects examined	45
	in three or four respects examined	13
		100%

It should be remembered that the four points above by no means exhaust all of the possible indications of reader independence. Nor does it take into account the fact that 14 per cent of West German adults do not even read newspapers.

Clearly, then, West Germans cannot generally be assumed to buy their papers' opinion along with the paper itself. Press opinion is not public opinion, but is only one of many influences playing on the latter. So in no case is it safe to attempt to infer the state of German public thinking from the pattern of views expressed in the press.

* Those West Germans most independent of their newspapers tend disproportionately to be male white-collar workers and skilled laborers and SPD supporters.

ONLY A FOURTH WOULD RELY ON PRESS IF SEEKING TO FORM OPINION ...

Only a fourth of West German adults would rely on the press as their chief source in forming an opinion on an important question. Considerably more rely on radio; and almost as many rely on word-of-mouth.*

"Supposing you would like to form an opinion on an important question of the day - upon what would you rely most then?"

(CARD GIVES RESPONDENT A CHOICE):	WEST GERMANY
What I read in magazines and pictorials	2%
What I heard about it over the radio	44
What I read about it in the newspapers	25
What family members and acquaintances said about it	16
Other	5
No opinion	8
	100%

A THIRD OF WEST GERMAN NEWSPAPER READERS DISAGREE WITH THEIR PAPERS' STAND ...

About one in three of West German newspaper readers say they disagree "often" or "sometimes" with the editorial stands taken by their paper.

"Does it ever happen that you don't agree with the stand taken by your newspaper on current political and economic questions? (Does it happen often or only seldom?)"

	WEST GERMANY
Often disagree	6%
Sometimes disagree	25
Seldom disagree	15
Do not disagree	11
No opinion	4
Don't think paper takes a stand	39
	100%

* It might be argued that the results are biased against the press because the question was asked of all West German adults, including the 14 per cent which does not read newspapers. However, even when a comparison is made only of those West Germans who read newspapers, almost identical results are found: 65 per cent name media other than the press.

ABOUT A FIFTH OPPOSE THEIR NEWSPAPERS' POSITION ON WEST EUROPEAN ARMY ...

About a fifth of West German newspaper readers oppose the stand taken by their various newspapers on a major issue - West German participation in an European Army. These results were obtained by a comparison of two questions, as follows:

"In general, are you for or against West Germany's participation in a West European army?"

"Does your newspaper take a stand on whether we should participate in a West European army? Is it more for or more against our participation in a West European army?"

	WEST GERMANY
Disagree with position of newspaper	17%
(reader opposes, newspaper favors ..... 14%)	
(reader favors, newspaper opposes ..... 3)	
Agree with position of newspaper	26
(reader opposes, paper opposes ..... 7%)	
(reader favors, paper favors 19)	
No definite agreement or disagreement ascertainable	57
	100%

ABOUT A TENTH READ A PARTY NEWSPAPER BUT SUPPORT ANOTHER PARTY ...

About a tenth of West German newspaper readers, for various reasons, read a newspaper definitely affiliated with one political party, but classify themselves as supporters of a rival party.

This finding was reached by a comparison of the readers political affiliation with the classification of the newspaper he reads according to the Press Branch, Information Division, Office of the US High Commissioner.* On this one point the findings are as follows:

	WEST GERMANY
Read a newspaper affiliated with one political party, but is a supporter of a rival party	8%
Read a newspaper affiliated with one political party, and supports that party	12
Unclassifiable by these criteria (e.g., reader has no political affiliation, newspaper he reads is independent, etc.)	80
	100%

* More detailed material on newspaper readers' opinion of their newspapers' party affiliation, and comparison of these beliefs with more rigorous methods of classification will be found in the next section.

II. SOME GERMAN VIEWS ON WHAT NEWSPAPERS SHOULD AND DO PRINT

RELATIVELY FEW GERMANS WANT NEWSPAPERS TO REPRESENT PARTY INTERESTS ...

One-half (53%) of West German readers are opposed to newspapers' representing a particular party or group.

"Do you personally consider it good or bad if newspapers (would) represent the viewpoint of certain groups or parties?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Good	17%	23%	10%	17%	31%
Bad	53	44	62	61	46
Neither/nor	10	14	8	5	9
No opinion	20	21	20	17	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The proportions of people having different major party affiliations did not differ significantly in their views towards party newspapers.

THOSE WHO OBJECT TO NEWSPAPERS' REPRESENTING CERTAIN INTERESTS GIVE THEIR REASONS ...

Those who do not want newspapers to represent certain groups or parties are very likely to offer the following kinds of comments: a newspaper should be objective and independent, or a newspaper should direct itself to the interests of the general public and should satisfy diverse interests. These two kinds of comments are predominant in the answers.

"Do you personally consider it good or bad if newspapers (would) represent the viewpoint of certain groups or parties?"

IF "Bad":

"And why do you consider it bad?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
<u>A newspaper should be objective, independent and impartial</u>: They should report in a neutral and objective manner; should be non-political and independent; because that way a newspaper favors its particular political party only and the actual situation is misrepresented; newspapers should always stay neutral, because reporting is not done in an objective way, in that case I would subscribe to a party publication; you can't waver between two parties, as a newspaperman you have to be objective; a newspaper should not favor one particular political party, so that it's fit for everybody; newspapers should report what actually is happening throughout the world I care little for the point of view of a political party, for instance, we want to get objective reports; the majority of Germans do not belong to a political party, therefore newspapers should not take sides on an issue, they should not favor one particular political party, then reports will be more objective; because they ought to be and must be neutral and objective; etc.	16%	9%

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
A newspaper should appeal to the general public and should satisfy most diversified interests: They should carry different matters, so everybody will find something of interest to him; as a source of news for all newspapers should and have to be neutral; because they should not be party publications, but should give an accurate picture of what is going on to all social layers of the population; should serve the interests of the general public, be intelligible to everyone; because it should serve the needs of everyone, if it represents (the ideas of) a certain group of interest, it gets on the nerves of people thinking differently who for this reason reject the paper; after all, a newspaper should serve the general public, everybody should express his opinion, not to help the cause of a certain group of interest or party, but independently; because a newspaper should serve a wide scope of interest and should not only report on views and principles of certain groups of interest and parties; etc.	15%	19%
By carrying true and unprejudiced reports a newspaper should enable the reader to form an unbiased opinion: The newspaper should not serve as a source of news with a marked tendency to the reader, it should enable him to form an opinion of his own; because it places those people who cannot afford to subscribe to more than one newspaper at a disadvantage for they receive onesided information and are unable to form a correct judgment on many issues; because I am opposed to newspapers directed by political groups influencing readers, as not every reader is intelligent enough and has a firm point of view of his own to be immune to this (kind of) influence, they should remain neutral; it is better if newspapers are neutral, because thus people are led to form opinions of their own; an objective, non-partisan press is better, as people should form opinions of their own, the opinions of some person or other should not be forced down their throat; etc.	7	12
I leave party publications and party politics well enough alone - I am not interested in (party) politics (I want to read non-political newspapers): I prefer a non-political newspaper, otherwise I would subscribe to a party paper; we subscribe to a daily not a party paper; I don't think much of party politics, I'm at a loss as to what to answer you, I'm really not sure; because I am not interested in a party publication; because I'm not interested in politics, many people feel the same way, we are interested only in news and local announcements; I don't favor any particular (political) trend, I'm not interested in politics either, and I don't want to be bothered with it; I am opposed to political groups having a hand in directing a newspaper; it's better if they are independent - I don't care about any kind of party politics; you cannot have confidence in political parties, they usually don't keep their promises; etc.	3	2

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Others: Because they draw a black and white picture; thus newspapers disagree (on most issues), everyone of them represents a story differently; because it's just business everybody is interested in, they all only want to further their own ends; because this kind of paper is not read by the general public if articles reflect the ideas of a certain party they don't appeal to the general public, the newspaper would have to close down; etc.	2%	-%
No opinion/No answer:	1	*
	46%	42%

THOSE WHO FAVOR A PARTY PRESS EXPLAIN THEIR STAND ...

Those who believe it all right that the press speak for particular groups say either that every group and party has the right to have its own views through publications, or that the reader can inform himself better about party activities if he has access to the party press. Other people reveal that papers they read are like mirrors to their own points of view: that is, one can find his own point of view expressed in such papers and can find information and support for these.

"Do you personally consider it good or bad if newspapers (would) represent the viewpoint of certain groups or parties?"

IF "Good":

"And why do you consider it good?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Every group and party can have a mouthpiece to voice its opinion: In order to enlighten people according to the opinion of the party concerned; the opinions of the people belonging to different professional groups and social layers want to find expression; so that parties can explain to the population what they consider good and right; must have a point of view, cannot just write without thinking; every group must get across its opinion in a newspaper, you can choose the group whose paper you want to read; for pedagogical reasons, standpoints of any kind must be clearly expressed - if the paper does not put forth its point of view it does not deserve our confidence as you never know what to make of it; papers should rather represent the opinion of one party, a non-partisan attitude usually is tinged somewhat, is never really neutral; because there must be newspapers which consistently advocate one trend serving moral and religious ends; a paper must put forth the standpoint of the party in order to inform the public; etc.	5%	6%

(Cont'd on next page)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

(Con't from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Since no paper is able to do justice to all schools of thought, you can at least by this means realise clearly the different points of view and compare them, and form your own opinion:		
You can inform yourself better about groups and parties; also if being unpolitical, you can compare the different opinions on the same subject with each other; so the people get to know the different points of view; so we know right from the beginning what school of thought they represent; every paper has different editors, so you can get to know various standpoints; nobody can judge or write objectively, you can read the papers of the opposition also, then you have all the main standpoints together; we can draw our conclusions better by reading various papers; it is easier to form your opinion by reading various papers with different points of view; comparing the various papers with each other makes reading (them) really interesting; you will see the difference between the individual parties, the political attitudes - then you are able to form your own opinion; because we are being informed that way; etc.	4%	15%
Then everybody can read the one paper which represents his own point of view, his sphere of interest or his party:		
Because everybody chooses the one paper the convictions of which he shares; if I am a member of a group or a party, naturally I'd rather read what they write; a paper must follow a certain trend, the reader can still pick his paper according to his choice; because I want what the trade union wants - then everybody gets to know all the different angles; because a paper naturally supports the views of the party sponsoring the paper, and the reader favors these opinions, otherwise he wouldn't buy it; I like a paper representing my own point of view; I favor the Catholic point of view, as a result I want my paper to represent the Catholic point of view, too; I want to see my papers' reaction on all problems possible;	3	4
Others:		
Papers take issue with the government sometimes; papers must do that in order to support the right and the left to serve as an organ of the opposition to some extent; they do that in order to win as many followers and readers as possible, that simply is the purpose of a newspaper; you will have more confidence; I consider this to be good, I cannot say why; etc.	1	3
No opinion/No answer:	1 14%	1 25%

One in ten (11%) of German readers believe that they read newspapers published in the interest of the CDU/CSU, and 7% say that their papers are spokesman for the SPD. These are the two largest single blocs of party-paper readers (political affiliation as defined by themselves). But two-thirds believe their papers have no affiliation.

"Do you have the impression that (the) (one of the) newspaper(s) you are reading represents the viewpoint of a certain group or party or don't you have this impression?"

IF "Yes":

"Which?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
No, don't represent	65%	55%
Yes, CDU/CSU	11	4
Yes, SPD	7	29
Yes, others	6	6
No opinion	11	6
	100%	100%

READERS' IMAGE OF THEIR PAPERS' POLITICAL LEANING VERSUS ACTUAL POLITICAL LEANING ...

The Press Branch, Information Division of the High Commissioner's Office, has evaluated the political affiliation or leaning of most newspapers published in Germany.@ It is interesting to compare the HICOG political classification of the newspapers read with what the readers think the political color of their newspapers is. Three groups of newspapers have a sufficient number of readers in the sample for reliable analysis; these are the SPD (and near-SPD), the CDU/CSU (and near-CDU/CSU), and the "independent" newspapers. The following table indicates the proportion of readers of each of these groups who believe them to be of various political hues indicated or who think these publications have no particular point of view.

READERS' DESIGNATION
OF POLITICAL AFFILIATION/LEANING OF THEIR PAPERS
VERSUS HICOG CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL TENDENCY

Reader's Designation of Political Affiliation:	HICOG Evaluation of Political Affiliation of Newspapers		
	SPD	CDU/CSU	Independent
SPD	26%	4%	3%
CDU/CSU	2	32	7
FDP	-	-	1
DP/SRP	2	1	2
KPD	1	1	1
Zentrum, BHE	-	1	1
Catholic	*	1	*
Foreign	-	-	*
Several diff. newsp.	6	9	4
Others	*	1	2
NA, No opinion	21	16	18
Don't represent any	42	34	61
100% =	(150)	(143)	(731)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ The criteria for this classification were the known political affiliations or tendencies of regular contributors to the newspapers and of people whose names appear in the newspaper mastheads, in addition to a continuing analysis of editorial comment published in the papers.

Four in ten (42%) of SPD newspaper readers and one-third (34%) of CDU/CSU publication readers say that their newspapers do not represent any group or party. These are clearly the people who are unaware that they are exposed to a newspaper which does express a particular point of view, however mildly. One quarter of the SPD and one-third of the CDU/CSU readers have an image of their newspapers' "political" color which agrees with HICOG judgment.

Readers of the "independent" press are most likely to be "correct" in their designation of the political tone of the newspaper they read. Six in ten (61%) of these say that these papers (labeled "independent" by HICOG) do not represent any political point of view.

It is obvious that, although there is a relatively high proportion of people who have either no opinion or who believe that party-leaning papers they read have no political point of view, those who do attribute a party-leaning to those papers are very likely to label them correctly (for example, only 2% of the readers of SPD publications say they represent the CDU/CSU, and only 4% of CDU/CSU readers believe that those papers offer the SPD viewpoint).

SIX IN TEN NEWSPAPER READERS BELIEVE THEIR PAPERS TAKE STAND ON ISSUES ...

A majority (61%) of newspaper readers say that the papers they read express a point of view in what they write on political and economic matters.

"Does your newspaper report only facts in the political and economic field or does it also take a stand on them?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Only facts	14%	15%	14%	10%	8%
Takes stand	61	60	63	60	81
No opinion/No answer	25	25	23	30	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Women readers appear to be much more naive in this respect than men, as 49% of them think that newspapers take a stand on issues, compared with 74% of male readers.

Eight in ten (83%) of those having more than an elementary education say that the press publishes a point of view on political and economic matters, while 55% of those with a more limited formal schooling think so. (The proportion of "no opinion" expression is as usual much higher among women and the less well educated groups).

[redacted]

ONE HALF OF GERMAN PUBLIC BELIEVE THAT PRESS TODAY CAN FREELY PUBLISH ABOUT CORRUPTION ...

About twice as many Germans believe that newspapers today can freely publicize corruption (even if the reputation of the government is harmed by it) as believe they cannot.

"As far as you know, can the newspapers today publicize all kinds of corruption even if the reputation of the government is harmed by it, or is there anything that keeps the newspapers from doing so?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Can publicize everything	54%	52%	58%	55%	62%
Something that keeps them from doing so*	23	23	22	26	30
No opinion	23	25	20	19	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Somewhat more people with more than an elementary education than those with less believe that the press is not restrained from publicizing corruption; twice as many of the latter express no opinion whatsoever. People who claim SPD membership are no more likely than those with other major party affiliations to believe that the press cannot print material about corruption which might reflect unfavorably on the government.

MOST GERMANS FAVOR ALLOWING NEWSPAPERS TO PUBLICIZE CORRUPTION EVEN AT RISK OF HARMING GOVERNMENT REPUTATION ...

Seven in ten people would like to have the press attack and publicize corruption of all kinds, despite any possible damaging of the government's reputation.

"Two persons are talking about the task of the newspapers in West Germany. With whom would you agree?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Herr Mueller: The newspapers should not publicize corruption if the reputation of the government is harmed by it	16%	18%	13%	17%	19%
Herr Schulze: The newspapers should attack and publicize corruption of all kinds even if the reputation of the government is harmed by it	70	65	76	73	74
I don't care	8	9	8	6	2
No opinion	6	8	3	4	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* For answers to question asked of those who think something prevents free criticism, "What keeps the newspapers from doing so?", see Appendix page 8a.

Twice as many of the "ins" (CDU/CSU party members) as SPD members say that the press should not publicise information injurious to the government's reputation (27% and 13%, respectively).

Readers who look to their newspapers regularly for political/economic news and/or editorials are more likely than light readers to insist that corruption should be publicized. There is a higher proportion of people among the "light" readers who say they "don't care" or that the papers should not publicise corruption.

SHOULD NEWSPAPERS PUBLISH ABOUT CORRUPTION
ACCORDING TO CONTENT OF NEWSPAPER READERSHIP

	Serious content readers	Light content readers
Should NOT publish corruption	15%	20%
Should publish corruption	80	65
Don't care	3	12
No opinion	2	3
100% =	(449)	(122)

Somewhat more younger people than older people and somewhat more better educated than others would permit press attacks on corruption.

People's attitudes as to whether or not corruption should be published were cross-tabulated with their opinions as to whether or not corruption could be publicized in the press. Those who are satisfied with the present situation (i.e., those whose attitude is in agreement with what they believe to be actuality) are overwhelmingly likely to think that the press should and can publicize corruption. Those who are "dissatisfied" - whose attitudes differ from what they consider to be fact are likely (by a ratio of 2 to 1) to believe that the press should but cannot print freely about corruption.

RESPONDENT'S OPINION AS TO WHETHER
PRESS CAN PUBLICIZE CORRUPTION ACCORDING
TO WHETHER PRESS SHOULD PUBLICIZE IT

	Should Not publicize corruption	Should publicise corruption
Newspapers can publish corruption	(100)*	(513)
Newspapers cannot publish corruption	(45)	(217)

* All figures in parantheses are actual numbers of cases. Note ratios as indicated in text.

[redacted]

MINORITY OBJECT TO PUBLICATION OF NEO-NAZI ACTIVITIES ...

A majority of West Germans believe neo-Nazi activities should be reported in the newspapers.

"At a recent political meeting Nazistic speeches were held and the swastika banner was shown - in your opinion, should the newspapers report about it or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Yes, report about it	49%	50%	52%	40%	80%
No, should not report	23	21	22	36	17
I don't care	19	17	20	18	2
No opinion	9	12	6	6	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Those who are more likely than others to want the press to report such events are the better educated, the higher status occupations (for example, 64% of professional people, 57% of white-collar workers and skilled workers favor publication, compared with 42% of farm residents and 40% of semi-skilled laborers).

As one would expect, the readers of serious newspaper content (political/economic news and/or editorials) are more likely to want neo-Nazi news published than are those whose reading fare is only entertainment and crime and accident reports. Three times as many light readers as serious readers say "I don't care" when asked their attitude towards printing neo-Fascist news.

THOSE WHO FAVOR PUBLICATION DO SO LARGELY IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST ...

One third (35%) of those who believe the press should report neo-Nazi activities say that the public should be warned of any reactivation of fascistic elements. The bulk of other comments simply say that the public should be informed so that they can formulate opinions or that the duty of the press is to keep the public aware of all current events.

"At a recent political meeting Nazistic speeches were held and the swastika banner was shown - in your opinion, should the newspapers report about it or not?"

IF "Yes":

"Why should the newspapers report about it?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
To warn the public in order to be able to prepare counter-measures in time:		
At once they should get a damper in order to nip this in the bud - people must be warned they must look out for these trends; people ought to know what game is still being played, that is not suitable any longer; so one can see that there are fanatics still, that one can wake up; to show the possible danger which could result from it; that must be published so they know what the situation is; that this flag may not be displayed any more; we have suffered enough all should know what they have done to us; because we despise the regime today - that the people know what is going on - that the elements are being exposed which want to make a revolution; to indicate the danger which might be caused by that - revival of Nazism; that the public knows		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Contd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
that people of that sort are still at work; that the people are warned and watch out that not the same thing is going to happen as in those days; because that is prohibited and people should be informed accordingly; as a warning example - every citizen should know that this trend exists and tries to gather followers among the people; etc.	35%	69%
To inform the public - so that they can form their own opinion: To inform the population in detail about it - for those who could not attend; the public may, i.e. must know everything what a small minority is doing; to inform the people about political events; one ought to know what's going on, item of general interest, to determine what people think about it; the public should be informed accordingly, mistakes are made everywhere and the individual can judge for himself about good and bad; to enlighten the people and tell them the truth about the events in the world; that people know to think about it and what goes on behind the scenes; the public ought to know that; the public must also be informed about abuses; so the population is informed about all incidents; so all know what goes on and can make up their minds about it; because people want to read something like that, that is what they buy the paper for; so people have something to read, this is news; etc.	27	14
Informing the public is the duty and the task of the press: That's what the papers are there for; because they should report on everything; of course, the papers should write about it, I want to know about everything that goes on; why not, if they remain objective; everything should be reported, whatever happens ought to be reported; it is a topic of present interest; I cannot answer this question, I assume, however, that it is the task of newspapers to report about all current events; everything should be published in a paper, unpleasant facts, too; etc.	20	8
In a democracy it is the right of the readers to be informed of all incidents: We are living in a democracy - thus something like that is just not done and therefore it ought to be reported on; because it would only be to our disadvantage if something like that started growing again - in a democracy the papers must inform the people; it is not appropriate nowadays to display the swastika banner - as we are a democratic state and everybody should be informed of what goes on here; in a democratic state everything is to be published regardless of the effects here or abroad; a democratic press must report all events to enable the reader to get a picture of what goes on in Western Germany; etc.	5	3
Concealing the matter would make it only worse, it will reach the public one way or another: It will get around anyhow; it will reach the public by some means; after something like that has happened the papers should write about it - if they observe silence about too many things, people will occupy themselves with the problem even more; if passed on unofficially, it will do even more harm; so we are informed by first authority what happened, and there is no backstairs talking; etc.	4	1

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Positive remarks about National-Socialism: Because the "Third Reich" achieved a lot more in regard to social services than our present government; so the population realises that there are always circles to represent the old point of view, that will also remind people of good done during the Third Reich in regard to commerce and trade; that the whole population is informed of what goes on, and because the Third Reich was better than the Fourth Reich, more was done for the worker; to enable people to see that there are some people not satisfied with the present government; why should the papers not report about it? They would be glad to get those back whom they hanged; etc.	3	2
Others: Because the Nazis don't belong here any more, they have cheated us once - I cannot say more about this subject; because it is a lot of nonsense; everybody can know about all the goings-on and have a good laugh at it; we need not be ashamed of it; etc.	6	4
No opinion/ No answer:	1	-
	101%@	101%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THOSE WANTING SUPPRESSION OF NEO-NAZI NEWS WANT PAST FORGOTTEN AND THE PUBLIC PROTECTED FROM ALARM ...

The one quarter of the German public who say the papers should not report neo-Nazi political meetings give very mixed kinds of answers. Thirty per cent say that the German public should not be reminded of past times and 28% fear that people will only be alarmed unnecessarily. Some (16%) express the fear that Germany's reputation will be blemished by such reports and fewer say that it would only encourage the revival of Nazism.

"At a recent political meeting Nazistic speeches were held and the swastika banner was shown - in your opinion, should the newspapers report about it?"

IF "No":

"Why should the newspapers not report about it?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Let the past rest, we do not want to be reminded of those times: What has been should be forgotten and remain forgotten because we have made our peace with the past; one should not stir up by-gones again - we are still fed up with things like that; this is past and we don't want to hear about it any more; that doesn't interest anybody, we don't want to know it; the time of the Nazi government is over, one does not have to hear about it any longer; we ought to get rid of the past and try to make a better showing now - we should leave the matter and not stir it up again; should let the past rest, otherwise Nazism will never end; we have endured so much during the Third Reich that we do not want to hear anything about it any more; should stop this nonsense; the infamies committed should not be stirred up again; this is nonsense anyhow - what is past should no longer be reported - otherwise they might even feel important ; that time is over, should not bring up the subject again; etc.	30%	28%
People will only be alarmed and stirred up: The public need not know of incidents of this nature, in order to avoid disturbances; those times are gone, people will only be alarmed by these reports; the people will be stirred up unnecessarily and reminded of bad things; people get mixed up by those reports, and the affair is forgotten and if it should occur again, the affair is to be hushed up; there are only a few acting like that and there is no reason to disturb the whole nation - these individuals should be seized at once; these are local incidents and care should be taken to suppress them right on the spot without perturbing the public with such calamities; people will only get confused and lose faith; people get more suspicious daily; etc.	28	25

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
It would harm Germany's reputation: We don't know how people abroad would take it; in order not to harm our reputation abroad, and because the occurrence would be generalized; because it would harm our standing with the Western powers; the papers can be read abroad too, and could create false pictures; it should not be brought to the attention of the public - it would only harm Germany's reputation; it would be degrading, a disgrace for all of us, the foreign countries need not read that; it harms the reputation of the Federal Republic; sometimes it was exaggerated and it will harm us the more because the foreign countries will be shocked - damage will again be done to Germany's prestige, will make understanding with other nations more difficult; etc.	18	16
It favors the revival of Nazi ideas and the influence of the neo-fascists: So people do not become enthusiastic again about the old evil doings and the Nazi idea; otherwise it causes neo-facism, people believe that the Nazis again are gaining ground; they should rather be punished - by publications like those even more people with such leaning will pay attention; the one or the other might feel encouraged by such publications, that should be avoided; it is unnecessary to inflame others; to keep the former Nazis from feeling strong again; because there are still too many fools who would be happy about it; a lot of followers still exist who would start hoping again; Remer earned his publicity only this way, such reports only help these people; it is better not to publish such things, but to punish the participants secretly, there should not be such a great fuss about it; the diehard Nazis should not be encouraged; etc.	11	22
We should not attribute any significance at all to these incidents, it is not worth the trouble: It should not be considered so important; that stuff should not be taken seriously, that would not be worth the trouble; such things ought to be passed over in silence, then those Nazi circles will die out most easily, will disappear most quickly; because it is nonsense, this is just an ordinary rout; because this is not essential and it is best to let things die out in itself - it is not worth the trouble; etc.	10	6
Others: Because this can easily be used for agitation purposes, I mean the editors could exploit this for their own ends; one should not put up with things like that, the Nazis have brought us all the misery and distress we are in now; because otherwise the Americans might interfere and arrest these people (the participants); because the swastika symbol has brought much distress upon us; etc.	5	6
No opinion/No answer:	3	-
	105%	105%

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

NO MAJORITY SUPPORT INDICATED FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS ...

The reader will probably have realized that the questions as to newspaper publication of neo-Nazi activities and of governmental corruption are in fact indices of people's attitudes on freedom of the press. People who really believe in press freedom would support publication under both circumstances however much they might regret the possible damage to official or national reputation. Those who give positive support to publication in only one case are obviously departing from the principle of press freedom in exhibiting a willingness to compromise in a particular instance. Joint tabulations reveal the following pattern of replies in the present connection:

	WEST GERMANY
Those who support press freedom in both cases	42%
Those who support press freedom in only one case	36
Those who do not support freedom in either case, including the undecided and indifferent	22
	100%

The above figures make it clear that less than half of the West German people pass two specific tests of press freedom, and hence can qualify as possible supporters of freedom of the press.

There is a definite relationship between the expressed political preferences of people and their feeling towards limitation of press freedom. SPD supporters are over-represented in the group favoring unlimited publication; CDU/CSU supporters are under-represented.

This is not to say that SPD people are more inclined towards wanting press freedom than are other party members on <u>all</u> criteria. One of the criteria here dealt with criticisms of the government; SPD members, not represented by the government in power, naturally have little objection to criticism of it. CDU/CSU supporters, however, are more sensitive on this issue. It is possible that if the situation were reversed the attitudes might be reversed; but at the present, SPD members must be given the benefit of the doubt and be considered stronger supporters of a free press than CDU/CSU adherents.

III. GERMAN VIEWS ON THE PRESS WITH RESPECT TO THE OCCUPATION

MINORITY OF GERMANS BELIEVE PRESS FREEDOM EXISTS UNDER OCCUPATION ...

It is clear that most adult West Germans are not sure that there is freedom of the press under the occupation. Only one in five say that no control whatever is exerted by the occupation authorities over newspaper content, and only one-third say that free criticism of the occupation powers is possible in the press. This does not mean that the remaining large majority of Germans go on record as believing that the press is stifled by the British, Americans and French, but the fact must be faced that those who gave no opinion or no answer to the questions are saying, in effect, that they do not believe that German newspapers can print what they would like under the occupation. Here are the breakdowns of response to the two questions:

"Do you believe that the (Americans) (British) (French) exert control over what the newspapers write today or not? (Much or little)?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Yes, much control	26%	27%	25%	24%	24%
Yes, little control	31	29	34	32	40
No, no control	20	21	19	17	29
No opinion	23	23	22	27	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"In your opinion, do our newspapers criticize the (Americans) (British) (French) as they please today or not?".

Criticize as they please	35%	34%	37%	35%	58%
Don't criticize as they please	32	30	34	32	33
No opinion	33	36	29	33	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

One half of those who feel that papers don't criticize the occupation authorities freely say this is true because of some imposition of censorship upon the press. Most of the other comments are along the line that newspapers are afraid of prejudicing their position with the occupation forces (most of these latter comments explicitly state the belief that actual censorship or banning of newspapers would occur).

READERS OF SERIOUS PRESS CONTENT DIFFER FROM LIGHT READERS IN THEIR OPINION ON FREEDOM OF PRESS TO CRITICIZE OCCUPIERS ...

Nearly one-half of the serious content readers think the newspapers can say what they would like to about the Americans, British, and French and nearly one-half think that the opposite is the case. On the other hand, light readers are more likely to believe that the press is not limited in what it can say about the occupiers than they are to think criticism is stifled.

FREEDOM OF PRESS
TO CRITICIZE OCCUPIERS ACCORDING TO
NEWSPAPER CONTENT READERSHIP

	Serious content readers	Light content readers	All other readers	Non-newspaper readers
Can freely criticize	45%	40%	34%	13%
Cannot freely criticize	43	24	30	14
No opinion	12	36	36	73
100% =	(448)	(122)	(456)	(172)

HOW DO GERMANS THINK THEIR NEWSPAPERS PORTRAY AMERICANS AND THEIR MEASURES IN GERMANY?...

A little over one-third (37%) of the total West German adult population say that German newspapers in general give a favorable picture of Americans and their program in West Germany. Only 5% think the press treatment is unfavorable.

"In your opinion, do the newspapers, in general, give a favorable or unfavorable picture of the Americans and their measures in West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Favorable picture	37%	36%	39%	34%	82%
Unfavorable picture	5	3	7	6	1
Neither/nor	16	14	18	14	4
No opinion/No answer	28	31	22	37	6
Don't read newspaper	14	16	14	9	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Those who believe the press picture to be either pro- or anti-American were asked whether or not they think the picture is true. A majority (57%) say that what the newspapers print about Americans and their German policies is true, and a quarter (26%) believe it untrue.*

What is of even greater interest is the breakdown which includes the respondents' double assessment, i.e. of the direction of the newspaper portrayal of Americans (whether favorable or unfavorable) and of whether they believe the portrayal to be true or false:

Those who think the press portrayal to be ...

FAVORABLE and TRUE	60%
UNFAVORABLE and UNTRUE	2
FAVORABLE and UNTRUE	29
UNFAVORABLE and TRUE	9
100% =	(413)

Of those who made the double assessment about six in ten (62%) adopted a pro-American point of view, and the others can be considered to have negative feelings toward Americans and/or their measures in Germany. Note that those who think the press picture of Americans and their policies to be untrue are much more likely to think the bias is too pro-American than think it unjust to Americans.

* 17% express no opinion

THOSE WHO THINK OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES HAVE CONTROL OVER PRESS ARE LESS LIKELY TO BE SATISFIED WITH PRESS PORTRAYAL OF AMERICANS ...

There is a positive relationship between Germans' attitudes toward the occupation with respect to press control and their satisfaction with what the newspapers say about Americans and their policies in Germany. Those who allege that the occupation authorities exercise much control over press content are likely to consider the press picture of Americans to be favorable but untrue. Conversely, seven in ten Germans who think little or no control exists believe the newspapers portrayal to be favorable toward Americans and also true.

NEWSPAPER PICTURE OF AMERICANS AND THEIR POLICIES ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION CONTROL OVER GERMAN PRESS

	Amount of Occupation Control Thought to Exist Over German Press	
Newspaper picture of Americans and their policies:	Much control	Little or no control
Favorable and true	38%	71%
Favorable and untrue	45	20
Unfavorable and true	14	7
Unfavorable and untrue	3	2
100% =	(117)	(284)

MAJORITY OF GERMANS KNOW ABOUT POST-WAR LICENSING, AND SOME STILL THINK IT EXISTS ...

Respondents were then asked two questions concerning licensing of the press:

"Do you know whether it was necessary to obtain the permission of the Western powers during the first years after the war for the publication of a paper, or was that not necessary?"

"And is it necessary today to obtain the permission of the Western powers for the publication of a newspaper, or is permission not necessary any more today?"

It would appear from the table below that only one-third of the population are aware that permission by the occupiers is not currently a prerequisite to newspaper publication, although licensing was discontinued in the autumn of 1949.

	LICENSING NECESSARY?	
	Early post-war years	At present time
Yes, necessary	61%	22%
No, not necessary	3	36
No opinion	36	42
	100%	100%

RESTRICTED

04153

WHO DO NOT KNOW ABOUT LICENSING?...

Ignorance of licensing bulks largely among people having elementary schooling or less. Forty per cent of this group, compared with 17% of those with more formal schooling, expressed no opinion as to whether licensing ever was necessary. Eight in ten (81%) of the better educated and 57% of the others thought that at one time after the war permission by the occupation authorities was necessary to publish newspapers. Men are much more likely to know than women, and somewhat more younger people than old are aware that licensing was necessary.

DO GERMANS THINK LICENSING REQUIREMENT WAS OF ANY VALUE?...

There is no prevailing opinion that the licensing requirement was either useful or harmful. Both those who knew about the program and those who did not were asked what they think of its usefulness. (Those people who were unaware of the licensing arrangement were told before the question was asked: "The fact is that our newspapers needed permission of the Western powers during the first years after the war, but don't need it any more today.")

"Has this permission requirement, in your opinion, been of more use to the German newspapers or has it been of more harm?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
More use	17%	18%	18%	14%	50%
More harm	26	25	25	29	21
Neither/nor	12	12	13	12	11
No opinion	45	45	44	45	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Their comments and the proportion of them make it apparent that most people either did not realize the purpose of the licensing program or, if they did, were not convinced that it was successful in preventing undemocratic elements from publishing.

AND WHY DID SOME ATTRIBUTE USEFULNESS TO THE REQUIREMENT?...

Many of those who felt that the licensing program was of more use than harm gave as their reasons some aspect of the actual purpose of the program - the control of potentially undemocratic press elements. About as many, however, said that an undesirable increase in the number of newspapers was prevented, but these people talked largely in terms of quantity of publications rather than in terms of purposes and content of a potentially undemocratic press. These people missed the real purpose of the licensing program.

"Has this permission requirement, in your opinion, been of more use to the German newspapers or has it been of more harm?"

IF "More use":

"In which respect has it been of more use to our newspapers?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
An undesirable increase in newspapers was thus avoided - everybody would have been able to write what he liked to, without considering whether it is true or not, clever or senseless: There are already too many newspapers today that are unnecessary, for instance trashy papers; as to the number of papers the permission requirement avoided that too many papers appeared on the market; we would have been flooded with newspapers; otherwise there would be an excessive number of papers of inferior value, this might prove to be a bad influence on the population; otherwise too many papers would appear, everybody who feels he's got stuff for it, would try to issue a newspaper, and that is impossible; without permission requirement too many papers would appear which wouldn't be of any political value; if everybody would issue a paper, far too much would be written; to avoid the publication of too many provincial papers; it prevented that every unknown person can publish a paper; they couldn't carry just a lie; they were not allowed to publish all sorts of rubbish, but had to write good articles; etc.	6%	22%
Otherwise only agitatory propaganda, confusion and disorder would have been the result: They would have stirred up people; in the beginning there would have been bad agitatory propaganda because there was a great bitterness; people hadn't settled down yet and there were elements among the editors which were not free of blame; it was prevented that old practices were used again; all bad instincts would have been set free; there were too many differences of opinion - if each paper would have been allowed to publish what it liked to, a discord among the people would have been the result; still a bigger confusion among the people would have arisen if just anybody would have been able to publish a newspaper; in order to avoid confusion, there is still a lot of persons who want this; each unimportant organisation would have issued a newspaper, that would have made far still more confusion; if each party would have been able to voice what it liked, the confusion would have been still worse; etc.	4	8

(cont'd on next page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Radical groups like Communists and Nazis couldn't gain influence: Otherwise too many radical persons would have started writing; the political situation made it necessary, I mean clash between Communism and capitalism - Communism mustn't be allowed to publish its camouflaged papers in this zone; Communist papers couldn't spread out; radicalism was stopped so that Germany could develop democracy; many were still full of Nazi ideas so that papers without censorship would have been a danger, there might have been another fight within Germany; etc.	2%	10%
The Western powers kept an eye on the newspapers and assisted them: The American could supervise them more easily, and they took care that the reports were correct; they had a backing - the Western powers helped them in their work; they were dependent on the Americans in the beginning, otherwise we wouldn't have had any paper at all; etc.	1	5
A democratic press could be built up and kept free from former Nazis: Those papers that could be issued were published by genuinely democratic minded people who were trustworthy; enlightenment; the press was democratic and no nonsense was produced; they were able to develop more freely, could write in a democratic manners; permission requirement kept them free form Nazi elements and taught democracy; (without permission requirement Nazis too would have found a job with the press); the building up of a free press was made possible by it, former Nazis were eliminated; useful in the political field, they couldn't begin to speak all at once - they had to conform to democratic principles; etc.	1	3
Forming of too many political splinter groups was avoided: No more political papers could be issued; political opinions were more concentrated; it was avoided that every small group started brewing it's own soup; etc.	*	1
Others: As in the years following 1933, the newspapers were under control we had to get taught something about press matters; there is no need that we learn of all the abuses of the occupation powers; many editors enjoy the confidence of the British; the German people got a better idea about the living conditions of foreign nations; etc.	2	2
No opinion/No answer:	1	2
	17%	53%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

[redacted]

THOSE WHO THINK LICENSING WAS HARMFUL TELL WHY ...

Most of those who appraise the licensing program negatively say that suppression of truthful comment resulted or that occupation "mouthpieces" were the only press permitted to publish. Other reasons are also included below:

"Has this permission requirement, in your opinion, been of more use to the German newspapers or has it been of more harm?"

IF "More harm":

"In which respect has it been of more harm to our newspapers?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Free opinion and truthful reporting were suppressed: Because the Germans concealed their true opinion, important questions, such as public welfare, were not discussed; because they could not express their opinions; they were not allowed to talk freely and to point out public opinion; free opinion was suppressed; because in these years they could not express their free opinion; because the newspapers could not print their own free opinion; our newspapers could not talk openly, they always felt the pressure of the Western powers, there was no freedom of the press; because they could not say what they knew, but they must be allowed to say everything, because that is their real task; because they could not write the truth; etc.	10%	12%
Only those papers were admitted, which published what the occupation powers liked: Only papers approved by the Americans could be published without considering if they were good for the people or not; then the publishers were obliged to write only what was acceptable for the occupation powers; starting from this moment the papers had to sing the same tune as their masters to whom they owed their existence; it was assumed that the Western powers would protest, if something was written, what they did not like; they had to write what the Western powers demanded; because they could publish only those articles which served the ends of the occupation powers; they could not report truthfully, they all were just fools in the hands of the Americans; etc.	7	5

(cont'd on next page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Free development of the newspapers was hampered: Because they didn't give them a free hand - they were permanently under pressure; they could not develop their programs the way they liked to; we as Germans are too dependent and cannot develop our country in a free way; it was a restriction of their liberty to work as they liked to, I can't say anything else; because a greater number of papers can report more than a few licensed papers, their freedom was restricted by the license system; etc.	2%	3%
The publication of newspapers, formerly enjoying a good reputation, was hampered; the bad ones had no competition: Some publishers were prevented from publishing a newspaper; because they banned good papers which had appeared before the war; because the right to engage in trade freely, introduced at a later date, was not carried out in these cases, only persons released from concentration camps and prominent people got a license; because some papers could be published; only few were admitted, that was bad; etc.	2	1
The population distrusted the newspapers: Because many people did not want to subscribe to a newspaper which was under the control of the occupation powers - people thought this measure was going too far; the people did not have confidence in the papers; the circulation was limited, few readers because of distrust; without being forced to get licenses for newspapers we would have had sooner our own and independent opinion - now people still show distrust towards them; because they could not express their opinion publicly, their readers did not trust them; because of public opinion; the circulation would have been larger; there were enough readers, if more papers had appeared, which published uncensored reports; etc.	2	-
The reputation of Germany and of the newspapers was injured: It has injured the democratic reputation of the German press; only such papers got a license, which maintained relations to the French, and then only that was published which was acceptable for the French without regard to the reputation of our own nation; the reputation of our newspapers was injured because they were not allowed to write what they wanted; etc.	1	-
Others: Papers, which had no license were in great difficulties to get subscribers; otherwise more parties could have been formed, which could have propagated their opinions through newspapers; everything would have gone ahead more easily, I mean, boosting the economy; a newspaper is a mediator and a voice of the people; that has had a bad influence on the size and the arrangement, the papers could not satisfy their readers; etc.	1	-
No opinion/No answer:	1	-
	26%**	21%

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04158

[redacted]

APPENDIX

Group Differences and Coded Comments

"And how would you judge, in general, our present newspapers: as good or as bad? (Very good or good - very bad or bad?)"

	Good	Fair	Bad	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	51%	26%	11%	12%...100%	542
Women	47	19	4	30	656
Education:					
Elementary school	51	19	6	24	966
Beyond elementary	43	35	12	10	232
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	48	18	6	28	700
300 - 399 DM	57	24	6	13	255
400 DM and more	45	31	14	10	229
Age:					
Up to 29 years	47	28	7	18	266
30 - 39 years	51	21	8	20	240
40 - 49 years	55	18	6	21	292
50 years and over	45	21	8	26	393
Party Preference:					
SPD	56	22	7	15	307
CDU/CSU	62	16	6	16	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	42	42	8	8	78
Other parties	50	23	11	16	62
No party	39	25	10	26	288
Don't know	39	16	7	38	225
Occupation:					
Professionals	35	40	11	14	57
Businessmen	53	27	10	10	156
White-collar workers	51	27	6	16	157
Skilled laborers	56	19	9	16	233
Semi-skilled laborers	41	25	4	30	135
Farmers	48	14	7	31	134
Unemployed	52	15	12	21	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	43	17	8	32	214
Religion:					
Catholics	50	22	7	21	499
Protestants	48	22	7	23	641
Origin:					
Natives	51	22	8	19	944
Expellees, Refugees	42	21	5	32	253

"Do you believe that what the newspapers today report about important daily questions is more true to the facts or less true to the facts than during the Third Reich?"

	More true to the facts today	Less, just as or just as little true to the facts	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	63%	25%	12%...100%	542
Women	48	20	32	656
Education:				
Elementary school	52	22	26	966
Beyond elementary	68	21	11	232
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	47	24	29	700
300 - 399 DM	67	17	16	255
400 DM and more	67	21	12	229
Age:				
Up to 29 years	50	22	28	266
30 - 39 years	55	23	22	240
40 - 49 years	56	22	22	292
50 years and over	58	21	21	393
Party Preference:				
SPD	65	21	14	307
CDU/CSU	71	17	12	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	66	26	8	78
Other parties	57	27	16	62
No party	40	29	31	288
Don't know	39	16	45	225
Occupation:				
Professionals	69	21	10	57
Businessmen	69	21	10	156
White-collar workers	65	18	17	157
Skilled laborers	59	22	19	233
Semi-skilled laborers	46	24	30	135
Farmers	44	25	31	134
Unemployed	48	29	23	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	42	22	36	214
Religion:				
Catholics	59	20	21	499
Protestants	52	23	25	641
Origin:				
Natives	58	22	20	944
Expellees, Refugees	45	22	33	253

"If the radio news differ from what your newspaper reports, which would you be more apt to believe - the radio or the newspaper?"

	Radio	News-paper	Both are lying	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	59%	16%	5%	20%...100%	442
Women	60	11	5	24	466
Education:					
Elementary school	59	13	6	22	704
Beyond elementary	60	15	3	22	204
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	59	13	5	23	469
300 - 399 DM	67	12	3	18	224
400 DM and more	54	18	6	22	206
Age:					
Up to 29 years	66	15	4	15	227
30 - 39 years	59	16	6	19	191
40 - 49 years	60	13	4	23	223
50 years and over	55	11	6	28	264
Party Preference:					
SPD	69	15	4	12	241
CDU/CSU	58	17	4	21	193
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	52	19	7	22	68
Other parties	71	7	7	15	46
No party	54	12	8	26	218
Don't know	54	9	2	35	142
Occupation:					
Professionals	56	6	3	35	32
Businessmen	55	20	5	20	75
White-collar workers	63	17	4	16	100
Skilled laborers	62	17	1	20	104
Semi-skilled laborers	68	9	9	14	78
Farmers	47	13	15	25	59
Unemployed	76	13	-	11	37
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	51	17	3	29	104
Religion:					
Catholics	60	12	5	23	382
Protestants	59	15	5	21	478
Origin:					
Natives	59	13	5	23	756
Expellees, Refugees	66	14	4	16	152
City Size:					
Under 1,000	50	6	7	37	67
1,000 - 1,999	52	15	9	24	167
2,000 - 4,999	46	14	4	36	124
5,000 - 9,999	68	15	1	16	81
10,000 - 24,999	66	14	3	17	89
25,000 - 99,999	72	10	4	14	111
100,000 - 249,999	65	13	2	20	89
250,000 and more	62	17	5	16	180

"Supposing you would like to get an opinion on an important question of the day - upon what would you you rely most then?" (CARD)

	What I read in magazines and pictorials and other	What I heard about it over the radio	What I read about it in the newspapers	What family members and acquaintances said	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	10%	43%	33%	8%	6%	100% 542
Women	5	44	19	23	9	656
Education:						
Elementary school	5	45	24	17	9	966
Beyond elementary	16	39	30	13	2	232
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	5	42	25	17	11	700
300 - 399 DM	9	50	24	14	3	255
400 DM and more	12	41	27	17	3	229
Age:						
Up to 29 years	8	52	17	18	5	266
30 - 39 years	6	45	25	18	6	240
40 - 49 years	7	47	23	15	8	292
50 years and over	8	35	34	13	10	393
Party Preference:						
SPD	5	52	27	11	5	307
CDU/CSU	7	42	29	18	4	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	13	41	32	11	3	78
Other parties	8	37	29	21	5	62
No party	9	43	25	12	11	288
Don't know	4	38	18	26	14	225
Occupation:						
Professionals	14	33	30	19	4	57
Businessmen	6	46	30	17	1	156
White-collar workers	15	44	23	12	6	157
Skilled laborers	6	51	21	15	7	233
Semi-skilled laborers	5	48	22	17	8	355
Farmers	5	35	33	20	7	134
Unemployed	8	57	14	14	7	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	4	37	25	18	16	214
Religion:						
Catholics	5	46	25	17	7	499
Protestants	8	43	26	15	8	641
Origin:						
Natives	7	43	27	17	6	944
Expellees, Refugees	7	47	19	15	12	253

"Do you personally consider it good or bad if newspapers (would) represent the viewpoint of certain groups or parties?"

	Good	Bad	Neither/ nor	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	19%	56%	8%	8%	9%	...100% 542
Women	11	36	10	24	19	656
Education:						
Elementary school	12	43	8	20	17	966
Beyond elementary	23	53	13	6	5	232
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	11	42	7	19	21	700
300 - 399 DM	19	48	11	16	6	255
400 DM and more	21	53	11	10	5	229
Age:						
Up to 29 years	12	49	7	20	12	266
30 - 39 years	11	49	11	14	15	240
40 - 49 years	14	45	9	17	15	292
50 years and over	18	41	9	17	15	393
Party Preference:						
SPD	18	53	7	11	11	307
CDU/CSU	21	48	8	13	10	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	15	59	17	5	4	78
Other parties	8	48	15	16	13	62
No party	9	47	9	16	19	288
Don't know	10	26	8	34	22	225
Occupation:						
Professionals	26	44	16	5	9	57
Businessmen	19	52	12	15	2	156
White-collar workers	22	52	11	8	7	157
Skilled laborers	12	53	9	14	12	233
Semi-skilled laborers	10	37	10	20	23	135
Farmers	8	40	7	29	16	134
Unemployed	5	50	-	16	29	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	14	35	7	21	23	214
Religion:						
Catholics	15	47	6	17	15	499
Protestants	13	45	10	17	15	641
Origin:						
Natives	16	47	9	17	11	944
Expellees, Refugees	8	37	8	19	28	253

"Do you have the impression that (the) (one of the) newspaper(s) you are reading represents the viewpoint of a certain group or party or don't you have this impression?"

IF "Yes":

"Which one?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
SPD	7%	9%	6%	3%	29%
CDU/CSU	11	13	7	14	4
FDP	1	1	2	1	1
DP, SRP (rightist party - with rightist trends)	*	*	*	-	-
KPD (party adhering to leftist principles, leftist, extreme left wing)	1	1	1	-	-
Center party - BHE	1	1	1	2	-
Catholic - Christian - adhering to certain church groups	1	*	1	-	-
Occupation Forces - or dependent	1	1	*	-	4
No, they don't represent	65	59	71	70	55
Other groups or parties (trade unions, Catholic groups)	1	2	1	-	1
No opinion (those who said yes)	11	13	10	10	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Does your newspaper report only facts in the political and economic field or does it also take a stand on them?"

	Only facts	Takes stand	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	14%	74%	12%	530
Women	14	49	37	494
Education:				
Elementary school	16	55	29	804
Beyond elementary	9	83	8	220
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	14	55	31	554
300 - 399 DM	15	63	22	239
400 DM and more	13	75	12	218
Age:				
Up to 29 years	14	59	27	232
30 - 39 years	13	64	23	203
40 - 49 years	15	61	24	250
50 years and over	15	61	24	335
Party Preference:				
SPD	13	68	19	272
CDU/CSU	19	62	19	213
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	16	76	8	75
Other parties	15	61	24	54
No party	12	61	27	235
Don't know	12	43	45	175
Occupation:				
Professionals	8	85	7	52
Businessmen	10	73	17	153
White-collar workers	18	67	15	146
Skilled laborers	19	57	24	206
Semi-skilled laborers	12	58	30	104
Farmers	20	46	34	113
Unemployed	12	64	24	41
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	12	55	33	164
Religion:				
Catholics	13	58	29	424
Protestants	15	62	23	549
Origin:				
Natives	15	60	25	840
Expellees, Refugees	12	63	25	183

"As far as you know, can the newspapers today publicise all kinds of corruptions even if the reputation of the government is harmed by it, or is there anything that keeps the newspapers from doing it?"

IF "Something that keeps them from doing it":

"What keeps the newspapers from doing so?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Because the Federal government might ban the newspaper. (Censorship and control authorities of the government): The Bonn government doesn't allow it; directions from the government in order to avoid a revolt, they censor everything that might expose them; the papers will be banned immediately in case they publish something against the government; I understand that the papers will be banned then, and my opinion is that they don't dare to criticize the government; they fear to get banned when writing something against the government; the government can ban these papers; the government has an influence on whether or not a paper is being published and might use this right in case something doesn't suit it; the press chief of the Bonn chancery; security agencies of the government; there may be federal authorities which determine what can be published and what not; they are all censored, there is no Communist paper in the Federal Republic for instance; there will be censorship on certain questions, for instance they are not allowed to write on Adenauer what they like; the requirement of a Federal permission; to avoid trouble with the government, to avoid a banning of the paper; etc.	8%	7%
The control of the Western powers (fear of being banned by the Occupation powers): The censorship of the Allies, the German quarrel enough as far as the Allies are concerned, they are careful; protest of the occupation powers; fear of the present regime, I mean the fear of the allied authorities to the tune of which our newspapers must dance; the Americans won't allow it; we are still under the control of the Western powers; the directions of the High Commissioners; the occupation powers, we can't publish what we like, so the paper that would dare to do it would be banned very soon; etc.	2	5
Because it is against the law: There is a law that prohibits that; it seems to me that there is a law, there were already suits because of offenses against the government; the Federal law that enables the government to ban the paper; the publishing house will be closed or the paper will be banned for some time they are still bound to certain laws, laws of control; there is a law that prohibits under penalties attacks on the government; there may be a law which the government will make use of in such a case, I don't exactly know what this law is about; etc.	2	3

(Cont'd on next page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
(Cont'd from preceding page)		
<u>The newspapers are afraid of being banned (general):</u> The papers are afraid, they fear to be banned if they write what they would like to; they fear a close-down order; they fear to get banned even if it wouldn't be for more than six to eight weeks, it happened to SVZ; I think the paper might be banned, they would be banned by the government; etc.	2%	3%
<u>They take care not to get into trouble:</u> They fear that one might sue them for damages if they offend somebody by this; always a certain precaution, don't want to bind themselves one-sidedly; if matters are concerned which are not quite clear the papers didn't report about them in order to avoid trouble; many of the responsible editors don't want to risk anything; a certain precaution in order to avoid trouble; etc.	2	2
<u>Consideration of the public (in order to avoid unrest):</u> The papers are anxious not to alarm people; In consideration of the public, in order to avoid alarm; people might get too excited; they want to protect the government in order to avoid that the lower class people are driven into extreme opposition; people are not yet strong enough; to stand everything, they still need some time; etc.	2	1
<u>We still haven't achieved a genuine democracy and no real liberty of the press:</u> Because we still haven't a genuine democracy as, for instance, Switzerland, they can do it over there; we still haven't got a real liberty of the press; our press is not free as it is in America; etc.	1	1
<u>Consideration of foreign countries (in order to avoid prejudicing the government's reputation abroad):</u> They are anxious not to make a fool of themselves in foreign countries; the editors are morally obliged to take care that the reputation of the government is not harmed abroad, I'm sure the government gives them orders to do so; decency, there are a lot of abuses which can't be published without prejudicing the reputation of the government as well as that of the newspapers; etc.	1	*
<u>The newspapers don't want to publish material that the East might use for propaganda purposes:</u> With the East watching we cannot discredit ourselves by publishing our domestic situation; for political reasons considering the effect on the Eastern press; the Eastern press is waiting for such reports to fill their papers with; for political reasons because the opponent - the East - might take advantage of it; etc.	-	3

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Others: There are too many abuses to report on all of them; their political entanglements, I can't express it any better; the immunity of the deputies, if a deputy says or does something that discredits the government no person or paper can charge him because of his immunity; even the party papers watch each other, they are on the alert in order to tell on the rival paper if it writes something against the government; etc.	1%	4%
No opinion/No answer:	2 23%	1 30%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"As far as you know, can the newspapers today publicise all kinds of corruption, even if the reputation of the government is harmed by it, or is there anything that keeps the newspapers from doing so?"

	Can publicise everything	Something that keeps them from doing so	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	61%	28%	11%...100%	542
Women	49	19	32	656
Education:				
Elementary school	52	22	26	966
Beyond elementary	64	25	11	232
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	51	22	27	700
300 - 399 DM	55	25	20	255
400 DM and more	64	22	14	229
Age:				
Up to 29 years	61	23	16	266
30 - 39 years	59	21	20	240
40 - 49 years	52	24	24	292
50 years and over	49	24	27	393
Party Preference:				
SPD	60	26	14	307
CDU/CSU	62	22	16	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	66	24	10	78
Other parties	57	27	16	62
No party	47	28	25	288
Don't know	44	12	44	225
Occupation:				
Professionals	53	28	19	57
Businessmen	62	24	14	156
White-collar workers	66	18	16	157
Skilled laborers	60	26	14	233
Semi-skilled laborers	50	21	29	135
Farmers	45	23	32	134
Unemployed	59	29	12	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	43	21	36	214
Religion:				
Catholics	56	24	20	499
Protestants	52	23	25	641
Origin:				
Natives	56	23	21	944
Expellees, Refugees	51	20	29	253

"Two persons are talking about the task of the newspapers in West Germany. (CARD) With whom would you agree?

Herr Mueller: The newspapers should not publicize corruption if the reputation of the government is harmed by it.

Herr Schulze: The newspapers should attack and publicize corruptions of all kinds even if the reputation of the government is harmed by that.

	Should not publicize	Should attack and publicize	I don't care	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	15%	79%	4%	2%	100% 542
Women	16	63	12	9	656
Education:					
Elementary school	15	68	10	7	966
Beyond elementary	16	79	3	2	232
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	16	67	10	7	700
300 - 399 DM	14	74	8	4	255
400 DM and more	17	77	3	3	229
Age:					
Up to 29 years	15	77	6	2	266
30 - 39 years	12	77	7	4	240
40 - 49 years	15	66	12	7	292
50 years and over	19	64	8	9	393
Party Preference:					
SPD	13	81	4	2	307
CDU/CSU	27	64	6	3	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	17	82	1	-	78
Other parties	16	73	5	6	62
No party	9	71	11	9	288
Don't know	16	55	17	12	225
Occupation:					
Professionals	10	82	3	5	39
Businessmen	18	79	1	2	81
White-collar workers	17	79	2	2	118
Skilled laborers	19	77	3	1	133
Semi-skilled laborers	18	72	8	2	98
Farmers	17	70	5	8	77
Unemployed	7	86	7	-	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	16	60	14	10	176
Religion:					
Catholics	16	72	8	4	499
Protestants	15	69	9	7	641
Origin:					
Natives	17	69	8	6	944
Expellees, Refugees	12	72	9	7	253
City Size:					
Under 1,000	12	71	9	8	100
1,000 - 1,999	16	65	10	9	255
2,000 - 4,999	11	65	14	10	164
5,000 - 9,999	14	77	5	4	107
10,000 - 24,999	23	68	7	2	113
25,000 - 99,999	15	75	6	4	136
100,000 - 249,999	16	72	7	5	109
250,000 and more	18	72	7	3	214

R E S T R I C T E D

04171

APPENDIX

"At a recent political meeting nazistic speeches were held and the swastika banner was shown - in your opinion, should the newspapers report about it or not?"

	Yes, report about it	No, not report	I don't care	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	59%	24%	14%	3% ... 100%	542
Women	41	22	22	15	656
Education:					
Elementary school	46	23	21	10	966
Beyond elementary	65	21	9	5	232
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	45	22	21	12	700
300 - 399 DM	56	22	17	5	255
400 DM and more	56	30	10	4	229
Age:					
Up to 29 years	51	25	18	6	266
30 - 39 years	56	23	16	5	240
40 - 49 years	43	26	21	10	292
50 years and over	49	20	18	13	393
Party Preference:					
SPD	55	23	17	5	307
CDU/CSU	52	28	13	7	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	60	34	5	1	78
Other parties	56	21	18	5	62
No party	49	20	22	9	288
Don't know	31	21	25	23	225
Occupation:					
Professionals	64	21	14	1	57
Businessmen	53	30	13	4	156
White-collar workers	57	28	8	7	157
Skilled laborers	57	18	20	5	233
Semi-skilled laborers	40	27	22	11	135
Farmers	42	20	24	14	134
Unemployed	48	21	26	5	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	42	19	23	16	214
Religion:					
Catholics	48	27	19	6	499
Protestants	51	20	18	11	641
Origin:					
Natives	50	24	18	8	944
Expellees, Refugees	46	21	19	14	253

"Do you believe that what the newspapers today report about important daily questions is more true to the facts or less true to the facts than during the Third Reich?"

IF "Less true" or "No more true":

"Why?"

A LYING PRESS:

Most frequently mentioned was the belief that newspapers are "constitutional liars":

> We were told lies in those days and it is the same today; we don't know it otherwise, the newspapers will always make fools of us; the people will always be told lies, a newspaper means fooling the people, I noticed that they tell as many lies as they did formerly; it is just the way of newspaper writers; newspapers always told lies, why shouldn't they do so today? They do it from habit; they like to keep the people in the dark; truth is never published; etc.

A CONTROLLED PRESS:

These people obviously do not expect anything other than misrepresentation from newspapers, and many suggest that false newspaper reporting is a fact to be lived with - that probably nothing can be done about it. Other comments attribute a lack of truthful reporting to supervision by the government or by occupation authorities:

> The government is always backing the newspapers. That was the rule formerly and is the same today. In such a way such news appears in the paper which is favorable for the government; it is the same now as it was under the Nazis when the press was mismanaged by political influence groups; those who are in power have the papers write as they want them to, newspapers must be written as the spirit of the time demands it; they don't report but produce propaganda for the government and the measures it takes; I don't know, probably the government is to be blamed; because they are not allowed to, well, I can't say, probably it comes from the government; because of the occupation powers which still indirectly control everything; it's the same sponsorship at present and we are not allowed to report on everything; they are not allowed to report everything because they are under control; they are still muzzled; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

APPENDIX

A BOUGHT PRESS:

Then there are those who apparently would not expect entirely accurate reporting by the press because of party affiliations of newspapers or the motivations of businessmen who in some way affect the papers' content or news treatment:

> Also due to party considerations, then and now; because of the fight between the parties, one paper favors this party line, the other one a different party line; they always set their sails to the wind. Formerly they wrote as the NSDAP wanted them to do, and now they do it as the other parties like it; I presume they depend on parties; because each paper sees the things through the eyes of the editors who belong to different parties, therefore you can't speak of real deceiving; the newspapers are always guided by the trend of the times, that is their business; in the end paper publishing means business therefore they are made up in a sensational way; everybody wants to sell his paper and therefore keeps business in mind first; etc.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMENTS:

> There are so many comments in the papers which do not correspond to the facts, that I often don't get it; the constant denials show the lack of objectivity; because there are so many contradictions between the papers and the radio; once they write this way, next time the other way, make promises as they did formerly but no actions follow: etc.

OTHER OPINIONS:

> Because our diplomatic relations have to be maintained; every newspaper has to make allowances to the times and to the government; it depends, now and then, on the objective which should be reached by the report, you can't always report the full truth in the beginning, for example on incidents that are sure to cause panic among the population; they must take into consideration the standard of their readers; it is the fault of the newspapermen, can't say it exactly; because there are persons everywhere who don't know their profession, it is all the same everywhere today - they write a lot and nobody understands what it is about; because we were properly informed during the Third Reich; it is no good to always inform the people about everything; our democracy isn't ripe yet, I believe it is still in the making; the papers can't tell the truth all the time because they don't get their information from reliable sources; it is the fault of the people to yield to everything; etc.

"In your opinion, do our newspapers criticise the (Americans) (British) (French) as they please today or not?"

IF "No":

"And what prevents the newspapers from criticising the (Americans) (British) (French) as they please?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Censorship and suppression of newspapers under the occupation: Still being an occupied country we continue to be suppressed; because they do not feel free enough to write they way they want; because they think they are still dependent; because one cannot always give one's opinion, the other cannot take it; not independent from the occupation force; they French keep after them to prevent them to do so; they are not allowed yet to do as they please because of the Four-power control; a censorship of the press may exist; otherwise the papers will be banned; are subject to a certain control, so that they cannot freely publish everything; because a control exists; if they would write the truth, it would be writing too much; the paper would be banned; subject to compulsion and pressure, we must give in because they are our occupation forces, they keep it under their thumb; because otherwise they would be quarreling with the Amis; we have seen that papers were banned on the grounds of this; the occupation laws; etc.	16%	14%
Newspapers fearful of prejudicing their position with the occupation force, afraid of punishment, suppression, etc: I think they do not want to make them sore; otherwise they might have to accept disadvantages from the occupation force; they are afraid of banning if they talk too freely; we have already experienced that with the banning of "Stern" and "Revue", when they printed true stories; to prevent making them mad; they are afraid of the occupation force; afraid they do not feel enough like Germans, they are too dependent on the English; papers are still too timid and think they will be punished; because they are afraid they will be banned in that case; they are probably afraid to be punished; they have no courage to do so; a little afraid, do not want to make the Americans their enemies; they do not do it on their own out of fear to fall into disgrace; they are too considerate regarding foreign countries, and are afraid to lose their sympathies; fear of encountering difficulties; etc.	9	6

(Cont'd on next page)

APPENDIX

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Diplomatic consideration for interests of the occupation powers: Would not be diplomatical in our relationship towards them, one should be a little thankful; there are certain limits which must be observed; since we lost the war we must give in, we cannot risk showing off, but must be moderate; etc.	2%	3%
Economic dependence on the occupation powers, capital investments of the occupation powers: Because their backers became economically dependent on them thru the Marshall-Plan and can criticise neither English nor Americans now; the question of their very existence keeps them from doing so; fear of economic blockade - in the end we are dependent on them; I believe that the Americans have a certain influence on the newspapers, the more because they have invested capital; etc.	1	3
Newspapers want to promote cooperation and understanding with the occupation powers: The newspapers are interested in getting along with the English without causing frictions - therefore, they do not disclose unpleasant facts; because they have to live with them together and would not get along without the Western powers; they cannot do that because we want to form a world-wide bloc with other countries; it would be a paradox, wishing to be on good ter s with the English; common-sense, we need the English and they in turn need us; etc.	1	*
Others: Englishman, that's his diplomatic skill, in order not to spoil his relationship with anybody; I don't believe anything any more; the East is not to learn how things are over here - the East need not know it that is why the papers don't write about it; adjustment to the circle of readers - they do not want to lose subscribers, i.e. readers; because they cannot afford to do so, might lose subscribers otherwise; the censorship exercised by the Bundestag which controls the newspapers - papers fear to be banned; the Federal government - see example of the KPD party which was banned the other day; etc.	1	4
No opinion/No answer:	2	3
	32%	33%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

APPENDIX

WHAT ARE THE FAVORABLE PRESS PICTURES OF AMERICANS ACCORDING TO GERMANS? ...

All those who believe the German press picture of Americans and their German policies are favorable were asked to give examples of these.

"In your opinion, do the newspapers in general give a favorable or unfavorable picture of the Americans and their measures in West Germany?"

"In your opinion, is it a true picture or not?"

IF "Favorable" and "True" and "No opinion":

"Can you perhaps give me an example for it from the newspapers?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Reports on American aid different in character (supplying food stuffs, CARE, feeding school children, organizing welfare projects, grating loans, setting up air-lift, general): Donations given and welfare activities organized by Americans at X-mas time; feeding of school children; repeated reports on sending gift packages from the US to Germany; donation of CARE packages, STEG goods, grants-in-aid for university students; that CARE package business, they supported that action in order to bring relief to people in Germany; in those cases Mr. McCloy makes a grant; newspapers carried many articles about support given and CARE packages donated by Americans to Germans; reports on food consignments, "Unicef" donations to refugees, loans; newspapers kept carrying articles giving credit to American aid, I don't remember any details; etc.	3%	22%
Reports on problems and development in the political field: At the present time about the contribution to the defense effort, that Americans are in favor of full partnership; defense contributions, reports concerning them used to be true; many papers comment favorably on efforts on the part of the US to bring Germany into close alliance with the Western powers; reports on negotiations with our government; the government crisis in France, differences on the Saar issue; the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, there is nothing more to say; etc.	3	6
Reports on ERP (Marshall-Plan) funds and projects financed therewith: Reports on ERP-funds; reports on ERP funds, the projects that were realized through them everybody can see; the ERP funds which were appropriated, that's true, those were actually granted and mean a big help to us; reports on ERP funds; most newspapers consider Marshall-Plan grants a proof for political responsibility felt by Americans; information on ERP funds, I'm sure it is true, everywhere I go I see construction underway; etc.	1	12

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Reports on developments other than political: Incidents (between Americans and Germans) are being reported; in cases of scuffles true accounts are given, without sparing either Americans or Germans; American soldiers are being invited to German homes; in case of traffic accidents accounts are always quite objective (bus accident on Frankfurt highway); etc.	1%	1%
Others: If you read reports on conditions in the Russian Zone as well as in the British and French Zones, you find out we are quite lucky here, things have improved considerably here; construction in Garmisch for instance; no, I read too little (to be able to give an example); I can't think of an example and I am not interested either; if I'd answer your question I would just make a guess; etc.	*	3
No - I can't cite an example (I can't think of anything - I don't know): Right now I can't think of an example; I can't think of an example, I don't read newspapers carefully enough; I don't remember (an example); I can't remember anything definite; not right now; no; I can't think of an example; I don't know; I don't know a thing; etc.	12	23
No answer:	1	3
	21%	70% ©

* Less than one half of one per cent
© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"In your opinion, do the newspapers, in general, give a favorable or unfavorable picture of the Americans and their measures in West Germany?"

"In your opinion, is it a true picture or not?"

IF "Favorable", "Not true" or "No opinion":

"Can you perhaps give me an example for it from a newspaper?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Reports on measures concerning policy of the occupational forces (dismantling, occupation costs, construction projects, distribution of coal production, etc.):		
In 1945 everything was taken away from us and dismantled, however, they put it down to our credit; in the newspapers you keep reading that the Americans are helping us though you don't notice it, to the contrary, they still drag our stuff away, they don't report on what they are taking out of Germany; emergency working projects were started on the initiative of the Americans. The papers ran headlines: work for 50,000 people. They were right about the work, but in many cases the wages were smaller than the doles, so what's the use of the whole thing? And American assistance was made so much of; allocation of funds for occupation costs, furnishing the buildings on Petersberg - these facts are always being hushed up; the reports on our coal, very little is said about it; that the prisoners of war have been sent home long ago from the Western countries, but still they are holding old, dignified generals. There was much said about how well the Amis treated our prisoners of war, but nobody mentions that they turned some of them over to the French; etc.	2%	4%
Reports on incidents involving Germans and members of the occupation forces:		
The general attitude of the Amis towards the Ger ans. One reads about a new policy towards the Germans. This is contradicted by daily infringements on the rights of citizens; reports on incidents between Germans and Americans, who the guilty part is you will never learn; if something is reported about brawls involving Germans and Americans then the Germans usually are blamed; behavior of and incidents involving soldiers of the occupation forces; they give an entirely false picture of their way of life, that doesn't correspond to facts, every sensible person can see that for himself; example Dr. Semmler who was forced to resign; etc.	1	1
Others:		
A newspaper probably will not be in a position to present an unfavorable picture, I can't think of an example; those members of the French Foreign Legion, those members who escaped to Germany were tried here, nobody protected them; our newspapers want to blur the impression that the Americans intend to defend Europe on the Rhine. But the defense lines in the Palatinate leave the conclusion that they don't intend to defend Germany; in political respect we have reached the point where we don't need any guidance by the Americans any more that was being expressed therein; etc.	1	2

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
<u>General answers (without mentioning an example):</u> I really don't know, sometimes I think some of the reports just flatter the Americans and aren't true, I can't think of an example right now; my opinion is based on an assumption. I can't cite an example as our local newspapers here in the British Zone don't report much about that; I can't remember, I noticed, however, that reports don't correspond to the truth if that's done on purpose or if it's just an accident I can't tell; it happened in some cases, I can't cite an example off-hand; I'm judging more or less according to my feeling, I guess often it's just flattery, I can't cite any examples; I cannot prove that, it's just a feeling; etc.	1%	2%
<u>No - I cannot cite an example - cannot think of anything, don't know:</u> No; I can't; cannot think of it this very moment; no, I don't know; I can't think of an example right on the spot; I can't remember; etc.	5 10%	5 14%

UNFAVORABLE PRESS PORTRAYAL OF AMERICANS ...

Below is a complete list of examples given by those who said they believe the German press picture of Americans and/ or their policies to be unfavorable. There is obviously no point in attempting to quantify the data:

"In your opinion, do the newspapers, in general, give a favorable or unfavorable picture of the Americans and their measures in West Germany?"

"In your opinion, is it a true picture or not?"

IF "Unfavorable picture" and "True";

"Can you perhaps give me an example for it from a newspaper?"

That their behavior towards the Germans sometimes was insulting;
the hold-ups of taxi drivers;
conduct of and incidents involving soldiers of the occupation forces;
excessive occupation costs;
assaults on Germans by Americans;
that officers in Garmisch ordered a bowling alley to be built which costs 50,000 DM;
requisitioning of housing space;
putting chambers with explosives into bridge heads, a measure the Americans always tried to hush up;
outrages committed by soldiers of the occupation force, we are just waifs who have to comply with their orders, they hardly ever consider our feelings;
the report by Mr. Schaeffer about the grand style in which the occupation forces are living here, about the housing space they take up, the electricity bills they run up, and all their luxuries (Sudetendeutsche Zeitung);
their general conduct, that they hold up taxi drivers when drunk;
this business about the recent requisitioning of housing space;
the negotiations regarding the Ruhr coal, negotiations about the Schumann-Plan;
you can often read in the papers that special economic interests of the Americans are the motive for most of their relief programs;
the conduct of Americans towards Germans, as for instance assaults on taxi drivers and civilians;
people report about rape, murder and the slaying of taxi-drivers, that the average soldier's conduct is deplorable;
the defense contribution for instance, it amounts to 8.8 billions and it's quite plain what that means for us;
the conduct of Americans, especially soldiers, in Bavaria isn't too good;
sometimes you read about such gangsters who do things they shouldn't do, they hold-up taxi drivers, start brawls in pubs, assault people;
that whole shady business with the European army and the equality that's going on, we are supposed to pull the chestnuts out of the fire and still they want to hold us down;
dismantling, that's going on all the time. They want us to participate in the European army, without granting us a peace treaty first;
the set-backs in Korea; etc.

No opinion - 17 cases

04181

APPENDIX

Here are other unfavorable newspaper portrayals recalled by respondents (who thought them not true):

Hold-ups and certain criminal offenses are publicised beyond all proportion;
cartoons about remilitarization subjects, the Yanks are shown to be more greedy than they really are;
the taking over of our industry by foreigners (control by foreign capital) a development to be noticed everywhere, is hushed up completely;
the costly administration of the occupation forces in the French Zone;

No opinion - 5 cases

[redacted]

"Do you believe that the (Americans) (British) (French) exert control on what the newspapers write today or not? (Much or little?)"

	Yes, much control	Yes, little control	No, no control	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	29%	36%	23%	12%...100%	542
Women	24	28	17	31	656
Education:					
Elementary school	27	30	18	25	966
Beyond elementary	22	40	26	12	232
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	26	27	18	29	700
300 - 399 DM	26	38	22	14	255
400 DM and more	36	36	7	21	229
Age:					
Up to 29 years	31	30	23	16	266
30 - 39 years	23	34	21	22	240
40 - 49 years	26	36	15	23	292
50 years and over	25	27	20	28	393
Party Preference:					
SPD	31	37	19	13	307
CDU/CSU	28	33	22	17	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	23	41	27	9	78
Other parties	31	27	27	15	62
No party	27	29	17	27	288
Don't know	16	24	17	43	225
Occupation:					
Professionals	17	42	25	16	57
Businessmen	21	41	24	14	156
White-collar workers	23	38	24	15	157
Skilled laborers	32	35	17	16	233
Semi-skilled laborers	25	29	13	33	135
Farmers	34	22	17	27	134
Unemployed	36	31	17	16	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	22	22	21	35	214
Religion:					
Catholics	28	32	17	23	499
Protestants	25	31	21	23	641
Origin:					
Natives	27	32	20	21	944
Expellees, Refugees	24	29	18	29	253

RESTRICTED

"In your opinion, do our newspapers criticize the (Americans) (British) (French) as they please today or not?"

	Criticize as they please	Don't criticize as they please	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	42%	40%	18%...100%	542
Women	30	25	45	656
Education:				
Elementary school	33	29	38	966
Beyond elementary	47	41	12	232
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	31	29	40	700
300 - 399 DM	38	33	29	255
400 DM and more	46	41	13	229
Age:				
Up to 29 years	42	31	27	266
30 - 39 years	33	35	32	240
40 - 49 years	32	33	35	292
50 years and over	35	29	36	393
Party Preference:				
SPD	42	37	21	307
CDU/CSU	45	29	26	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	49	41	10	78
Other parties	34	37	29	62
No party	27	36	37	288
Don't know	24	17	59	225
Occupation:				
Professionals	54	23	23	57
Businessmen	40	41	19	156
White-collar workers	43	35	22	157
Skilled laborers	38	37	25	233
Semi-skilled laborers	32	26	42	135
Farmers	30	29	41	134
Unemployed	24	40	36	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	28	26	46	214
Religion:				
Catholics	37	30	33	499
Protestants	34	32	34	641
Origin:				
Natives	37	33	30	944
Expellees, Refugees	30	28	42	253

The fact is that our newspapers needed permission of the Western powers during the first years after the war, but don't need it any more today.

"Has this permission requirement, in your opinion, been of more use to the German newspapers or has it been of more harm?"

	Use	Harm	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	23%	34%	13%	30%...100%	542
Women	12	19	12	57	656
Education:					
Elementary school	15	23	12	50	966
Beyond elementary	26	35	15	24	232
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	14	22	13	51	700
300 - 399 DM	18	29	11	42	255
400 DM and more	27	31	15	27	229
Age:					
Up to 29 years	21	30	11	38	266
30 - 39 years	21	21	14	44	240
40 - 49 years	16	24	15	45	292
50 years and over	14	26	10	50	393
Party Preference:					
SPD	20	33	11	36	307
CDU/CSU	22	20	16	42	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	24	36	13	27	78
Other parties	18	29	13	40	62
No party	14	26	15	45	288
Don't know	11	16	7	66	225
Occupation:					
Professionals	28	28	12	32	57
Businessmen	25	28	13	34	156
White-collar workers	22	29	18	31	157
Skilled laborers	19	28	12	41	233
Semi-skilled laborers	13	22	11	54	135
Farmers	13	21	10	56	134
Unemployed	14	27	7	52	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	13	22	9	56	214
Religion:					
Catholics	16	26	11	47	499
Protestants	19	24	13	44	641
Origin:					
Natives	18	26	13	43	944
Expellees, Refugees	16	23	10	51	253

"And is it necessary today to obtain the permission of the Western powers for the publication of a newspaper, or is permission not necessary any more today?"

	Yes, necessary	No, not necessary	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	22%	46%	32%...100%	542
Women	21	28	51	656
Education:				
Elementary school	23	32	45	966
Beyond elementary	19	54	27	232
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	22	32	46	700
300 - 399 DM	23	41	36	255
400 DM and more	20	47	33	229
Age:				
Up to 29 years	26	40	34	266
30 - 39 years	19	42	39	240
40 - 49 years	22	33	45	292
50 years and over	19	34	47	393
Party Preference:				
SPD	27	40	33	307
CDU/CSU	24	39	37	238
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	22	48	30	78
Other parties	19	44	37	62
No party	19	37	44	288
Don't know	15	23	62	225
Occupation:				
Professionals	16	49	35	57
Businessmen	19	47	34	156
White-collar workers	22	47	31	157
Skilled laborers	25	35	40	233
Semi-skilled laborers	17	33	50	135
Farmers	26	23	51	134
Unemployed	34	33	33	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	20	29	51	214
Religion:				
Catholics	24	34	42	499
Protestants	20	37	43	641
Origin:				
Natives	22	37	41	944
Expellees, Refugees	20	36	44	253

APPENDIX

Tables Related To Report Text

APPENDIX TABLE A

JUDGMENT OF NEWSPAPERS
ACCORDING TO WHETHER OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES
EXERCISE CONTROL OVER PRESS

	Much control	Little control	No control
Good	51%	58%	61%
Fair/Bad	38	32	29
No opinion/NA	11	10	10
100% =	(277)	(346)	(220)

APPENDIX TABLE B

JUDGMENT OF NEWSPAPERS
ACCORDING TO WHETHER READER DISAGREES WITH
NEWSPAPERS' STAND

	Often/ sometimes disagree	Seldom/ never disagree
Good	58%	45%
Fair/Bad	35	21
No opinion/NA	7	34
100% =	(768)	(255)

APPENDIX TABLE C

JUDGMENT OF NEWSPAPERS
ACCORDING TO WHETHER READER DISAGREES
WITH NEWSPAPERS' STAND
(AMONG THOSE HAVING AN OPINION)

	Often/ sometimes disagree	Seldom/ never disagree
Good	63%	68%
Fair/Bad	37	32
100% =	(711)	(167)

APPENDIX TABLE D

RESPONDENTS' OPINION ABOUT
WHETHER PRESS CAN PUBLICIZE CORRUPTION
ACCORDING TO WHETHER PRESS SHOULD PUBLICIZE CORRUPTION

	Should not publicize corruption	Should publicize corruption	Don't care	No opinion
Newspapers ...				
Can publish corruption	53%	61%	32%	10%
Cannot publish corruption	24	26	11	*
No opinion	23	13	57	90
100% =	(189)	(838)	(101)	(70)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

APPENDIX TABLE E

SUPPRESSION OF NEO-NAZI NEWS IN NEWSPAPERS ACCORDING TO SUPPRESSION OF NEWS ABOUT CORRUPTION

	Should newspapers publish about corruption even though government's reputation may be harmed by it?	
	Should not publish	Should publish
Should newspapers carry accounts of neo-Nazi activities?		
Should NOT report	39%	22%
Should report	46	60
Don't care	8	15
No opinion	7	3
100% =	(168)	(799)

APPENDIX TABLE F

SHOULD NEWSPAPERS REPORT NEO-NAZI NEWS ACCORDING TO CONTENT OF NEWSPAPER READERSHIP

	Serious content readers	Light content readers	All other readers	Non-newspaper readers
Should newspapers report neo-Nazi activities?				
Should report	67%	43%	43%	33%
Should NOT report	24	24	24	19
Don't care	8	25	23	26
No opinion	1	8	10	22
100% =	(449)	(122)	(456)	(172)

APPENDIX TABLE G

AMOUNT OF PRESS CONTROL ATTRIBUTED TO OCCUPIERS ACCORDING TO NEWSPAPER CONTENT READERSHIP

	Serious content readers	Light content readers	All other readers	Non-newspaper readers
Much control	32%	29%	22%	21%
Little control	37	32	30	18
No control	23	20	20	9
No opinion	8	19	28	52
100% =	(448)	(122)	(456)	(172)

RESTRICTED

04189

[redacted]

WEST GERMANS APPRAISE THEIR PRESENT DAY PRESS

III. Readership and Evaluations of the Neue Zeitung

Report No. 160
Series No. 2

October 16, 1952

RESTRICTED

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U S HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

The present study is the third and last of a series on West German newspaper habits and attitudes toward the press. The initial report dealt with frequency of newspaper reading, kinds of newspapers read and characteristics of newspaper readers. The second dealt with opinions of Germans about their newspapers. This final report concerns itself with readership and evaluations of the American-sponsored Neue Zeitung.

Results are based upon a survey conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff between February 12th and March 10th, 1952, employing a 1,200 case representative probability sample of West Germany and a special 200 case sample of West Berlin.

As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of research.

SUMMARY

I. READERSHIP AND EVALUATION OF THE NEUE ZEITUNG

NEARLY A MILLION WEST GERMANS READ THE NEUE ZEITUNG AT LEAST WEEKLY ...

Three per cent of West German adults say they read the Neue Zeitung at least weekly. In terms of percentages such a figure is small; but when this proportion is changed into actual readers, it can be seen that no less than three-quarters of a million Germans are involved, and possibly as many as a million and a half.

A somewhat larger additional group appears to read the Neue Zeitung less than once a week.

EACH COPY OF THE NEUE ZEITUNG AVERAGES AT LEAST THREE READERS ...

Comparison of Neue Zeitung circulation figures with reported readership frequencies yield indications that each copy of the Neue Zeitung is read by at least three people on the average, and possibly by more than four.

NEUE ZEITUNG READERS LIKE THE PAPER - PARTICULARLY ITS CULTURAL AND POLITICAL FEATURES ...

More than half of Neue Zeitung readers say they like the paper "a lot". Only one in twenty express negative reactions. Liked best appear to be the cultural and political features and the thorough coverage.

HOWEVER, NEUE ZEITUNG IS READ LESS OFTEN THAN FORMERLY ...

About half of the Neue Zeitung readers say they read the paper less often than in the past. Lack of money, time and opportunity are the reasons most frequently given for this decline. Reasons of this sort are, of course, often another way of describing a loss of interest; but very few of those who had ceased reading it said they had done so because of actual dislike of the paper.

NEUE ZEITUNG READERS COMPARE PAPER FAVORABLY WITH THE GERMAN PRESS ...

Most Neue Zeitung readers think the paper compares favorably with the German press - has broader coverage or is more objective. They find it more reliable for news of America and equally reliable for general news.

II. CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES OF NEUE ZEITUNG READERS

INFLUENTIAL ELEMENTS PREDOMINATE AMONG NEUE ZEITUNG READERS ...

The more influential elements of West Germany predominate among readers of the Neue Zeitung - the well-educated, the well-to-do, professional men, businessmen and the like.

NEUE ZEITUNG READERS ARE INTERESTED IN "SERIOUS" NEWS ...

Nearly all Neue Zeitung readers follow "serious" news regularly in their press reading. They concentrate on political and economic news and editorials and to a lesser degree cultural material. Few pay much attention to such things as sports, entertainment and advertisements.

NEUE ZEITUNG READERS ARE REGULAR NEWSPAPER READERS, BUT THEY TEND TO BE MORE CRITICAL OF THE PRESS THAN AVERAGE ...

Nearly all Neue Zeitung readers read the newspaper daily. They prefer press to radio as a news source; but they also listen to radio commentators. More than those who do not read the Neue Zeitung, they are apt to take a critical view of the German press, believe that it is not impartial, and disagree with many of the stands it takes. But they also tend to favor press partisanship much more than do those who have not read the Neue Zeitung.

NEUE ZEITUNG READERS ARE NOT NECESSARILY SOLD ON AMERICAN AIMS ...

A majority of Neue Zeitung readers favor German participation in a West European army - a higher level of support than among the general public. Nevertheless, four out of ten oppose participation. It is clear that Neue Zeitung readership is by no means a guarantee of support of American aims; but perhaps the very fact that the Neue Zeitung is reaching influential persons opposed to German participation means that the paper is functioning effectively.

III. DO GERMANS LIKE THE IDEA OF AN AMERICAN-SPONSORED NEWSPAPER?

MAJORITY APPROVE THE IDEA ...

A majority of West Germans approve the idea of an American-sponsored German newspaper. Less than a fifth express opposition; and in West Berlin less than a tenth oppose.

ANTI-AMERICANISM NOT GREATLY INVOLVED IN OPPOSITION ...

About half those opposed to the idea of an American-sponsored German paper stress the existence of adequate German newspapers as a reason for their opposition. Even among those who dislike the idea as "American propaganda" not all evidence any indication in their comments of strong anti-American feelings.

I. READERSHIP AND EVALUATION OF THE NEUE ZEITUNG

WHAT PROPORTION OF THE PEOPLE READ THE PAPER, AND HOW OFTEN ...

Seven per cent of the people of West Germany and nearly a third of West Berliners claim current readership of the Neue Zeitung.

"Have you ever read the Neue Zeitung? And approximately how often do you read the Neue Zeitung now?"

	WEST GERMANY (1198)	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Daily	1%	1%	1%	1%	4%
Several times a week	1	1	2	2	2
Once a week	1	*	1	1	5
Two or three times a month	1	1	2	1	5
Once a month	1	*	1	1	7
Less than once a month	2	1	4	-	8
Used to read it, but not now	15	7	26	13	29
Never read it	78	89	63	81	42
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

ABOUT TWO MILLION PEOPLE ARE NEUE ZEITUNG READERS, AND HALF OF THESE READ IT AT LEAST WEEKLY ...

The percentage may not appear to be very large, but when we turn percentages in the preceding table into actual readers,** it can be seen that at least three-quarters of a million West Germans and possibly close to a million and a half claim to read the Neue Zeitung <u>at least</u> once a week. The readers are most concentrated in the American Zone.

If the readership figures are swelled by those who read the Neue Zeitung less than once a week, we get a total number of readers in West Germany of nearly two million at a minimum and of nearly three million as a maximum.

	NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO:	
	Read NZ Weekly or More Often	Read NZ at All
	between:	between:
WEST GERMANY	750,000 and 1,420,00	1,790,000 and 2,730,000
British Zone	230,000 and 510,000	510,000 and 900,000
US Zone	400,000 and 680,000	1,120,000 and 1,155,000
French Zone	130,000 and 220,000	180,000 and 280,000
West Berlin	110,000 and 160,000	400,000 and 480,000

THE NEUE ZEITUNG AVERAGES THREE READERS FOR EACH COPY ...

The Neue Zeitung's influence is considerably greater than its circulation In a week the Neue Zeitung will be read <u>at least</u> three million times in West Germany and Berlin and possibly as many as five and a quarter million different times.@ The Neue Zeitung press run each week is about 1,200,000. When we divide this weekly circulation into the number of times the paper is read each week we find that, at a minimum, each copy is read by nearly three people on the average, and possibly by more than four.

** When percentages of a sample are turned into numbers of a universe, the results can only be expressed as approximations, somewhere between an absolute minimum and a maximum.

@ For approximations involved in this estimate see Appendix.

[redacted]

NEUE ZEITUNG WELL LIKED BY READERS ...

Neue Zeitung readers have a good impression of the paper.* Few actually say they dislike it, and the majority say they like it a lot. Such a finding might be considered obvious; but it is always possible that many Neue Zeitung readers might have read it for specific information while disliking the paper in general. The finding here disposes of this possibility. Berlin readers were considerably more friendly than average.

"In general, do you like the Neue Zeitung a lot, do you like it fairly well, or not at all?"

	WEST GERMANY (60)
A lot	55%
Fairly well	32
Not at all	5
No opinion/no answer	8
	100%

WHAT READERS LIKE ABOUT THE NEUE ZEITUNG ...

The Neue Zeitung's features and cultural and literary sections appear to be the favorites of the readers, followed closely by its political coverage. A few readers also mention its economic articles. There is a feeling among many readers the Neue Zeitung gives thorough coverage, is generally well written. Only two readers say they like nothing about the paper in contrast to 24 who said they disliked nothing about it.

"And what do you like about the Neue Zeitung? (And which part do you like the best?)"

	WEST GERMANY
The cultural part - features: The cultural part; the literary part, the feuilleton; the cultural part is very varied; etc.	30%
The political content: The political part from all the world; the political part; the world-political editorials; the commentaries, political articles; the leading articles covering the daily political topics; the editorial comments are very good, explicit; the amount of news; etc.	25
NZ is more explicit, varied, interesting and up-to-date: Covers topics more thoroughly than the small papers, has more space; the manner of writing - if one reads so little one is interested in everything; I read the NZ from the first thru the last page; etc.	20
The economic part: The economic-political part; the economic columns; the economic-political part; etc.	10
Others: The part about sports, but everything else is good, too, in the NZ; comments on Germany's attitude; the Berlin page and the picture page; etc.	15
I don't like anything (or little) about it: Nothing; etc.	3
No opinion/No answer:	17
	120%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

* The results to these questions, asked of Neue Zeitung readers only, are based upon 60 respondents. They should be handled with caution and expressed in general terms because of the statistical variation inherent in relatively small numbers. The figures for West Berlin are omitted because they are based on too few cases. They will, however, occasionally be referred to in very general terms.

R E S T R I C T E D

WHAT READERS DISLIKE ABOUT THE NEUE ZEITUNG ...

Main areas of dislike are an alleged tendency to pro-American slanting and propaganda, and the political and cultural items. (In Berlin, no one appeared to dislike the political section.) However, these criticisms do not mean that the critic dislikes the paper as a whole; and most of these groups combined are matched by another group which volunteers that it likes "everything" about the paper.

"What don't you like about the Neue Zeitung? Which part do you like the least?"

WEST GERMANY

Too onesided American standpoint and propaganda(not enough understanding for German problems):
The paper should carry more practical comparisons between the American and German opinion - the continuous preaching about "you should.." must stop - the Americans have the greatest chance to win the Germans' friendship, but they ought not to gamble it away by the continuous unwanted guidance given them; their propagandistic trends are sometimes too strong; trying to execute a strong political influence on us West Germans; that it is dependent on an occupation force; should stress, i.e. recognize German qualities and characteristics more, so we know we have the same rights, etc. 13%

The political content (too extensive, onesided, etc.):
The political part; I like the foreign affairs part the least; the political news; the onesided political part; etc. 12

The cultural and feature section:
The cultural part is for my state of education almost too good so that I cannot always understand it; cultural part; cultural articles, above all the arts' section; abstract pictures looking at which one cannot determine any more what is meant - they call it (modern) art; the features; at the present: the novel; etc. 10

Size and make-up:
The gaudy get-up, the cover pictures; the silly big size; etc. 2

Others:
Depends completely upon the personal taste, I read no sports articles; the paper is too dull, too impersonal; the parts covering economics and advertisements are too short; sports is being neglected; too little local news; long-winded reports with respect to economic policy; etc. 15

I know little (too little) about the "NZ" - I don't read it, or read it infrequently:
I know too little about the NZ; I read too little; no particular part - as I stated already I read the NZ too irregularly and therefore cannot answer this question;I don't read it often enough and too superficially so I cannot tell; etc. 5

I like everything (very much) - I have found nothing wrong with it:
I like everything; I like every part of it; up-to-now I liked everything; I have found nothing wrong with it yet; I enjoy every part; I like everything; I found nothing negative, I have not checked it yet on this basis; I don't dislike any certain part of it; everything is all right; etc. 22

No opinion/ No answer: 27

106%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS GIVEN FOR READING THE NEUE ZEITUNG ...

What reasons do the readers give for readership of the newspaper? The answers tend to divide fairly evenly into three groups: learning about the American point of view; getting broader coverage; and getting a better paper than is ordinarily available. However, the number of cases is small; the largest single group of respondents simply cannot give significant reasons.

"Can you tell me for what reasons you read the Neue Zeitung?"

	WEST GERMANY
To learn the American points of view:	
To compare the opinion of the Americans with ours; I am interested in reading about the American standpoint regarding Germany once in a while, I would not know anything else; because I am interested in knowing what the Americans think about the Germans; to get to know their opinion; now and then I am interested in reading another paper in order to see what political opinion it represents; etc.	25%
The NZ has broader coverage:	
I liked the NZ best right after the war when we first got newspapers again - it offers a broad view and is more than just a little local paper, through the NZ you learn in details what goes on in the rest of the world; now and then you ought to know what goes on "outside", - the NZ reports more than other papers about events from all over the world; the NZ impresses me because it reports about everything in a general way, is open-minded; because we are informed about emigration policies, about the American congress, or about differences in the middle-East; in order to get an idea about the big world; etc.	18
Certain other attributes of the Neue Zeitung:	
Generally, the NZ reports more details than other papers, always prints up-to-date reports; is varied, offers interesting articles; is on a higher level than the German papers I know; is correct in the way of reporting; is more objective; NZ is the paper with the most concrete manner of reporting; etc.	25
Others:	
In order to be well informed; I am interested in everything, that's the reason for my reading the NZ sometimes, too, I have no other reasons; I have no special reason - if I can get hold of the NZ, I read it; no particular reasons, I can get the NZ at my office and read it; I have no particular reason, sometimes I just happen to come across it; the NZ can be looked at in the restaurant where I usually take my lunch; I am always interested in broadening my knowledge and I like to read; etc.	30
No opinion/No answer:	11
	109%**

** Some respondents gave more than one reason.

04196

LOSS OF NEUE ZEITUNG READERS ...

An earlier question indicates that ex-readers of Neue Zeitung are considerably more prevalent than current readers (even when the most generous definition of readership - less than once a month - is allowed.) Nor is this the whole picture. Even the current readers tend to move toward the ex-reader class; about half of them read it less now than they did formerly.

"Did you use to read the Neue Zeitung more frequently in the past?" (Asked of current readers, except those who report reading it daily.)

	WEST GERMANY
Yes, more frequently	45%
No	54
No answer	1
	100%

WHY ARE THEY READING IT LESS OFTEN? ...

Ex-readers and current readers who are reading Neue Zeitung less than formerly were then asked the reasons for the drop in readership. The results here are perhaps of more importance than the reasons given for current readership, since they suggest that the reasons for loss of readership are not purely voluntary and do not stem mainly from dissatisfaction with the newspaper.*

As the table following indicates, the chief reason given for lowered readership is lack of funds: the slipping Neue Zeitung reader simply does not want to afford the "luxury" of a second paper,** even though the Neue Zeitung is usually cheaper than his first paper. Truth of this "cause" is supported by the fact that this sub-group is in general a needier group than current Neue Zeitung readers and even than the bulk of former readers. Only a fifth of them make 400 marks or more a month compared to half of other former readers and two-thirds of the current readers. This factor is particularly noticeable in Berlin. Following lack of funds, almost as many give reasons of time and convenience - they are now too busy, or the paper is hard to find.

The results here indicate that a lower price and more widespread distribution might regain a number of former readers almost as large as the present number of current readers. However, reasons of this nature need qualification. Lack of funds often means lack of incentive to spend. So, too, do such reasons as lack of time or availability.

Other comments included lack of local news; preference for other papers; and dislike of Neue Zeitung pro-American policies.

* In February, 1949, in a study limited to the American Zone, lack of money was given as a reason for lessened readership by a majority. See Report No. 154, "Opinion on the Neue Zeitung", dated February 3, 1949. Here, as in the present survey, such statements should not all be taken at face value.

** There were 60 readers of the Neue Zeitung in the sample; 47 of them read paper daily, but only 12 of them read the Neue Zeitung daily. Thus, for the most part, the Neue Zeitung is an auxiliary newspaper. The findings tend to confirm an earlier study limited to the American Zone. There, four-fifths of the Neue Zeitung readers stated that the paper was their "second paper."(See Report No.154.)

04197

"Why don't you read the Neue Zeitung (so frequently) any more?"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Zone	US Zone	Fr. Zone	West Berlin
For financial reasons (too expensive - more expensive than other newspapers):					
For financial reasons; no money left for it; too expensive for me, can only afford two papers; because I haven't got the money to buy it; can't afford it; on the ground of my financial situation - the increase in prices forces me to economize; lack of money, my husband can't find a job; because I have less money now; I can't pay it, though; it is too expensive; it got too expensive for me to have it permanently; costs more than the "Neukoellner"; no money left for it, I read it occasionally in former times; couldn't buy it myself - could only borrow it and my friends stopped reading it because it costs too much; nobody lends it to me and I can't affort buying it myself; etc.	5%	2%	9%	2%	20%
Lack of time and opportunity:					
Lack of time, I'm preparing work for an examination; as I already told you: lack of time; no opportunity; because I don't get the chance to read it; because I don't have a chance to read it any longer; at my friends where I used to read it, it is no longer available; lack of time; I don't get it any longer and can't go to any trouble to get it; because I'm fully occupied with one daily paper; impossible to borrow it from somebody; because I formerly lived with my parents who read it; formerly I could read it in the office but now I don't work any longer; friends of mine gave it to me formerly; etc.	4	2	7	2	4
Lack of local news in Neue Zeitung:					
Because it doesn't publish enough things that happen in this district and about people of my class; it doesn't report local news; because the "Telegraf" reports more items of general interest and on Berlin matters; it doesn't carry enough local news and things that interest the native population; German papers carry obituary notices and everything that happens in the surrounding area, this is important to know; etc.	2	-	5	-	3
Preference given to other papers (for different reasons):					
I just happened to get a copy, though we subscribe to the "Tagesspiegel"; it is too much, can't cope with it as we now have subscribed to the "Rheinische Merkur"; the one paper I prefer is the "Welt" because it pays more attention to commercial matters; no, the one paper I get is enough for me; etc.	1	*	3	1	5

(cont'd on next page)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Zone	US Zone	Fr. Zone	West Berlin
NZ is too American - tinged and too one-sided: I haven't read it for some time, it's too onesided and too American; it developed into a typical American paper as far as the style is concerned and that is what I dislike; it doesn't tell me much and I want to approach problems from a German point of view; etc.	1%	1%	3%	-	6%
Don't like (any more) the NZ, no need: Didn't like it sufficiently; no need; don't like it any more, it usually reported outdated matters, in the beginning it only came out twice a week; etc.	1	*	1	1	2
NZ reports too much politics: It writes too much about political affairs; formerly I liked it more because it wrote more about cultural matters, nowadays it produces too much politics; etc.	*	*	1	-	1
Others: Friends of mine had subscribed to it formerly so that I could read it from time to time, there is no other reason; in the beginning, when it was first published, I liked to read it, it was very instructive, the political reports were objective and trustworthy, reported many things which were overlooked by German papers; I already told you:it has no right to exist in Germany; it was one of the up-to-date papers then, now it has got into the background; one wanted to get the news faster - the NZ reports the news too late - usually a whole day later; I never read a paper; etc.	1	1	1	-	3
No opinion/No answer:	*	-	*	-	1
	15%**	6%**	30%**	6%	45%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04199

HOW NEUE ZEITUNG COMPARES TO GERMAN PRESS ..

Most Neue Zeitung readers find differences between the paper and the regular German press, and the differences they find are nearly all favorable to the Neue Zeitung. In particular, it is considered a better source of news coverage and more objective.

"If you compare the Neue Zeitung with most German newspapers, do you find any difference between the Neue Zeitung and the German newspapers?"

	WEST GERMANY
Yes	72%
No	13
No opinion/no answer	15
	100%

"In which respect does the Neue Zeitung differ from German newspapers?"

	WEST GERMANY
NZ has broader coverage: The German papers usually print local news only - the NZ has a higher level, is far-reaching; more world-political than local news; the NZ is not concerned with local news so much; is more explicit in regard to world policy; etc.	40%
Neue Zeitung is more objective: The NZ looks upon things more objectively than the German papers, with the exception of "Die Welt"; as already mentioned, the NZ is really more objective in its judgments in contrast to the German papers; everything is more objective, especially the cultural part, the political and the economic part; I think the NZ is more democratic, I cannot explain it any better - I don't know how to express myself; NZ is more outspoken in its expression of opinion, more generous way of thinking; etc.	23
NZ size (bigger) and make-up: Well, the NZ is bigger also has more pictures; size and volume, cannot say more about it; etc.	19
Others: Because the NZ carries more about America; better style - almost no advertisements, therefore general assumption that there is a strong financial backing; NZ is a little tutor-like, you can feel a certain tutelage; etc.	33
No opinion/No answer:	115%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHICH IS MORE RELIABLE FOR NEWS OF AMERICA? ...

Neue Zeitung readers, not unnaturally, rate the newspaper as a better news source for American affairs than German papers. (In Berlin the ratio is 14 to 1.) Here is definite indication that the Neue Zeitung is not considered to be just a propaganda sheet by most of its readers.

"What do you personally consider a more reliable source of information about America - the Neue Zeitung or German newspapers?"

	WEST GERMANY
Neue Zeitung	42%
German newspapers	23
Both equally reliable	8
Both equally unreliable	5
No opinion/no answer	22
	100%

WHICH IS MORE RELIABLE FOR GENERAL NEWS? ...

When it comes to general reliability of news, Neue Zeitung ranks even with German papers in Western Germany. In Berlin, however, Neue Zeitung is rated higher among those making a choice. A still larger group give both sorts of newspapers equal ratings for reliability. The indication here is that Neue Zeitung readers do not turn to it largely from lack of confidence in the German press; but rather for its positive values cited earlier.

"And in regard to news - which brings the more reliable news in general, in your opinion - the Neue Zeitung or German newspapers?"

Neue Zeitung	17%
German newspapers	18
Both equally reliable	35
Both equally unreliable	8
No opinion/no answer	22
	100%

NEUE ZEITUNG READERS AND VOA LISTENING ...

Most Neue Zeitung readers are also radio listeners, and a majority of them listen to Voice of America. The level of listenership is naturally higher than for non-readers; but it still appears to be lower than one might expect (except in Berlin), given the characteristics and predisposition of Neue Zeitung readers. The results indicate that Neue Zeitung has, to a larger degree, an audience of its own which is not being touched by the mass appeals of the Voice of America.

"Do you sometimes listen to the Voice of America?"

	WEST GERMANY
Yes	61%
No	37
No answer	2
	100%

WHICH PREFERRED AS A SOURCE ON AMERICA? ...

Neue Zeitung readers divide fairly evenly on the subject of preference between the two. (The few Neue Zeitung readers who never listen to the radio should, of course, be counted as preferring Neue Zeitung.) In Berlin, VOA is clearly favored. However, the frame of reference of the question deals only with "American viewpoint on important questions of the day" - perhaps giving an implication of official or semi-official exposition of policy. The results should not be taken as indicating actual preference in all respects.

"If you wanted to get to know the American viewpoint on important questions of the day - which source of information would you prefer - the Neue Zeitung or the Voice of America?"

Neue Zeitung	22%
Voice of America	31
No opinion/no answer	47
	100%

WHAT ARE THE REASONS FOR PREFERENCE? ...

So few persons give reasons for preference that it seems unadvisable to list an elaborate table. Those readers who choose the Voice of America stress its greater speed and its greater cheapness and convenience. A few consider VOA more detailed. The bulk of those choosing Neue Zeitung stress a preference for the written word as allowing more time to absorb and study. These reasons, of course, are those generally given by respondents as reasons for preferring one of the two types of media. There is also a slight feeling that Neue Zeitung, employing Germans, is not quite so much an American instrument.

II. CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES OF NEUE ZEITUNG READERS

INFLUENTIAL ELEMENTS PREPONDERATE ...

It is clear that the Neue Zeitung is targetting influence groups effectively. The proportion of male readership is three times as high as female; well-educated four times that of poorly educated, wealthy six times that of the poor. The young and middle aged far outdistance the old in readership; and the prestige occupations are much above the lesser jobs.

"Have you ever read the "Neue Zeitung"? And approximately how often do you read the "Neue Zeitung" now?"

	Current readers	Former readers	Have never read	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	8%	21%	71%..100%	542
Women	3	12	85	656
Education:				
Elementary school	3	13	84	966
Beyond elementary	13	32	55	232
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	2	14	84	700
300 - 399 DM	5	20	75	255
400 DM and more	13	23	64	229
Age:				
Up to 29 years	6	19	75	266
30 - 39 years	8	17	75	240
40 - 49 years	8	14	78	292
50 years and over	1	15	84	393
Party Preference:				
SPD	7	17	76	307
CDU/CSU	4	16	80	238
FDP/LDP/DVP	10	23	67	78
Other parties	1	18	81	62
No party	4	20	76	288
Don't know	4	9	87	225
Occupation:				
Professionals	16	42	42	57
Businessmen	10	23	67	156
White-collar workers	8	20	72	157
Skilled laborers	3	14	83	233
Semi-skilled laborers	1	13	86	135
Farmers	1	8	91	134
Unemployed	-	19	81	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	6	13	81	214
Religion:				
Catholics	4	18	78	499
Protestants	6	15	79	641
Origin:				
Natives	5	17	78	944
Expellees, Refugees	5	15	80	253
Veteran Status:				
Yes	8	26	66	332
No	8	15	77	208

WHAT NEWSPAPER CONTENT DO NEUE ZEITUNG READERS FAVOR? ...

Neue Zeitung readers are steady readers of editorials, of political and economic news, of cultural items. On the other hand, they read less crime and entertainment news than those persons who have never read Neue Zeitung. Ex-Neue Zeitung readers have reading habits reasonably close to current readers. The table below shows the percentage of each group which reads various types of newspaper material "most of the time".

TYPE OF NEWS	PROPORTION WHICH READS IT "MOST OF THE TIME" Among current NZ readers	Among former NZ readers	Among those who have never read NZ
Economic, political news - German	86%	61%	40%
Economic, political news - world-wide	77	60	35
Local news	75	74	80
Editorials	68	57	31
Cultural news	51	45	29
Crime and accidents	43	50	59
Sports	33	44	35
Advertisements	32	44	53
Entertainment	29	33	40

NEUE ZEITUNG READERS ARE "SERIOUS" READERS ...

The results can be expressed even more clearly by isolating three major groups of respondents:

A. Those who nearly always read "serious" material in their papers (political and economic news, here and abroad, and editorials).

B. Those who only read "light" news (crime and accidents, entertainment).

C. The semi-readers -- those who basically don't keep up consistently with any type of news.

When these three groupings are analysed in terms of Neue Zeitung readership, we get the following results:

81 per cent of current Neue Zeitung readers are classified as "serious".
57 per cent of former Neue Zeitung readers are classified as "serious".

BUT

Only 30 per cent of those who have never read Neue Zeitung are classified as "serious".

Or to put the relationship in another way:

Only 5 per cent of the Neue Zeitung readers can be classified as either "light" or "semi-readers".

And only 10 per cent of the former readers fall into these groups

BUT

39 per cent of those who have never read Neue Zeitung do.

The results here confirm earlier suggestions and add to the declineation of the Neue Zeitung reader as a selected member of an opinion-forming group. His newspaper readership is basically serious (three-fourths of the "serious" group of Neue Zeitung readers did not even follow the lighter material). What he reads a paper for is politico-economic news, editorials, and to a lesser degree cultural news. Only in readership of local news has he much in common with the person who has never read the Neue Zeitung.

NEUE ZEITUNG READERS AND THE GERMAN PRESS ...

The Neue Zeitung reader tends more than average to be a general newspaper reader; to be interested in news; to be critical of the press and of the particular paper he reads, but at the same time to accept and even approve of partisanship and diversity of views.

Such an impression of the Neue Zeitung reader is indicated by the findings which follow; based on cross-analysis with other questions reported in the second report of this series on German newspaper and radio listeners.

1. Neue Zeitung readers are nearly twice as likely as non-readers to prefer the press to the radio as their chief news source. A little less than six out of ten of the Neue Zeitung readers pick the press, compared to about a third of non-readers.

2. Over half the Neue Zeitung readers are regular listeners to radio news commentators compared to a third of the non-readers.

3. Eight out of ten Neue Zeitung readers are daily newspaper readers; slightly over half of the non-readers are such.

4. This greater regular readership of newspapers is also associated with a more critical view of the German press. Neue Zeitung readers are three times more likely than non-readers to rate the German press as poor. (However, such a finding does not imply that many Neue Zeitung readers became such simply because of their dislike of the German press. It is only a fifth even of this group which gives ratings of poor; and the opinion forming groups which predominate among Neue Zeitung readers are generally more critical of all activities.)

5. At the same time, Neue Zeitung readers are twice as likely as non-readers to know that German papers are free to criticize the Allied powers.

6. Neue Zeitung readers are twice as aware as non-readers that the German paper they usually read takes stands on issues rather than simply limiting itself to facts. They disagree with their usual paper three times as often as non-readers. But at the same time they are almost three times as likely to approve of press partisanship in principle.

DO NEUE ZEITUNG READERS TEND TO AGREE WITH AMERICAN AIMS? ...

The issue of German participation in a West European Army was used as a rough measurement of support of American aims. Earlier studies have shown that those Germans who favor such participation, to a large extent, are those Germans generally favorable to American aims.

Neue Zeitung readers are more favorable than non-readers to German participation; but nearly as large a proportion of them oppose the idea. The explanation is that non-readers are more apt to have no opinion on the issue.

	GERMAN PARTICIPATION IN WEST EUROPEAN ARMY		
NEUE ZEITUNG READERSHIP	More for it	More against it	No opinion
Current readers	53%	40%	7%..100%
Former readers	52	49	9
Never read it	32	47	21

Thus, on a basic issue, four out of ten of the paper's readers oppose a major policy backed by the paper's sponsors. This does not indicate a deficiency in Neue Zeitung; but it does show that Neue Zeitung readers are by no means all favorable to American aims. Perhaps the very fact that the Neue Zeitung is reaching influential persons opposed to German participation means that the paper is functioning effectively.

III. DO GERMANS LIKE THE IDEA OF AN AMERICAN-SPONSORED NEWSPAPER?

MAJORITY APPROVE ...

A majority of Germans accept the idea of having an American-sponsored newspaper. There are no important differences between zones; only in West Berlin, where almost nine out of ten accept the idea. In the three zones, actual opposition in principle to the existence of the Neue Zeitung is displayed by about a fifth; in West Berlin less than a tenth.

"Would you agree to it that an American newspaper in the German language be published here in West Germany, or are you opposed to it?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Agree to it	58%	57%	61%	52%	87%
Oppose it	19	21	16	22	9
No opinion	23	22	23	26	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

WHO ARE OPPOSED? ...

People over 50 years of age are slightly more opposed than the younger elements; natives more than expellees and refugees. Of particular interest is the fact that there is no really significant variation of opposition among adherents of the different political parties.

	Agree to it	Oppose it	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	60%	24%	16%...100%	542
Women	56	16	28	656
Education:				
Elementary school	55	19	26	966
Beyond elementary	68	21	11	232
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	54	18	28	700
300 - 399 DM	62	22	16	255
400 DM and more	64	21	15	229
Age:				
Up to 29 years	66	17	17	266
30 - 39 years	63	15	22	240
40 - 49 years	59	19	22	292
50 years and over	48	25	27	393
Party Preference:				
SPD	63	20	17	307
CDJ/CSU	67	18	15	238
FDP/LDP/DFP/BDV	68	17	15	78
Other parties	63	18	19	62
No party	51	23	26	288
Don't know	45	17	38	225
Occupation:				
Professionals	60	23	17	57
Businessmen	60	24	16	156
White-collar workers	68	17	15	157
Skilled laborers	58	20	22	233
Semi-skilled laborers	54	19	27	135
Farmers	49	19	32	134
Unemployed	55	26	19	58
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	55	16	29	214
Religion:				
Catholics	59	16	25	499
Protestants	57	21	22	641
Origin:				
Natives	56	22	22	944
Expellees, Refugees	65	10	25	253

WHY OPPOSITION TO AN AMERICAN-SPONSORED NEWSPAPER? ...

Opposition to the existence of the Neue Zeitung is not always indicative of anti-Americanism. About half of those opposed simply state that they see no need for such a newspaper, with adequate German papers available. About an equal number of answers stress opposition to American propaganda or American attempts at gaining influence or doubt over the truthfulness of such a paper. However, even in such cases few of the answers seem to indicate anti-Americanism per se; nor does there appear to be a very high level of intensity of feeling in the comments.

It can thus be concluded that opposition to the very existence of the Neue Zeitung does not appear to be strong either in quantity or quality and does not necessarily indicate hostility to America.

"What are the reasons for this attitude?" (Asked of those respondent who answered "oppose it" in preceding question.)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Zone	US Zone	Fr. Zone	West Berlin
There are enough German papers available, there is no need for foreign newspapers (American): Because there are enough German newspapers available; our German newspapers offer a rich variety of news and features, therefore there is no need for American papers; there is an ample supply of German newspapers; German newspapers do for us, in them we find all we must know; our newspapers meet all our demands; there are enough newspapers available here, there is no demand for foreign papers; I'm quite satisfied with my local paper; there are enough newspapers available here to suit all tastes; etc.	9%	9%	8%	10%	4%
Don't like American attempts to influence Germans, press ideas on them, make propaganda: Because Americans should not try to influence us; thus public opinion would be influenced onesidedly and in favor of Americans; they do not need to put forth the American point of view (on any issue), we are tired of their films as it is; there would be no point in that as they would just reflect the American point of view; they would only try to wheedle and influence us; we do not need somebody to tell us what to think; I do not want to lap up any commentaries I get ready-made from them; I can't help it but I don't like Americans; we are Germans, they should stay in their country, this is no colony over here; it would just be propaganda, no objective information; it suffices if people know what's going on in Germany, American influence here is already too strong; we cannot afford to introduce American standards of living over here, Germany will never be Americanized; we are not interested in what Americans think about us; because I am not fond of the Yanks, they sold us to the Russians; etc.	5	6	4	6	2

(cont'd on next page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Zone	US Zone	Fr. Zone	West Berlin
Such a newspaper would just further American interests and put forth the American point of view as well as try to further their cause: These newspapers would only further American interests; because Americans judge things just from their own point of view, their publications just further their own cause; it would just represent things as seen from the American point of view; no need for such a newspaper, it would promote American interests only; because Americans put their interests too much in the foreground; they would report only things that don't conflict with their interests; etc.	2%	2%	2%	4%	2%
Suspicion and doubts regarding the truthfulness of American newspapers: Because I would not believe what they publish, Americans usually have no qualms to tell lies; I can't explain this to you in detail; their reporting is not according to fact; I would be suspicious regarding such newspapers; because they would see things differently as compared to our newspapers; etc.	1	1	1	1	-
They lack understanding and have poor judgment in regard to German problems: Because they lack thorough understanding of complexity of German problems; because there is no point in it - they would not be able to see our problems in the right light; so long as this newspaper does not consider the national interests of Germany there is no justification for this paper to be published in Germany; etc.	1	*	*	1	-
Opposition without giving reason for his attitude: There is no need for that, I just feel that way; no demand - I don't see any point in their publishing newspapers for us; etc.	1	1	1	-	-
Others: It would be an infringement of the German constitution; I don't think this would further mutual understanding - it would just be following the example the Russians are setting in their zone; I am loyal to the newspapers which I have read daily for years; etc.	1	1	1	2	1
No opinion/No answer:	*	1	*	1	1
	20%**	21%**	17%**	25%**	10%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

04208

APPENDIX: READERS-PER-COPY OF THE NEUE ZEITUNG

The number of readers per copy of the Neue Zeitung was estimated in the following manner:

1. From the first table in the report, it was determined that in West Germany about three per cent of the population 18 and over read the Neue Zeitung at least once a week. This percentage was extrapolated into actual readers, giving a range of from 750,000 to 1,420,000 persons.

2. The same calculation for West Berlin gave a range of 110,000 to 160,000.

3. The West German readers in (1) above are equally divided between those who read the Neue Zeitung six times a week, those who read it "several" times a week (conservatively estimated at"three times" for this calculation), and those who read it only once a week.

   Then at the lower end of the range, one-third of 750,000 (or 250,000) read it six times a week. Six times 250,000 gives 1,500,000. The next group of 250,000 thousand which are estimated to read the paper three times a week gives us 750,000. Finally, 250,000 more readers read the paper only once a week. Simple addition gives us a minimum figure of 2,500,000 for the number of times the paper is read each week in Western Germany.

   In the same way, a maximum figure of 4,740,000 can be arrived at.

4. In Berlin, the same method is used. However, here the proportions are 4,2, 3 respectively for six times a week readers, three times a week, and once a week. The totals range from 429,000 to 594,000.

5. West German and West Berlin figures are combined to give us a minimum of 2,929,000 and a maximum of 5,334,000 times a week the paper is read.

6. Each week about 1,200,000 copies of the Neue Zeitung are distributed in West Germany and in West Berlin. The number of persons reading each copy can easily be calculated by the simple division,

   $$\frac{\text{Total number of times copy is read each week}}{\text{Total number of copies distributed each week}} = \text{Readers per copy.}$$

   Using the minimum figure of readings, we get between two and three readers per copy. Using the maximum figure, we get between four and five readers per copy. The mid-point, and most probable figure is three and a half readers per copy, which for added conservatism can be called three readers.

   Calculations of this nature can only be approximate since they are based on approximations. However, on the basis of the results it can be conservatively stated that each copy of the Neue Zeitung averages three different readers in the course of a week.

04209

[redacted]

THE IMPACT OF THE BDJ AFFAIR UPON AMERICAN PRESTIGE IN GERMANY

Report No. 161
Series No. 2
October 30, 1952

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04210

INTRODUCTION

Recent charges as to the existence of US financed Bund Deutscher Jugend guerilla groups, among whose objectives in the event of a Russian attack was allegedly the liquidation of Communist and SPD leaders, raised the possibility of course of a disastrous impact on American prestige in Germany. After giving the public time to become aware of the allegations the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, went into the field to obtain some quantitative estimate of rank and file repercussions.

SOME SUMMARY EXCERPTS

I. Awareness of BDJ Affair

... As of the time of the present survey - approximately two weeks following initial press disclosure of the BDJ affair - intimations of the incident had spread to almost six in ten (56%) of the West German rank and file. More importantly in the present connection, however, is the finding that only three in ten (28%) indicate having heard of alleged American financial support of the BDJ guerilla groups and are hence in a position to be adversely affected in their attitudes toward America.

II. Reactions to Alleged Aims of BDJ Group

... That the German people take a dim view of the reported aims of the BDJ group is evidenced by the two in three rejection of any of its alleged objectives and the almost universal (save 2%) rejection of the most extreme reported objective - liquidation of SPD leaders.

III. Indicated Repercussions for American Prestige

... The first intimation that the damage to American prestige to date as a consequence of the BDJ affair is on the small side, rather than the near disaster that some have feared, emanates from answers to the open inquiry - has anything happened recently that favorably or unfavorably influenced your attitudes toward the Americans? Only 8 per cent of the respondents reported being unfavorably influenced by some recent happening, and only two per cent - examination of replies disclose - proved to be alluding to the BDJ incident.

... Further more direct inquiry yielded a figure of approximately 3 per cent as the proportion of West Germans who thus far have been adversely affected in their attitude toward America as a consequence of the BDJ affair.

... With both direct and indirect indication of less than one in ten impairment of West German attitudes towards America attributable to date to the BDJ episode, it seems reasonable to speak of but limited damage. Does this mean the damage is not serious? Not at all. Any appreciable damage to American prestige in West Germany is serious and though a figure around three per cent is small percentage-wise, it must not be overlooked that it denotes in West Germany the order of one million people.

IV. Potential Damage to American Prestige

... Shifting the focus from actual to potential damage, the first indication emerges from a series of questions that only a comparatively small minority of West Germans (18%), when all have been informed of the allegations, are prepared to believe that America has or would support a group having such aims.

.. But even if only minimal complicity in the BDJ affair is established as fact, the indication is that the extent of potential damage to American prestige is considerable. Almost half (46%) state that American prestige would suffer in their eyes if it were established that American authorities did in fact support the guerilla groups but knew nothing about liquidation plans. The largest proportion, however, speak of prestige "only slightly" suffering as a consequence rather than any more serious reaction.

... Though cases are too few for firm conclusions, analysis suggests that the potential effect of the BDJ affair is somewhat more to reinforce already existent antagonism than the alienate friends.

V. What Help in German-American Investigating Committee?

... If it was believed that the device of a German-American investigating committee would give the West German population assurance that the BDJ situation is being thoroughly examined so that the facts could be determined and made public - the measure predominantly fails in its purpose. The preponderant opinion expressed was that the committee would probably try to conceal important facts.

... Respondents who anticipated more concealment than enlightenment from such a committee argued mainly that the people are always left in the dark on such matters or that only thru concealment would the authorities be able to save face. More than a negligible fraction took the position that such concealment was in the public interest to avoid untoward consequences.

Findings reported in the present study emanate from a "flash" survey conducted throughout West Germany between October 20th and 23rd, 1952 - approximately two weeks after press airing of charges. The sample embraces 400 cases and was of the representative probability type. As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt-und Meinungsforschung n.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of research.

Since the 400 case "flash" sample has been designed to obtain overall findings at maximum speed, at the sacrafice of detail, the population group breakdowns which are presented here are to be interpreted as only suggestive rather than conclusive in view of the severe limitation on the number of cases in the population subgroups.

[redacted]

I. AWARENESS OF BDJ AFFAIR

AWARENESS LIMITED OF AMERICAN CONNECTION TO AFFAIR ...

As of the time of the present survey - approximately two weeks following initial press disclosure of the BDJ affair - intimations of the incident had spread to almost six in ten (56%) of the West German rank and file. More importantly in the present connection, however, is the finding that only three in ten (28%) indicate having heard of alleged American financial support of the BDJ guerilla groups and are hence in a position to be adversely affected in their attitudes toward America.

"Did you, during the last week, happen to hear anything about guerilla groups of the Bund Deutscher Jugend (BDJ)? What did you hear?"

IF "Yes":

"Can you tell me by whom these guerilla groups are said to have been financially supported?"

	WEST GERMANY (391)
A. Heard America supported and know liquidation aims	9%
B. Know America supports and know only guerilla aims	13
C. Heard America supports, but unaware of aims	6
D. Not heard America supports, but aware of aims	12
E. Claim to have heard something, but not heard America supports and unaware of aims	16
F. Claim no awareness of BDJ incident	44
	100%

Awareness in the present instance tends to be rather markly concentrated among the customarily more alert and informed population strata - the men, the better schooled and the better paid. Though the number of cases are too few to be entirely conclusive, there is the interesting indication in age comparisons that despite the particular relevance of the BDJ incident to German youth they show a markly lower awareness than their elders.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	No. of cases
Sex:							
Men	13%	20%	7%	14%	18%	28%...100%	191
Women	5	7	4	11	14	59	200
Education:							
Elementary school	8	10	5	13	16	48	319
Beyond elementary	14	26	8	7	20	25	72
Income (per month):							
0 - 149 DM	4	9	5	7	16	59	81
150 - 299 DM	7	13	3	16	15	46	147
300 - 399 DM	15	14	8	12	18	33	93
400 DM and more	15	23	13	4	17	28	53
Age:							
Up to 29 years	9	7	-	8	13	63	89
30 - 49 years	13	14	11	11	13	38	164
50 years and over	5	17	3	16	22	37	138
Party Preference:							
SPD	14	15	2	19	12	38	91
Coalition (CDU&FDP)	7	14	11	10	21	37	91
Other parties	22	11	-	17	11	39	18
No party	9	17	6	9	18	41	110
Don't know	4	6	5	10	15	60	83
Origin:							
Natives	10	11	6	12	17	44	309
Expellees	8	20	2	8	12	50	50
Refugees	6	18	9	15	18	34	32

RESTRICTED

04213

II. REACTIONS TO ALLEGED AIMS OF BDJ GROUP

MAJORITY DISAPPROVAL OF ALL AIMS ...

That the German people take a dim view of the reported aims of the BDJ group is evidenced by the two in three rejection of any of its alleged objectives and the almost universal (save 2%) rejection of the most extreme reported objective - liquidation of SPD leaders.

"Would you personally agree to any of these three aims or wouldn't you agree to any of them?" (After all told following:

"Briefly, Minister President Zinn accused parts of the BDJ of forming secret guerilla groups for the purpose of:

1. Offering resistance through guerilla activity in case of a Russian attack on Western Germany
2. On the day of a Russian attack liquidating Communists put previously on a black list
3. On the day of a Russian attack liquidating prominent SPD members put previously on a black list.")

	WEST GERMANY
Yes, agree to "1"	17%
Yes, agree to "2"	8
Yes, agree to "3"	2
Wouldn't agree to any	66
No opinion	16
	109%@

In no population group examined does more than a quarter agree to even the least extreme aim of secret guerilla groups for resistance in case of a Communist attack.

	Agree to "1"	Agree to "2"	Agree to "3"	Wouldn't agree to any	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	16%	10%	1%	71%	10%...108%@	191
Women	17	7	2	63	18%...107%	200
Education:						
Elementary school	16	8	1	65	16%...106%	319
Beyond elementary	17	10	4	73	7%...111%	72
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	14	14	1	63	17%...109%	81
150 - 299 DM	16	5	-	68	16%...105%	147
300 - 399 DM	17	8	1	69	10%...105%	93
400 DM and over	21	15	4	68	6%...114%	53
Age:						
Up to 29 years	24	13	4	61	13%...115%	89
30 - 49 years	15	8	-	70	11%...104%	164
50 years and over	13	7	1	67	18%...106%	138
Party Preference:						
SPD	17	10	-	74	8%...109%	91
Coalition	24	10	2	61	10%...107%	91
Other parties	22	5	6	72	5%...110%	18
No party	14	10	2	70	14%...110%	110
Don't know	10	4	-	60	28%...102%	85
Origin:						
Natives	15	8	2	66	15%...106%	309
Expellees	24	12	-	58	14%...108%	50
Refugees	19	3	-	78	3%...103%	32

@ Some respondents agreed to more than one aim.

04214

III. INDICATED REPERCUSSIONS FOR AMERICAN PRESTIGE

NO INDICATION OF WIDESPREAD DAMAGE ...

The first intimation that the damage to American prestige to date as a consequence of the BDJ affair is on the small side, rather than the near disaster that some have feared, emanates from answers to the open inquiry - has anything happened recently that favorably or unfavorably influenced your attitudes toward the Americans? Only 8 per cent of the respondents reported being unfavorably influenced by some recent happening, and only two per cent - examination of replies disclose - proved to be alluding to the BDJ affair.

"As far as you know, has anything happened recently that favorably or unfavorably influenced your attitude towards the Americans?"

	WEST GERMANY
Yes, favorably	6%
Yes, unfavorably	8
No, nothing happened	77
No opinion	9
	100%

IF "Yes, unfavorably":

"What was it?"

	WEST GERMANY
The forming of guerilla groups by the Americans:	2%
"The recent affair with the guerillas in which they have a part." "Groups of guerillas, they are said to have won young German people for this activity." "They interfere too much in our lives and form guerilla groups."	
The danger of war increased through the attitude of the Americans:	1
"Germany Treaty and, connected with it, the forming of a new army, naturally the danger of war will be increased." "Nomination of Eisenhower as a candidate for president shows that the Americans follow the way of a new war." "In recent times: in all American broadcasts it is said that they like to have German soldiers again that is the most important thing, they demand it."	
Negative attitude of the Americans towards the refugee problem:	*
"A so-called emigrant established a radio station "free Europe" in Munich with American support and he agitates against the repatriation of the Germans from the Sudeten area." "General Eisenhower is said to have signed the Potsdam agreement on the expulsion of the Germans, I have learned that just now, he should revise his expulsion agreement, at least demand a revision."	
Others:	5
"The manouvers, they have damaged everything and spoilt our fields." "They still hamper our economy." "The question of coal in the Ruhr area, there is still a control over the Ruhr." "Because they are too yielding towards the Nazis, especially towards the war criminals." "The Americans built too many airports here and in case of war bombs will be dropped on our heads."	
* Less than one half of one per cent.	8%

04215

MORE ON EXTENT OF DAMAGE ...

Supplementary to the prior inquiry, the extent of possible damage to American prestige occasioned by the BDJ affair was approached through more indirect means. Early in the survey respondents were asked how much they liked or disliked Americans. For the present purpose the returns on this inquiry were compared for those who indicated having heard about America's alleged support of the BDJ guerillas, versus those who had not heard these allegations. It may be seen in the comparative tabulations below that awareness of America's alleged complicity in the BDJ incident proves to be accompanied by a greater incidence of dislike of Americans.

"Can you tell me by whom these guerilla groups are said to have been financially supported?"

"And how do you like the Americans as people?"	Heard America is behind guerilla* (108)		Haven't heard America is behind guerillas (283)	
Like Americans	20.3%		26.9%	
Like Americans somewhat	34.2		27.8	
Neutral	24.1		26.7	
Dislike Americans somewhat	16.8	21.4%	8.5	10.7%
Dislike Americans	4.6		2.2	
Undecided	-		7.9	
	100.0%		100.0%	

So again there is evidence of some diminution of American prestige as a consequence of the BDJ incident. But just as priorly in the more direct test, the suggestion is that the damage is limited in extent. If the 10.7 per cent greater incidence of dislike among the aware group is calculated as a proportion of the total population, it becomes 2.9 per cent.

With both direct and indirect indication of less than one in ten impairment of West German attitudes towards America attributable to date to the BDJ affair, it seems reasonable to speak of but limited damage. Does this mean the damage is not serious? Not at all. Any appreciable damage to American prestige in West Germany is serious and though a figure around three per cent is small percentagewise, it must not be overlooked that it denotes in West Germany the order of one million people.**

* This aware group contains as would be expected more higher educated respondents than the not aware group. However, this fact does not disturb the validity of the comparison since check reveals the indicated effect to be unrelated to amount of education.

** 2.9 per cent of 33,867,000 (population of West Germany 18 years of age and over) is 992,000. This estimate is, of course, subject to a range of statistical precision, but is the most probable figure.

IV. POTENTIAL DAMAGE TO AMERICAN PRESTIGE

ONLY SMALL MINORITY PREPARED TO BELIEVE AMERICA WOULD SUPPORT ALL ALLEGED AIMS OF BDJ GUERILLAS ...

Shifting the focus from actual to potential damage, the first indication emerges from a series of questions that only a comparatively small minority of West Germans (18%), when all have been informed of the allegations, are prepared to believe that America has or would support a group having such aims. Favorable judgments of America's probable role in the BDJ affair were most widespread among the more influential opinion leading levels of the population, and in no group examined including respondents of SPD persuasion, did more than three in ten exhibit a tendency to lend credence to the charge against America.

West German Evaluation of America's Role in BDJ Incident
After Informed of Charge of Alleged American Support and BDJ Group Aims*

	WEST GERMANY
Most unfavorable Believe America supported BDJ group and America knew all aims including liquidation	14%
Unfavorable Whatever other judgments in matter, believe America would support group knowing it had such aims	4
Neutral Undecided whether America would support such a group knowing it had such aims	23
Favorable Whatever other judgments in matter, do not believe America would support group knowing it had such aims	41
Most favorable Believe America did not support BDJ group	16
	98%**

	Unfavorable	Neutral	Favorable	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	23%	15%	62%...100%	188
Women	14	33	53	197
Education:				
Elementary school	18	27	55	316
Beyond elementary	18	10	72	70
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	20	24	56	80
150 - 299 DM	15	32	53	145
300 - 399 DM	25	14	61	92
400 DM and more	18	14	68	51
Age:				
Up to 29 years	16	20	64	85
30 - 49 years	16	25	59	163
50 years and over	22	25	53	137
Party Preference:				
SPD	26	11	63	90
Coalition	14	17	69	89
Other parties	29	12	59	17
No party	21	20	59	108
Don't know	8	52	40	83
Origin:				
Natives	18	24	58	302
Expellees	18	24	58	50
Refugees	18	21	61	33

* See Appendix for questions employed

** For the purpose of this analysis the 2 per cent were removed who approved of all the aims of the BDJ group.

BUT POTENTIAL DAMAGE NOT INCONSIDERABLE ...

But even if only minimal complicity in the BDJ affair is established as fact, the indication is that the extent of potential damage to American prestige is considerable. Almost half (46%) state that American prestige would suffer in their eyes if it were established that American authorities did in fact support the guerilla groups but knew nothing about liquidation plans. The largest proportion, however, speak of prestige "only slightly" suffering as a consequence rather than any more serious reaction.

> "Suppose it would be found that the American authorities actually did financially support these guerilla groups, but that they had not known about the plans for the liquidation of Communists or SPD members.
>
> In view of such findings, would American prestige in your eyes suffer or wouldn't it suffer? (Only slightly suffer or seriously suffer?)"

	WEST GERMANY
Seriously suffer	18%
Only slightly suffer	28
Not suffer	29
Undecided	25
	100%

In no population group examined, it may be seen below does the reaction attain majority status that US prestige would not suffer.

	Seriously suffer	Slightly suffer	Not suffer	Undecided	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	23%	29%	32%	16%...100%	191
Women	14	27	25	34	200
Education:					
Elementary school	18	28	27	27	319
Beyond elementary	18	30	34	18	72
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	16	35	17	32	81
150 - 299 DM	20	25	26	29	147
300 - 399 DM	13	30	40	17	93
400 DM and more	25	28	38	9	53
Age:					
Up to 29 years	23	27	28	22	89
30 - 49 years	15	30	32	23	164
50 years and over	19	26	26	29	138
Party Preference:					
SPD	27	35	26	12	91
Coalition	13	34	28	25	91
Other parties	39	28	33	-	18
No party	18	32	32	18	110
Don't know	8	13	25	54	83
Origin:					
Natives	20	27	29	24	309
Expellees	4	38	32	26	50
Refugees	22	25	25	28	32

04218

POTENTIAL LOSSES GREATEST AMONG ALREADY ANTAGONISTIC ...

... opportunity was taken to see if potential losses in American prestige, with ... inal complicity established, would tend to be greater among respondents with priorly friendly orientations toward America or among West German already negatively inclined. Though cases are too few for hard and fast conclusions the suggestion from the comparison below is that the latter is the case - that the potential effect of the BDJ affair is somewhat more to reinforce already existent antagonism than to alienate friends.*

"Suppose it would be found that the American authorities actually did financially support these guerilla groups, but that they had not known about the plans for the liquidation of Communists or SPD members.

In view of such findings, would the American prestige in your eyes suffer or wouldn't it suffer? (Only slightly suffer or seriously suffer?)"

"And how do you like the Americans as people?"	Seriously suffer	Slightly suffer	Not suffer	Don't know	No. of cases
Like Americans	17%	30%	25%	28%...100%	155
Neutral	16	24	28	32	75
Dislike Americans	30	33	17	20	30
No opinion	9	17	4	70	23

* This comparison was made only on the part of the sample (72%) who did not priorly know of alleged American financing of the BDJ guerillas, and hence whose attitudes toward America could be assumed to have been not yet affected by the incident.

V. WHAT HELP IN GERMAN-AMERICAN INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE?

PREPONDERANCE ANTICIPATE CONCEALMENT OF FINDINGS ...

If it was believed that the device of a German-American investigating committee would give the West German population assurance that the BDJ situation was being thoroughly examined so that the facts could be determined and made public - the measure predominantly fails in its purpose. The preponderant opinion expressed was that the committee would probably try to conceal important facts. This opinion was most prevalent among the more educated and informed population elements.

"As you possibly know, an investigation committee consisting of Germans and Americans is to be formed to look into this matter.

Do you think that such a German-American committee will publish its findings or would it probably try to conceal important facts?"

	WEST GERMANY
Would publish	25%
Would try to conceal	46
No opinion	29
	100%

	Would publish	Would try to conceal	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	30%	52%	18%...100%	191
Women	20	40	40	200
Education:				
Elementary school	25	44	31	319
Beyond elementary	26	55	19	72
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	22	43	35	81
150 - 299 DM	24	44	32	147
300 - 399 DM	27	55	18	93
400 DM and more	28	49	23	53
Age:				
Up to 29 years	26	45	29	89
30 - 49 years	29	47	24	164
50 years and over	20	46	34	138
Party Preference:				
SPD	23	60	17	91
Coalition	31	46	23	91
Other parties	17	66	17	18
No party	26	45	29	110
Don't know	22	28	50	83
Origin:				
Natives	26	45	29	309
Expellees	22	48	30	50
Refugees	22	50	28	32

REASONS ADVANCED FOR ANTICIPATING CONCEALMENT ...

Respondents who anticipated more concealment than enlightenment from such a committee argued mainly that the people are always left in the dark on such matters or that only thru concealment would the authorities be able to save face. More than a negligible fraction took the position that such concealment was in the public interest to avoid various untoward consequences.

"Do you think that such a German-American committee will publish its findings or would it probably try to conceal important facts?"

IF "Try to conceal":

"Why would it try to conceal important facts, in your opinion?"

WEST GERMANY

The people are always left in the dark: 19%

"That's done by all who are in authority, it was done by all governments and all governments will do it the same way."
"We are used to it, the most important things are always concealed on such occasions because it's often very disagreeable to tell the truth to the public."
"That's always the same, if something important is on people won't be told."
"The public shouldn't know what's up, the plain people might lose confidence in government bosses."
"To leave the people in the dark, if we would be told everything that would arouse angry feelings and that's something our government can't afford."
"What they don't want to tell they won't tell people."
"The broad public must never know the truth."
"They never tell the truth: a Berlin lawyer who betrayed Berlin Germans to the Russians was hustled off to America and this time things will be concealed again."
"To tire the people out, something will always be concealed, because during the war the Germans didn't always tell the truth, we've learned to distrust."

To save face: 11

"Because the authorities who supported this organization would be exposed."
"Because the Americans would have to take the blame."
"They would have to admit that they financed this business."
"If the Yanks really had their fingers in this pie all will be concealed because nobody would want to expose himself."
"There is the danger of a loss of prestige."
"They would certainly not blase this abroad because they would appear in a very unfavorable light to the Eastern powers."
"One won't want to have things like this to one's debit."
"The press is already treating this business as a mere trifle, both sides conceal the facts so that they can wash their hands of it."
"Because everybody would want to get out of a scrape, doesn't want to be blamed."
"Because nobody wants to take the blame."
"There might be persons involved whose guilt would ruin the (American) reputation."
"Perhaps to cover certain persons."

(Cont'd on next page)

04221

(Cont'd from preceding page)

The people shoudn't be disturbed: 5%

"If there's something in it, it won't be disclosed so that the people won't be disturbed."
"That the people won't get agitated or afraid."
"To reassure the people."
"That there won't be an uproar."
"That the public won't know what is going on, otherwise they would be upset even more."
"Not to trouble the people."
"One would try, for diplomatic reasons, to conceal facts which might disquiet the public."

To prevent the East from getting good propaganda material: 4

"For internal reasons, the Americans would want to prevent Russians propaganda on this matter."
"Germans and Americans would have to consider that if certain things were true the Russians would gladly make full use of them."
"So that they won't further Eastern propaganda."
"Informations on this subject would serve Eastern propaganda."
"Would be possible, if necessary - if things were true the whole matter would be grist on the Russian mill, perhaps they will find a scapegoat."
"They don't want to give propaganda stuff to the East."
"The Amis would minimise the whole thing to prevent the Russians from getting propaganda material."

To avoid bad consequences: 3

"If the findings were published it might lead to serious friction between Russia and America."
"Because of the coming elections in 1953."
"For internal reasons with regard to the SPD."

Out of solidarity: *

"There's honor among the thieves, more I can't say."
"Because the big shots always help each other and want to appear in a favorable light."

Others: 5

"The public cannot be told everything that is connected with important political happenings like this one, things would be exaggerated and every party would use them for their own purposes."
"Such investigations shouldn't be made in the first place. They amount to nothing, it's neither in the German nor in the American interest."
"Because the Americans would state that they hadn't known anything about the whole business."
"One shouldn't admit everything, if there's no evidence, who could prove things?"

"Because there was something fishy about this matter.

47%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04222

APPENDIX

Questions employed to assess West German evaluation of America's role in the BDJ affair, after informed of charge of alleged American support and BDJ group aims.

1. In earlier questioning informed of alleged aims of BDJ group in following terms:

   "Briefly, Minister President Zinn accused parts of the Bund Deutscher Jugend (BDJ) of forming secret guerilla groups for the purpose of:

   1. Offering resistance through guerilla activity in case of a Russian attack on Western Germany
   2. On the day of a Russian attack liquidating Communists put previously on a black list
   3. On the day of a Russian attack liquidating prominent SPD members put previously on a black list

2. If did not indicate in earlier questioning that America was supposed to have financed the BDJ group, were told following:

   "It was further claimed that American authorities had financially supported these guerilla groups."

3. Then all asked:

   "Do you personally consider it true or not true that American authorities financially supported these guerilla groups of the BDJ?"

4. IF "Yes, true" or "No opinion" in prior question, asked:

   "Do you have the feeling that the Americans knew all about all three of these aims, or not?"

5. IF "Didn't know about" or "No opinion" in prior question, asked:

   "If the Americans knew about all three of these aims, do you think that they would financially support such a group, or wouldn't they support it?"

Classification of Pattern of Replies

Most unfavorable
a. America supported group and knew all aims

Unfavorable
a. America supported group - didn't know all aims, but would have supported group even if all aims known
b. Undecided whether America supported group and believe or undecided whether America did know all aims, but America would have supported group even if all aims known

Neutral
a. Undecided whether America would support such a group if all aims known

Favorable
a. America supported group, didn't know all aims, and also would not support a group if all aims known
b. Undecided whether America supported and believe or undecided whether America did know all aims but America would not support group if all aims known

Most favorable
a. America did not support group

04223

[redacted]

HAVE EAST ZONE CATHOLICS BEEN DEMORALIZED BY COMMUNIST PRESSURE?

Report No. 162
Series No. 2
November 5, 1952

RESTRICTED
OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04224

INTRODUCTION

Prominent among the institutions which pose barriers to communication of the East Zone is the Catholic church. It is therefore of obvious political importance to ascertain how East German Catholics appraise their situation, and with what sense of success or failure they are contending with their present difficulties.

An opportunity to shed light on these questions was provided by a recent Catholic convocation in West Berlin which was attended by thousands of East Zone representatives. During the meeting - held between August 19th and 24th - the Reactions Analysis Staff obtained a small random sample of the East German lay delegates (134 cases in sample). In population composition (see Appendix) this group appears to embody a diversified representation of East Zone Catholics with at least as much emphasis on mass elements, i.e. lower education and manual occupations, as on higher status levels.

Interviewing was conducted under the auspices of DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff.

SUMMARY EXCERPTS

I. Anti-Church Pressure In The East Zone

... That the activities of the Catholic church in the East Zone are harrassed and discouraged in numerous ways is documented in detail in the present study. Only 17 per cent indicated - and often with the qualification "up till now" - that no hindrances were in evidence.

... Few of the respondents evidenced any feeling that the Catholic church is in a position to take effective countermeasures against state-inspired anti-church activities. Approximately half of those questioned stated that the church is doing nothing to counter such activity because of lack of power and fear of consequences, and the other half - while holding that countermeasures are being tried - largely indicated in their accompanying comments little or no success.

II. The State of Catholic Morale

... From such a picture of diverse pressures on a vulnerable church, one might have expected widespread impairment of Catholic morale. That such is not the case, however, appears to be rather firmly indicated in follow-up inquiries.

... Were morale sagging, one might expect extensive claim of personal disadvantages as a consequence of Catholic affiliation. The finding is on the contrary that fully an eight in ten majority claimed no such personal disadvantages from their church membership.

... These particular returns, however, are not wholly unambiguous. If interpreted as largely reflecting subjective feelings rather than objective facts, the indication is that morale is strong despite the manifold state-inspired pressures earlier alluded to. If, on the other hand, the results are interpreted more as objective intelligence rather than subjective indices of morale, a conclusion might be that despite the ample illustrations of anti-church activity, repressive measures have not been clamped down so hard in the East Zone as some have surmised. In either case, however, the story would appear to be that Catholic morale is good in spite of whatever pressures may currently exist - be they strong or not so strong.

04225

... That current Catholic morale in the East Zone is something stronger than the feeling of a successful holding action, or an orderly retreat, is suggested by the finding that 56 per cent of the Catholics sampled were of the view that more rather than fewer young people in their vicinity participate in Catholic church activities than did two years ago. Only a third (17%) voiced the contrary opinion.

... Reasons most frequently pointed to for gains were vigorous activities on the part of the parish priests and what was stated to be a turning to religion as a reaction to Communist pressure.

... Paralleling the prior finding, almost three times as many as judged the contrary held that today as compared to two years ago more youth in the East Zone openly acknowledge their faith.

I. ANTI-CHURCH PRESSURE IN THE EAST ZONE

HINDRANCES TO CHURCH ACTIVITY WIDELY REPORTED ...

That the activities of the Catholic church in the East Zone are harrassed and discouraged in numerous ways is amply documented in the comments of the present sample of "Katholikentag" delegates. Only 17 per cent indicated - and often with the qualification "up till now" - that no hindrances had been placed in the way of the Catholic church in their vicinity. Most frequently highlighted is a withholding of facilities for church meetings and activities. But there is also considerable mention of various more direct interferences with Catholic activities.

"What kind of difficulties and hindrances has the Catholic church to contend with in your vicinity?"

	EAST ZONE
Difficulties Rather Clearly State Inspired	
Withholding facilities for church activities	32%
Hindering attendance of the Catholic Church Convention	27
Interfering with the education of Catholic youth	25
Hindering Catholic youth meetings and activities	25
Preventing people from attending divine service and church activities by state imposition of competing duties	15
Banning religious publications	14
Watching, spying on, persecuting Catholic clergymen	12
Watching, spying on, persecuting Catholics	12
Fighting the church (generally)	7
Exerting financial pressure	5
Hindering the training of young clergymen	4
Others	3
Difficulties Not So Clearly State Inspired	
Insufficiency of priests	12
Others	1
No Hindrances	17
No Answers	1
	212%@

@ Most respondents cited more than one difficulty.

One need only read some of the lengthy replies to the present inquiry to get a graphic picture of the realities that lie behind these figures.

Illustrative Comments On Church Difficulties

44 year old plumber:

"Officially the church didn't have any difficulties, it was even furthered, this was, however, just for show because the Communists need the church for propaganda purposes. As long as divine service as such is concerned everything is all right, but if any interpretation is given to the Word of God, if its meaning for everyday life is pointed out then pressure starts, that's why all sermons are overheard - things get worse all the time. Children are taught materialism instead of religion. They are told that their parents are stupid people thus the kids lose faith in them and the parents have no influence any more. The children who go to church, too , are called fools. Such tactics have up to now largely failed."

22 year old student:

"Within the parish the priest is free to deliver sermons - the names of all those people who attended the 7th Catholic Church Convention were taken down by the detective force - it's no longer allowed to conduct Holy Communion preparatory classes, the reason given for the ban was that these groups represent organizations. In other respects they didn't interfere yet. Priests are not hampered in their ministerial office. As to church influence in schools and vocational schools, teachers are removed for disseminating Christian ideas. Of course a different version of the case is given. Any church activities not directly connected with divine service are hampered."

20 year old typist:

"The train ride to this city - no special trains, controls in the trains, chiefly pocket-books were checked how much money a person had on him, In every respect it's difficult to explain that in detail. At the plant where I work they tell people they should rather learn how to handle a rifle and to defend their homeland than go to church. That's what they keep harping on, even if we apply for an interzonal passport we should fight for German unity first and stuff like that. Right now on the occasion of the Catholic Church Convention - we shouldn't take along too much baggage, if I take a small bag, they are suspicious, too. On Corpus Christi Day they sent their agents to report on the sermon delivered by the priest. The government tries to turn the young people against the church at training workshops. I could go on citing such examples."

24 year old teacher:

"The main difficulty is that in our district Catholics are a minority. The priest has to look after several communities, we Catholics have to keep a stiff upper lip. We have to proceed rather cautiously because the community is pretty pro-Communist. They don't have any too friendly feelings toward us. Difficulties regarding religious instruction - for religious classes only the noon hours are left, in the school the priest is only tolerated, most of the time the hours for religious instruction have to be changed because the school people schedule some special event for that time or the youth leaders of the school schedule meetings for younger children. They want to harm the church by teaching the children in a purely Bolshevist spirit. They also want to influence the children from early childhood against the church by providing anti-religious and marxist school books, hindering the Catholic Church Convention - there was no special train, tours at reduced rates were cancelled in the very last moment though Grotewohl had promised them some time before that."

(Cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

(Cont'd from preceding page)

17 year old student:

"The church can hardly hold any public meetings, they usually have to carry on their activities strictly on church premises. The church is not supported by public funds, they have to pay for everything with means of their own. The concentration camps are crowded by an ever increasing number of church members. If a person who is loyal to his church makes a remark, that's taken very seriously, while a person who does not belong to a church is not watched so closely. The state tries to get Catholics to turn from their church and to embrace the ideals set up by the state. They concentrate their efforts on teenagers who still attend school. By introducing extra shifts and special working projects the state tries to prevent people from going to church. State authorities don't provide meeting space if a new parish is established, school rooms may not be used for such purposes. The chances to study theology are very poor for young clergymen, up till now priests could attend seminaries in the West. Those from the East Zone who attended colleges in the West, however, have to return now. Catholic publications may comprise a certain number of pages only. Their circulation is limited."

24 year old assistant designer:

"The church has no way to find out whether new people have moved into the district because the newcomers are no longer asked what church they belong to. Only on special demand by the sick is a priest permitted to enter a hospital and administer the Sacrament. At the occasion of the Religious Festival on the Petersberg it was forbidden to go to the Petersberg under the pre-text that there was foot and mouth disease in that area. Only certain ways to the Petersberg were permitted. We were not allowed to use the highway but had to make detours so that the population wouldn't see the great number of faithful attending the festival. The 160 banners could not be unrolled not even at the foot of the Petersberg. Up to now religious education of children in holiday camps financed by charitable gifts were permitted. This year, for the first time, the head of the county administration refused permission. The textbooks for schools contain sentences like "it's make believe that Christ ever lived." Kindergartens even such run by nuns are asked to establish so-called "Friedensecken" (corners decorated with peace symbols and slogans) which serve a political purpose."

18 year old student:

"There doesn't exist any Catholic youth organization, only prayer groups are admitted. We are not allowed to hold public meetings, if we want to arrange something, we have to go about it using illegal means. There must never more than ten people gather in the streets, that's a general rule. The clergy are spied on during divine service, it happened that priests were transferred to another place for disciplinary reasons. Except for Leipsig and Dresden, there's a ban on public processions. They make trouble for students who attend religious classes, at least at high schools special activities, obligatory for students are scheduled for days on which religious classes take place."

(Cont'd on next page)

38 year old gardener:

"If we want to arrange a parish festival such as a spring or a summer festival, it's always prohibited. The worst, however, is yet to come for only recently did Mr. Ulbricht declare war on the church. They will try to separate the Catholic church here from Rome and from the West generally. You can notice it already now how that SED-gang in plants and workshops insult Catholics in the rudest manner. In their sermons priests are not allowed to mention anything that might serve to inform parishioners about the current situation. They may, for instance, not warn them against taking part in the activities of the FDJ or the whole Bolshevist system. On Sundays the FDJ arranges parades to disturb divine service in order to keep young people from going to church. Parishioners are not allowed to meet outside of church premises. Catholic publications printed in the West are banned. The circulation of church publications printed in the East Zone are kept low on purpose so there are never enough to go around. Religious classes may no longer be conducted in schools. Those people who wanted to attend the Catholic Church Convention had to register with the People's Police - by these means they tried to prevent people from going."

30 year old administrative employee:

"Meetings have to be held strictly on church premises - no meetings or any kind of activities may be held outside. Special trains on the occasion of the Catholic Church Convention were cancelled. There are no Catholic publications. The editors of the existing church gazette have to put things cautiously in order to avoid a ban. The gazette may be published every two weeks only and may not comprise more than eight pages."

49 year old housewife:

"That they make trouble for young people who want to go to church. The FDJ always schedules parades for that time. Religious instruction may no longer be given in schools. The children have to go to church for that purpose. That all meetings and activities connected with the Catholic Church Convention were banned in the Eastern sector. We were even forbidden to attend meetings in the Western sector, that's the reason why there were no tours at reduced rates. We had to pay for everything out of our own pockets. We don't know what difficulties we have to face on our return."

19 year old lathe operator:

"Ever since the SED party convention things are in pretty bad shape. There are no longer any meetings or any kind of activities, no children's festivals outside of the church proper. No special trains were allowed on the occasion of the Catholic Church Convention though permission had been given at first. I can't think of anything else, they haven't yet interfered with divine service as such. Young Catholics are not allowed to hold any youth meetings in the evening to enjoy themselves, things like that are forbidden. I can't think of anything else."

20 year old student of divinity:

"There is no theological faculty at any of the DDR universities. They try to establish a priests' college in Erfurt. They try to give the Ministry for Public Education authority over us so that curricula can be supervised. Now they prohibited the use of public meeting places in the Eastern sector for the Catholic Church Convention. Cancellation of special trains. Public firms tried to prevent youth from taking part by not granting leave for this purpose. It's not possible to hold summer camps for the church youth groups. The DDR does not officially hinder the church, but they try to catch people in the traps they are continually setting. The paragraph of the constitution of the DDR guarantying freedom of religion is not adhered to. Professors of Divinity from the West who are badly needed in the DDR are not permitted to enter the Zone. We cannot speak our true opinion because its contrary to the state doctrines. We are not permitted to have Catholic newspapers and textbooks published in the West."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

41 year old merchant:

"Roman Catholic students of divinity may study in the DDR only. The establishment of a training college for priests has just begun. One has to be so careful, church affairs may be undertaken, but only in church buildings. Youth work can only be done within the confines of the church. If there are any meetings they can only be arranged in a strictly religious sense. They do not yet want to prevent the church from taking care of its very own concerns. Shortage of priests by evacuations and then there are no rooms for divine service. We are not allowed to read Western clerical papers, only those published in the DDR are permitted. It's most oppressive if you always feel surrounded by people who don't mean well for you. Caritas (Catholic Relief Organization) can no longer carry on with its work on the same scale as before. FDJ meetings are scheduled for Sundays at the time of divine service. FDJ holiday camps will be held to prevent children from attending the Service.

17 year old electrician:

"Especially for us youth they make troubles. We had a tent camp on church property and the People's Police prohibited it. The Roman Catholic Youth has nothing but troubles because they don't want any youth organisation apart from the FDJ. So we are forced to do everything secretly. We had two rooms which had been established as chapels and these rooms were taken away from us. One of them was again used as a workshop, for the execution of the five-years-plan, as they say. The other chapel-room was converted to a room for cultural meetings. Then they cancelled the reduc tramway fare for the Katholikentag one day prior to the meeting. They didn't exactly forbid participation in the Katholikentag but made all sorts of troubles. The special trains were also cancelled. The 92 Berli schools which were to be used as quarters were not made available for thi purpose, the same applies to the Seelenbinderhalle."

FEW SEE CHURCH IN GOOD POSITION TO COUNTER COMMUNIST ATTACK ...

Few of the respondents evidenced any feeling that the Catholic church is in a position to take effective countermeasures against state-inspired anti-church activities. Approximately half of those questioned state that the church is doing nothing to counter such activity because of lack of power and fear of consequences, and the other half - while holding that countermeasures are being tried - largely indicate in their accompanying comments little or no success.

"Does the Catholic church do anything against the hindrances caused by the DDR or by one of its organizations?"

	EAST ZONE
Yes	34%
No	30
No opinion	2
	66%*

IF "No":

"Why doesn't it do anything?"

Because the government has all the power: EAST ZONE 13%

"Because it's useless for all the power rests with the government."
"Because the church simply has no chance to do something about the situation. The priests can only plead with people to stand firmly to their faith, and that is what we do."
"The church cannot do anything against it for the church people have to obey orders."

Because they are afraid of agents and fear arrest: 11

"The church cannot do anything against these hindrances because the state has too strong an organization, there are informers at every corner, people don't dare to discuss economic or political problems."
"Four people have been arrested lately, one must try to avoid that."
"It is much too dangerous, if you make only a single remark, you will be arrested and will disappear over night."
"Nothing can be done about it, if somebody would really dare to preach against this regime in church he would at once be put into a concentration camp regardless of whether he is a priest or a citizen, it's the same as under the Hitler regime."
"If there is somebody who really wants to do something about it, he will be arrested. Our minister told us from the pulpit that agents even come to church."
"The church can do nothing, they must keep very quiet since the state watches people very closely for any mistake they might make."

(Cont'd on next page)

* Owing to an unforeseen confusion in the ballot design a few of the respondents who brought up state-inspired hindrances in the opening query were not put the present question. This fact is in no way likely to affect, however, the very evident conclusion from the returns.

(Cont'd from preceding page) EAST ZONE

Because of more severe persecution and possibly even banning of the church would be the result: 5%

"So that the church will not encounter even more difficulties than is the case already. The church is not liked very much in the DDR and must therefore be very careful and quiet - otherwise the situation will get even worse."
"Because the church cannot change the situation anyway, it is useless, because the church would only be the loser, if they would start fighting, church activities might be banned completely."
"This is completely out of question, if we were to establish relations with the West, all activities would be banned, even such as are still permitted, there are too few of us, it would be useless."

Others:

"Because mass may be celebrated, church meetings take place the same as before." Etc. 2

No opinion/No answer: - 31%

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Does the Catholic church do anything against the hindrances caused by the DDR or by one of its organisations?"

IF "Yes":

"What does the Catholic church do?"

EAST ZONE

The church files petitions and formal protests with governmental agencies: 15%

"Church officials submit protest notes to the government, but without success."
"When something is the matter, our priest turns to the government right away and he already has had some success when we were allowed this year's procession on Corpus Christi Day also outside the church."
"The church tries to reach agreements with the government, but without success."
"The bishop tries to negotiate with the responsible offices, but in most cases he has no success."
"Church officials get in touch with municipal authorities personally and by letter in an effort to get the children excused from duties during worship hours."
"Church officials contact the responsible government offices but without success, they don't lift bans."
"In especially drastic cases higher ranking church officials protest, as for instance, against the evacuation of the territories along the zonal borders but without positive results."

Indirect warnings and hints are given to parishioners in sermons: 7

"The priests tell us about the situation in their sermons, but generally the attitude of the church is passive. I am not so well informed but I've got the feeling that higher church officials do everything within their power."
"From the pulpit and during youth meetings we get hints from the clergy, but the church can practically do nothing officially and directly."
"The priests have a way of telling the adults again and again about all these hindrances and at the same time give advice as to how to meet the situation, but of course they must be very careful and drop hints only, for nobody can dare to attack the DDR in public or he'll be arrested."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) EAST ZONE

The church tries to side-step restrictions: 13%

"Church officials try to side-step these restrictions by sending the children to Catholic families for instance."
"The church cannot do very much about hindrances, it is not powerful enough, but secretly it fights against suppression, I know some examples for that."
"There is no doubt that church people do something if they have a chance, but they are not very successful because these are all orders issued by the government."
"Children are instructed in Christian ideas by lay people."
"The church helps all those who are neglected by the government, pensioners, for instance, get free meals and are supported with funds raised through collections."

The church represents an ideal and an inspiration for the people through its inner strength: 4

"The Christian community sets an example in their day-to-day living to the other people and the government realizes that the Catholics don't go along with them regarding their political course."
"The church lives and preaches as it has done for 2000 years and does not give up in the face of hardships, church life goes on, no matter whether people are opposed to it or not, the church stands its grounds."

Others: 1

"The church gazette was not published before the middle of last year while the Protestants had their own publications long before that time, since then a missal also has been published." Etc.

No opinion/No answer: -

40%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

II. THE STATE OF CATHOLIC MORALE

From the picture the respondents have sketched in of diverse pressures on a vulnerable church, one might have expected widespread impairment of Catholic morale. That such is not the case, however, appears to be rather firmly indicated in results to follow up inquiries.

ONLY MINORITY CLAIM PERSONAL DISADVANTAGES AS RESULT OF CATHOLIC AFFILIATION ...

Were morale sagging, one might expect extensive claim of personal disadvantages as a consequence of Catholic affiliation. The finding is on the contrary that fully an 8 in ten majority claim no such personal disadvantages from their church membership.

The returns to the present question, however, are not wholly unambiguous. If interpreted as largely reflecting subjective feelings rather than objective facts, the indication is that morale is strong despite the manifold state-inspired pressures earlier documented. If, on the other hand, the results are interpreted more as objective intelligence rather than subjective indices of morale, a conclusion might be that despite the ample illustrations of anti-church activity, repressive measures have not been clamped down so hard in the East Zone as some have surmised. In either case, however, the story would appear to be that Catholic morale is good in spite of whatever pressures may currently exist - be they strong or not so strong.

"Do (have) you personally encounter(ed) any difficulties or disadvantages because of your membership in the Catholic church?"

	EAST ZONE
Yes	18%
No	82
	100%

IF "Yes":

"What sort of difficulties and disadvantages are (were) these?"

	EAST ZONE
Disadvantages in professional life and professional training:	9%

"When we wanted to attend church meetings, we had to be on duty in the FDJ, that was obligatory, if one didn't want to get a bad mark during our apprentices' training."
"When I started my apprenticeship they said I should become a member of a Communist organisation, I can't do that because then I wouldn't be a Catholic Christian any more."
"Not directly, but I lost my job because of expressing my opinion my boss didn't admit it but I know I was fired because I said that the children get a poor education without religious instruction."
"Disadvantages: when you look for a job they ask sarcastically, "Are you not a member of the FDJ because you are a Catholic?"
"I was not admitted to a technical school because I failed politically and because I am a member of the church."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) EAST ZONE

Material disadvantages: 4%

"I am working with MAS, I get smaller bonuses because I attend church on Sundays and I don't work at this time."
"Shortly before I had my third baby I was denounced and therefore I didn't get any support. I couldn't buy any clothing, then I got some help from Western Germany."
"My principle is: not to become a member of the FDJ so I don't get any shoes at reduced prices which are only sold on presenting the FDJ identification card."
"When clothing coupons are distributed in the office, one is always neglected, they look upon us as enemies of the government."

Surveillance, control: 2

"We are summoned to the town hall and they ask us whether we go to church on our own initiative or because we are forced by our parents."
"I was watched by the police because of the youth activities of the church I attended."
"The chances for me to get on in my profession are, next to nothing, because as a Catholic I cannot reconcile it with my conscience to become a member of the SED."

Personal chicanery: 2

"I work with the "Konsum" (cooperative) when there is something to do on Sundays I have to work because I am a Catholic, so that I cannot attend mass."
"As a teacher I have direct difficulties as they make trouble for me because they distrust me more than the others as I'm a Catholic."

Insults, ridicule: 2

"They have reproached us for being damned Catholics who never cooperate on anything, neighbors said this who are followers of our political system."
"They laugh at us."

Others: 1

No opinion/No answer: -

20%

O Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MANY SEE CATHOLIC GAINS DESPITE PRESENT CONDITIONS ...

That current Catholic morale in the East Zone is something stronger than the feeling of a successful holding action, or an orderly retreat, is suggested by the finding that 56 per cent of the Catholics sampled are of the view that more rather than fewer young people in their vicinity participate in Catholic church activities than did two years ago. Only a third (17%) voiced the contrary opinion.

"Do more or fewer young people in your vicinity participate in the activities of the Catholic church today as compared to two years ago?"

	EAST ZONE
More	56%
Fewer	17
Same number	25
No opinion	2
	100%

Reasons most frequently pointed to for gains are vigorous activities on the part of the parish priests and what is stated to be a turning to religion as a reaction to Communist pressure.

IF "More"

"What are the reasons for this?"

EAST ZONE

Catholic clergymen are energetic and dedicated to their cause: 25%

"Because of the dedication of individual priests, they are active in youth activities to the point of exhaustion, they attract many young people, they even succeeded in convincing some die-hard Communists."
"Our priest is very energetic, he does all he can for us and is an inspiration to all of us."
"The reason is to be found in the clergymen themselves. They increasingly entrust the young people with all sorts of tasks, such as assisting the priest, calling on neighbors to find out about their needs, etc."
"The reason lies in the priests going all out to interest the young people in church activities."
"Services held at Sangerhausen are crowded, thanks mostly to the priest and to the parents, too."
"Our parish nurse devoted much of her time to the youngsters, she has a way with young people. Many have been converted to the Catholic faith."
"A capable priest and the parish nurse, the folks of the youngsters, too, prompt them to participate in church activities."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) EAST ZONE

In their faith the young people find moral support and true values as a counter-balance to state pressure: 23%

"Because the others try to undermine everything, the young look for moral and spiritual support and stand up more resolutely than up till now for the church."
"There must be one thing in life they can fall back on, if you watch the way the Russians are carrying on you can feel no confidence. The church represents something in life they can have confidence in, just as a well-meaning father."
"Many didn't return to the fold before now, maybe they realise only now what the outcome of a policy based on materialism will be. Now more people return to the fold."
"The others realise that we stand up for our faith. First they jeered at us, then many of them joined us. First they just thought there must be something in it and then they remained with us."
"Mainly that the people who have been known for years to be Catholics set an example in their day-to-day living, thus the young get to realize that the church and a person's faith are the real thing."
"One of the reasons is that things go down-hill and people are under pressure under the Communist regime, therefore many people join our camp."
"Out of opposition, the worthy among the young people who come from decent families, too, join our group out of opposition, general conditions make them join the church."
"Because many young people, especially between the ages of 16 and 25 have found out that the East Zone government is no good."

Catholic youth takes influence on other young people providing a counter-balance to FDJ-influence: 7

"Because they all turned away from the FDJ and similar institutions."
"Our parish youth plays an important part, they solicit other young people. In the course of time we've found out that working in the FDJ gives people little satisfaction, this group is strongly opposed to Christian ideas, and that increased the resistance against them, you feel disgusted and are more ready to respond to the call of Christian groups. For, one thing is certain, the young people are not yet beyond knowing the difference between good and bad."
"The example a young person may set is an inspiration to others, the enthusiasm he feels makes him try to join his group."

Influx of refugees makes itself felt: 6

"Because more expellees have joined church groups, through their example other people who didn't show up too often at church meetings are led to participate more eagerly."
"Some time ago the refugees didn't feel quite at home in the parish, now they do."
"Because of the influx of refugees."
"Because among the evacuees are many young people who live in our community now, the older generation didn't manage to make a place for themselves so easily."

Others: 1

"They all beat it and make their way to West Berlin when they have to join the People's Police, there aren't many young people left here." Etc.

No opinion/No answer: 1

63%

○ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The minority who see less youth participation in Catholic activities now than formerly comment along the following lines.

"Do more or fewer young people in your vicinity participate in the activities of the Catholic church today as compared to two years ago?"

IF "Fewer":

"What are the reasons for this?"

EAST ZONE

State-run organizations and state-inspired events occupy and lure young people: 10%

"They have to join the People's Police or the FDJ and then meetings of these groups are always scheduled during worship hours."
"I think the FDJ is to blame that many young people leave church groups, there are many young people who yield to temptation."
"Most of them have finished their apprentice's training, in many cases they are simply forced to join the People's Police."
"The FDJ solicit members among the young people."
"The FDJ attracts many young people, people are pretty easy-going in our vicinity, you see few young people in the church."
"The program offered by the FDJ is very tempting - motor sports, rowing and sailing. Sports and social evenings arranged by the FDJ prove more attractive than church activities."
"The young people are lured by world youth festivals and similar events, they know how to offer them something that's new and thus how to get them to join their camp."

Indoctrination in anti-Christian ideas - effectiveness of Communist propaganda: 5%

"Even in school the kids are taught to reject the Catholic church."
"Because even in school the children's heads are crammed with political doctrines, they are discouraged to participate in church activities."
"Because of the influence the state takes on education."
"Partly they believe what the Communists say."
"The films have a strong influence though they are simply ridiculous, I mean, in these films religion is ridiculed."
"Because a campaign of hate is going on all the time against the church, in the movies, in the papers, in school."
"Whether they are in school or on a job, young people are subject to strong influence, that's part of the reason."

Difficult living conditions make young people feel lethargic and indifferent towards the Catholic faith: 5

"The reason lies in the fact that life is difficult and tough for the young."
"It's the influence their environment exerts on the young people, it makes them feel indifferent towards the church."
"It's probably a general lethargy, the young get indifferent, thick-skinned and weary. A Catholic feels pretty much alone as most of the people are Marxist, the determination to resist is weakened through the great demands made on people."
"Because in many plants people have to work on Sundays, on week days people are fagged out because of the heavy work they have to do. Many people living in the East Zone have become indifferent, too. After a day's drudgery they just want to have some fun, and that's not exactly what the church group has to offer."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) EAST ZONE

"Lack of interest, they think they won't get anything out of it, all these people are just Catholic by virtue of their certificates of baptism, many leave the church because of the high church taxes, their stomach is more important to them than anything else, the church is no longer able to provide needy people with such quantities of food as in former times."
"A great many turn from the church because they aren't interested in the Catholic faith any longer, teen-age girls are too silly to be interested in participating in church work, they prefer to have a good time."

The best elements among the young people leave for the West, they go to universities, etc.: 2%

"Especially fewer young men participate in church activities, I guess many of them leave for Western Germany, others marry and don't participate any more either."
"The best, the most talented and the most active leave for the West, it's a pity, they were most capable to act as leaders for young people in spiritual matters, in many cases this led to youth groups to be dissolved."
"In the meantime our youth leader went to Leipzig to attend college and for this reason the youth group is slowly breaking up."

Church activities are either banned or hampered: 1

"Catholic youth groups are no longer allowed to conduct public meetings, therefore solidarity isn't so strong any more."
"Because we are hindered in any activity we carry on."

Fear of ridicule, persecution, chicanery: 1

"They are afraid to go to church because they may be insulted."
"In the country less people participate in church activities, in a town people aren't watched so closely, here nobody dares to go to church any more."
"They are ashamed of standing up for the church."
"They are being intimidated, they may lose their jobs."

Others: 1

"Because many young people have come to realize that it's better if East and West Germany are united and that the Catholic youth has to do its part."
"Because things have improved in material respect, in times of distress people join their church in greater numbers."

No opinion/No answer: 1

26%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

FEW JUDGE ANY LESS OPEN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF FAITH ...

Paralleling the prior finding, almost three times as many as judge the contrary hold that more youth today in the East Zone openly acknowledge their faith as compared to two years ago.

"And do more or fewer young people in your vicinity openly acknowledge their faith today as compared to two years ago?"

	EAST ZONE
More	41%
Fewer	15
Same number	32
No opinion	12
	100%

IF "More", "Fewer" or Same number":

"In what way do they show this?"

EAST ZONE

<u>They participate in church activities and perservere in observing church rites:</u> 53%

"On the occasion of activities arranged by the church, they form a solid bloc supporting their church. On Sundays churches are more crowded than formerly."
"They go more often to church and receive Holy Communion."
"That they turned up in such great numbers to the Catholic Church Convention, they even arrived on bicycles."
"Special services for young people are crowded. The young are greatly interested in church activities, evening gatherings, etc. They go to quite some trouble to attend some meeting in another town."
"Regularly every two weeks parish youth meetings are held, celebrations for St. Mary's Day are held, too, in spite of all hardships the young observe church holidays and go to church every Sunday."
"Through serving on working committees carrying on Christian programs."
"They go to confession even if Communist youngsters waylay them and beat them up, on their way back they may be waylaid and beaten up again, but nothing can stop them."
"They are loyal to the church, in spite of the fact that at present a camp meeting for the youngest members of the FDJ (so-called "pioneers") is held in Dresden, 3000 young people have turned up for today's Catholic Church Convention."
"It was there for anybody to see on Corpus Christi Day, the celebrations held on this occasion were really a youth festival."
"The young people of both denominations participate more actively in church activities, they are organized in loose groups called parish youth groups."

<u>Acknowledging and defending their faith in public:</u> 24

"If people belonging to another denomination criticise us we take them up on that."
"In school when critical problems are discussed and the church is attacked we defend it."
"In the place where we work as apprentices, for instance, the SED bigwigs try to set us against the church, we won't take this lying down, however, we start to argue."
"I myself have seen that a person defended his faith when others attacked it, that's how things are in an area where there are only a few Catholics."

(Cont'd on next page)

04241

"In former times they never said much about being Catholics, now when some people down at the plant make fun of the Catholic faith they defend it more energetically."
"They proudly acknowledge that they are Catholics, they don't care if people laugh at them, the young people don't mind if people laugh at them because of their faith."
"They openly acknowledge that they are Catholics, in discussions they always take the side of the church, we try to set an example in day-to-day living in order to make the others realize that a person's faith is a help in life."

Wearing church symbols in public: 22%

"An ever increasing number of people wear church emblems, Catholics as well as Protestants."
"They acknowledge their faith by wearing the small symbol in the form of a cross of the Catholic Church."
"True Catholics always acknowledge their faith, you could see many people who wore the small cross which was distributed to young people prior to the Catholic Church Convention."
"Those who even today acknowledge their faith and who stand firm are very intense, they wear the small cross openly though others keep tearing it off."

Spiritual matters take first place over political matters - reluctance to join state-run organizations: 14

"That they steer clear of other organizations, such as the FDJ."
"They always prefer to concern themselves with a spiritual problem to going to some meeting."
"That they won't o.k. just any political development, they refuse to be forced in any way."
"They don't participate in the activities of the FDJ, they keep aloof, working people, too."
"Nobody responds to the recruitment drive of the People's Police, too."
"In the schools resistance against pressure exerted on the kids to make them join the FDJ is increasing, in other districts where there are only a few Catholics they were forced to join the FDJ, in our predominantly Catholic vicinity only a few became members."
"They all are sick of the political ballyhoo, they search for God."
"In spite of their duties in the FDJ, Catholic young people go to mass, thus boys and girls standing up for their Catholic faith end up by having a hard time to find a job."

Interest in Catholic literature: 2

"Interest in Catholic publications."
"The young people are eager to get books on religious topics in order to have a better stand in discussions."

Convertion to Catholic (Christian) faith: 2

"Many Protestants have turned Catholic."
"Many non-Catholic young people have joined religious groups other than their own."

Others: 6

"Those who are Catholic, always acknowledge it, as to how, I couldn't say. It's useless to try to convince people who think differently. Everybody believes in something and you feel that, too."

Negative answers - fewer young people participate in church activities: 1

"They don't dare to go to church, they are told that service in the FDJ is more important." Etc.

No opinion/No answer: 1

125%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer

RESTRICTED

APPENDIX: Composition of East Zone Sample

Sex:	
Men	61%
Women	39
	100%
Education:	
Elementary school	66%
Beyond elementary	34
	100%
Age:	
Up to 19 years	25%
20 - 29 years	34
30 - 39 years	10
40 - 49 years	16
50 years and over	15
	100%
Occupation:	
Professionals	9%
Businessmen	4
White-collar workers	16
Skilled laborers	22
Semi-skilled laborers	9
Farmers	5
Housewives	10
Unemployed	-
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	-
Domestic services	3
No answer	2
	100%
Origin:	
East Sector Berlin	1%
Brandenburg	13
Sachsen	36
Sachsen-Anhalt	20
Thueringen	19
Mecklenburg	9
No answer	2
	100%
City Size:	
Villages	31
Small town	27
City	27
Large city	15
	100%

04243

[redacted]

WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

Report No. 163
Series No. 2
November 15, 1952

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04244

INTRODUCTION

With American policy operating on a worldwide stage in the present era, a presidential election and its resultant decisions about American leadership obviously become matters of international interest and concern. To help shed light on international thinking about the election and its outcome the present report presents the results of a survey study of rank and file reactions in West Germany.

SOME SUMMARY EXCERPTS

I. Awareness and Interest

... Results of the present survey suggest that the American presidential election secured a tremendous audience in Western Germany. Fully eight in ten claimed to have heard or read something about the event and a remarkable proportion of three in four were able to substantiate their indication of awareness by specifying which candidate was the victor. Almost half of the West German people could even supply the name of the winning party. Such levels of awareness are rare in West Germany, even for important domestic political happenings.

... Backing up indications of awareness, as much as half of the West German population speak of having been fairly to very much interested in the course of the American presidential campaign.

II. Preferences

... Among the respondents expressing an opinion in the matter Eisenhower emerged as the predominant preference by a two to one margin over Stevenson. This pro-Eisenhower preponderance evidenced itself among all important population groups examined, including the more educated and informed levels.

... Preference figures obtained after an election are not entirely the same as figures gathered before, since there is a tendency for some respondents to shift their preference toward the winning side. Nevertheless, however, the present pattern of returns weighs rather strongly against any supposition that Stevenson was the more preferred candidate in West Germany, either among low level or higher statused respondents. This does not preclude, of course, the possibility of Stevenson having been preferred among more special groupings in the population.

... Results obtained in a somewhat different connection in an earlier study, add additional indications of a predominantly favorable orientation toward Eisenhower on the part of the West German people, despite the large role he played in the German defeat. In a survey conducted in late 1951, two to one preponderances expressed confidence in Eisenhower as the leader of a common West European defense army, and expressed the conviction that he is a person who would not discriminate against German troops in any common defense setup. On both questions favorable orientations toward Eisenhower were most widespread among the opinion leading population levels.

... West Germans expressing a preference for Eisenhower as the next American president argued primarily that he is more familiar with German and European conditions and is more widely known. Another group saw in his formerly being a general the promise of a more resolute policy - particularly toward Russia.

... The 14 per cent who stated they would have preferred seeing Stevenson become the new American president argued mainly that as a politician Stevenson was better qualified than a general. Others claimed that he would have been more likely to follow moderate policies and to avoid war.

III. Anticipations of Policy Changes

... Four in ten West Germans express the belief that there will be changes in American policy as a consequence of Eisenhower's victory. The largest proportion anticipate that policies will be changed "somewhat" rather than considerably.

... Among West Germans expecting policy changes, the predominant expectation is that they will be in a favorable direction. Expectations of favorable changes are most widespread among the more educated and informed opinion leading levels.

... A point of interest emanates from comparing expectations as to policy changes against earlier obtained expressions of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with current American policy toward West Germany. The indication is that the effect in West Germany of the Eisenhower victory has been primarily to increase net satisfaction among West Germans already expressing satisfaction by and large with American policy. The presently dissatisfied who see a change for the better in Eisenhower's victory are apparently cancelled out by those who see a change for the worse.

... Among the favorable anticipations cited, the most frequent theme was better understanding of Germany with consequent greater political and economic support.

... When unfavorable expectations are examined, it is seen that any apprehensions that the election of a former general to the American presidency portends a more militaristic and war-inciting policy, apparently characterize no more than the order of one in ten among the West German population. The indication is therefore that such a reaction may be evaluated as limited in scope.

...

IV. Reactions to Election Campaigning

... Concern has been voiced on occasion that the somewhat rough and tumble tactics that are sometimes characteristic of American election campaigning might engender doubts among West Germans as to the virtues of the American democratic process. That such fears have only very limited substance is the indication of the present study, with the large majority of West Germans aware of the election stating that they were not in any way disturbed by the nature of the campaigning. Accompanying comments suggest that some West Germans have already learned enough about American political life to discount the sound and fury of election campaigning.

Findings reported in the present study emanate from a "flash" survey conducted throughout West Germany between November 5th and 9th, 1952 - following radio and press dissemination of General Eisenhower's victory. The sample embraces 400 cases and was of the representative probability type. As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff.

I. AWARENESS AND INTEREST

REMARKABLE AWARENESS EVIDENCED ...

Results of the present survey suggest that the American presidential election secured a tremendous audience in Western Germany. Fully eight in ten claimed to have heard or read something about the event and a remarkable proportion of three in four were able to substantiate their indication of awareness by specifying which candidate was the victor. Almost half of the West German people could even supply the name of the winning party. Such levels of awareness, even for important domestic political happenings, are rare in West Germany.

"Have you heard of or read anything about the American presidential elections?"

	WEST GERMANY (400)
Yes	82%
No	18
	100%

"Do you know who was elected president in America at the elections held on Tuesday?" (Asked only of respondents who reported having heard or read about American presidential election).

Eisenhower	74%
Stevenson	*
Don't know	8
	82%

"Do you know which party the new president belongs to?" (Asked only of respondents who reported having heard or read about American presidential election).

Republicans	47%
Democrats	3
Others	1
Don't know	31
	82%

* One case.

Revealed in the population breakdowns below is that even among the customarily ill-informed elements of the West German population - the women, the lesser educated, and the lower paid - half or more evidence some awareness of the election outcome.

	Knew both victor and party	Knew victor or party (usually victor)	Knew neither	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	70%	19%	11%...100%	204
Women	24	36	40	196
Education:				
Elementary school	41	29	30	325
Beyond elementary	75	22	3	73
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	27	29	44	90
150 - 299 DM	48	30	22	143
300 - 599 DM	53	32	15	85
400 DM and more	65	18	17	71
Age:				
Up to 29 years	42	32	26	86
30 - 49 years	49	25	26	159
50 years and over	48	28	24	154
Party Preference:				
SPD	57	28	15	112
Coalition (CDU/CSU, FDP)	62	21	17	101
Other parties	40	35	25	20
No party	42	32	26	96
Don't know	20	29	51	71

R E S T R I C T E D

HALF SPEAK OF MORE THAN MARGINAL INTEREST ...

Backing up indications of awareness, as much as half of the West German population speak of having been fairly to very much interested in the course of the American presidential campaign. Such expressions of interest are most widespread among the more educated and informed population levels, wherein they approach close to three in four proportions.

"Have you been interested very much, somewhat, only little or not at all in the American presidential elections?" (Asked of respondents who reported having heard or read about elections).

	WEST GERMANY
Very much	26%
Fairly	25
Only little	11
Not at all	19
No opinion	1
	82%

	Interested very much	Fairly interested	Interested a little	Not interested	Unaware & No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	39%	30%	11%	11%	9%...100%	204
Women	12	21	11	27	29	196
Education:						
Elementary school	20	24	11	22	23	325
Beyond elementary	53	29	8	7	3	75
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	17	15	10	26	32	90
150 - 299 DM	22	29	11	20	18	143
300 - 399 DM	28	31	8	20	13	85
400 DM and more	41	27	15	4	13	71
Age:						
Up to 29 years	16	32	15	14	23	86
30 - 49 years	27	28	8	20	17	159
50 years and over	30	19	11	20	20	154
Party Preference:						
SPD	31	30	13	13	13	112
Coalition (CDU/CSU, FDP)	35	34	10	11	10	101
Other parties	25	20	20	20	15	20
No party	22	21	10	25	22	96
Don't know	7	14	7	31	41	71

R E S T R I C T E D

II. PREFERENCES

EISENHOWER PREPONDERANT PREFERENCE FOR PRESIDENT ...

Among the respondents expressing an opinion in the matter Eisenhower emerged as the predominant preference by a two to one margin over Stevenson. This pro-Eisenhower preponderance evidenced itself among all important population groups examined, including the more educated and informed levels.

"What did you personally prefer to see - Stevenson or Eisenhower elected president?"

WEST GERMANY

Stevenson	14%
Eisenhower	29
No opinion	57
	100%

	Stevenson	Eisenhower	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	19%	38%	43%...100%	204
Women	8	19	73	196
Education:				
Elementary school	12	25	63	325
Beyond elementary	22	45	33	75
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	8	25	67	90
150 - 299 DM	15	27	58	143
300 - 399 DM	16	27	57	85
400 DM and more	16	40	44	71
Age:				
Up to 29 years	14	27	59	86
30 - 49 years	16	30	54	159
50 years and over	12	28	60	154
Party Preference:				
SPD	20	35	45	112
Coalition (CDU/CSU, FDP)	15	40	45	101
Other parties	10	45	45	20
No party	11	22	67	96
Don't know	6	8	86	71

Preference figures obtained after an election are not entirely the same as figures gathered before, since there is a tendency for some respondents to shift their preference toward the winning side. Nevertheless, however, the present pattern of returns weighs rather strongly against any supposition that Stevenson was the more preferred candidate in West Germany, either among low level or higher statused respondents. Which does not preclude, of course, the possibility of Stevenson having been preferred among more special groupings in the population.

EARLIER EVIDENCE OF FAVORABLE REACTIONS TO EISENHOWER ...

Results obtained in a somewhat different connection in an earlier study*, lend additional indications of a predominantly favorable orientation toward Eisenhower on the part of the West German people, despite the large role he played in the German defeat. Two to one preponderances in West Germany, it may be noted in the tabulations reproduced below, have expressed confidence in Eisenhower as the leader of a common West European defense army, and have expressed the conviction that he is a person who would not discriminate against German troops in any common defense setup.

"By and large, do you have confidence in Eisenhower as the responsible General for the establishment of a common West European defense army, or do you have no confidence in him?" (Asked of respondents who were aware of Eisenhower's NATO role).

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
(December 14 - 22, 1951)				
Great confidence	10%	9%	12%	10%
Fair confidence	15	16	13	15
Little confidence	6	5	5	7
No confidence at all	4	5	4	1
No opinion	8	9	7	8
	43%	44%	41%	41%

"If West Germany participated in a common West European defense army under the leadership of General Eisenhower, do you believe that Eisenhower would treat our troops as equal with the other West European troops or not?"

Equal	47%	45%	51%	46%
Not equal	21	22	20	24
No opinion	32	33	29	30
	100%	100%	100%	100%

On both questions favorable orientations toward Eisenhower were most widespread among the opinion leading population levels.

	Great confidence	Fair confidence	Little confidence	No confidence at all	No opinion	Not aware of Eisenhower as NATO chief	No. of cases
Sex:							
Men	17%	23%	11%	7%	10%	32%...100%	354
Women	5	9	1	1	7	77	441
Education:							
Elementary school	8	13	4	3	7	65	646
Beyond elementary	19	24	10	6	14	27	149
Income (per month):							
0 - 299 DM	7	14	4	3	8	64	517
300 - 399 DM	11	16	9	5	10	49	166
400 DM and more	25	23	8	5	9	30	101
Age:							
Under 40 years	10	16	5	4	7	58	322
40 years and over	11	14	5	4	10	56	461
Party Preference:							
SPD	12	17	6	4	7	54	209
CDU/CSU	15	18	5	1	8	53	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	14	26	15	4	8	33	46
Other parties	6	14	9	11	7	53	70
No party	10	15	5	5	12	53	187
Don't know	3	6	2	2	6	81	128

(Cont'd on next page)

* See report number 120, dated January 29, 1952, entitled, "German Evaluations of NATO - With Other Opinions on European Defense Issues."

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Great confidence	Fair confidence	Little confidence	No confidence at all	No opinion	Not aware of Eisenhower as NATO chief	No. of cases
Occupation:							
Professionals	28	12	4	4	28	24	25
Businessmen	12	23	7	7	6	45	107
White-collar workers	15	21	7	5	13	39	102
Skilled laborers	8	14	7	6	4	61	138
Semi-skilled laborers	9	8	2	2	11	68	89
Farmers	1	9	8	1	7	74	87
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	11	14	3	3	8	61	166
Religion:							
Catholics	12	15	6	2	6	59	344
Protestants	9	14	4	5	10	58	420
Origin:							
Natives	11	15	5	4	9	56	612
Expellees, Refugees	8	20	10	5	9	48	138
Veteran Status:							
Yes	16	25	12	7	8	32	196
No	18	19	9	9	11	34	158

	Would treat German troops as equals	Would not treat as equals	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	57%	26%	17%...100%	354
Women	39	18	43	441
Education:				
Elementary school	44	21	35	646
Beyond elementary	60	23	17	149
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	43	20	37	517
300 - 399 DM	52	24	24	166
400 DM and more	62	25	13	101
Age:				
Under 40 years	52	21	27	322
40 years and over	43	22	35	461
Party Preference:				
SPD	57	20	23	209
CDU/CSU	60	16	24	152
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	54	35	11	46
Other parties	39	34	27	70
No party	41	26	33	187
Don't know	28	10	62	128
Occupation:				
Professionals	72	20	8	25
Businessmen	46	35	19	107
White-collar workers	62	21	17	102
Skilled laborers	47	21	32	138
Semi-skilled laborers	44	19	37	89
Farmers	26	25	49	87
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	41	17	42	166
Religion:				
Catholics	51	20	29	344
Protestants	45	21	34	420
Origin:				
Natives	47	23	30	612
Expellees, Refugees	48	15	37	183
Veteran Status:				
Yes	59	27	14	196
No	57	24	19	158

REASONS ADVANCED FOR PREFERRING EISENHOWER ...

West Germans expressing a preference for Eisenhower as the next American president argued primarily that he is more familiar with German and European conditions and is more widely known. Another group saw in his formerly being a general the promise of a more resolute policy - particularly toward Russia.

"What did you personally prefer to see - Stevenson or Eisenhower elected president?"

IF "Eisenhower":

"Why did you prefer Eisenhower?"

WEST GERMANY

Eisenhower is more familiar with conditions in Germany, he will pursue a more positive policy towards Germany: 7%

"Eisenhower is familiar with German affairs as he studied them himself."
"Eisenhower knows more about Germany and we know him."
"He'll lay down a more definite policy, Eisenhower knows Western Germany and he realizes what Germany means to America, he won't betray Germany to France."
"Because he is more experienced, he is familiar with conditions in Germany and I'm sure he'll pursue a policy that's favorable for Germany."
"I am sure the election of Eisenhower is favorable for Germany, among others he'll pick Mr. McCloy, the former High Commissioner and General Clay to serve on his staff and both of them know Germany intimately."
"He is sincere in his friendship for Germany because he knows Germany and called Mr. Adenauer 'my friend'?

Eisenhower is more familiar with conditions in Europe: 6

"I have great confidence in him as he is well informed about Europe through repeated visits."
"I have greater confidence in Eisenhower as he is familiar with conditions in Europe."
"Because he tackles the problem of a United Europe."
"Because in the post-war years he acquired our esteem, he knows Europe intimately, his elections will give an impetus to plans for a United Europe and to defense preparations."
"Because Ike knows Europe and Germany more intimately than does Steve, and besides, he is in closer contact with individual European governments."
"Because Eisenhower is familiar with conditions in Europe."
"He knows Europe and its problems."

Eisenhower is more widely known than Stevenson: 6

"I think Eisenhower is more popular."
"Because he is known to me, his name appears on the program."
"I've heard more about Eisenhower as a politician."
"Who is Stevenson after all? It doesn't make any difference to us."
"We know more about Eisenhower and are therefore in a better position to size him up."
"Because I know more about him, I haven't heard anything unfavorable about him, as to the other candidate you know nothing at all about him."
"I like him better, this man knows what he's after."
"He is more familiar to me."
"More sympathies, he is better known than Stevenson, I don't know anything about Stevenson, Eisenhower is a national hero and he knows how to win followers."

(Cont'd on next page)

As a general Eisenhower is more experienced and will pursue a purposeful and vigorous policy:

"Because he has more insight as he played an active part in the war."
"He is more resolute, he is more disciplined, he tackles things the way a soldier does, for many years I have been a soldier myself, his manner is more congenial to me."
"Eisenhower is the more experienced of the two, he was a commander in chief and he was in Germany."
"Because he is a soldier and I'm sure he is more sincere in his views."
"Eisenhower was a commanding general, generals act according to a certain moral code and I hope he will be somewhat stricter than Truman."
"Because Ike is a soldier, he stands for a clean and energetic government."
"Because he will be more concerned about setting things straight as he has been a soldier for many years, it won't take him so long and he'll show greater energy to get things under control."
"I think Eisenhower is more experienced in foreign affairs and military matters."

Eisenhower will pursue a more resolute policy towards Russia: 2

"Dealing with Russia, he stands up more resolutely for Europe."
"Because he will not waver in fighting Communism."
"He will show a firmer attitude towards Russia than American officials did up to now."
"Because he stands for a more vigorous policy towards Russia and thus chances for a reunification of Germany are greater."

Confidence in his moral qualities and in his abilities: 2

"Because he is a man of firm principles, he will stick to a course, once it's laid down."
"First to influence me were my relatives who live in the States, they considered Eisenhower to be an extraordinarily capable person, and personally I think so too."
"I think he is the more capable of the two."

Eisenhower is of German descent: 1

"Judging from his name, Eisenhower is of German descent."
"His ancestors were Germans."
"His parents were Germans."
"Maybe the fact that he is of German extraction influenced me."

Confidence in Eisenhower standing for peace: 1

"I hope he'll bring about peace."
"People say he will see to it that there is peace in the world."
"We hope that he will bring about peace."
"I think Eisenhower will live up to his promises, he knows all about war and he will try with all means to prevent another war."

Eisenhower will end the Korean war: *

"Things will change in Korea, and then some things will change over here, too."
"Eisenhower demands all prisoners of war in Korea to be exchanged, after that has been done he'll withdraw all troops from Korea, so there will be peace and order once more in Korea."

Others: 1

"Eisenhower should be given a chance to make up for mistakes he made when Germany was occupied."
"Eisenhower will follow a different course in politics as compared to the Democrats."
"Eisenhower has a family, Stevenson is a divorcee, if he can't get along with his wife I fail to see how he can hit it off with the people."

No opinion/No answer: 3 3%0

* Less than one half of one per cent.
© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS ADVANCED FOR PREFERRING STEVENSON ...

The smaller proportion who stated that they would have preferred seeing Stevenson become the new American president argued mainly that as a politician Stevenson was better qualified than a general. Others claimed that he would have been more likely to follow moderate policies and to avoid war.

"What did you personally prefer to see - Stevenson or Eisenhower elected president?"

IF "Stevenson":

"Why did you prefer Stevenson?"

VEST GERMANY

Stevenson is a diplomat and politician - a general is never a success as a politician: 7%

"Because Eisenhower is a soldier by profession and a soldier should keep out of politics."
"He is not so much in the limo-light, he isn't a soldier."
"Stevenson isn't a soldier but a statesman, and as such he has a good idea of the general situation throughout the world, he looks at things from a different angle and that fact would have been sort of an appeasing influence which would have had its effect on all countries."
"I would have preferred an administrative official to a general."
"A general like Eisenhower can never become the first servant of the state as he is not used to taking all current political trends into consideration."
"He is no militarist and he advocates the cause of democracy."
"Because Eisenhower is a brass hat and no politician, the policy Stevenson pursues is more objective and more stable."
"He is the better politician and as such he is more willing to compromise and to mediate."
"Stevenson is the better diplomat, a general never makes a capable politician."

Stevenson would have pursued a more moderate (democratic) policy in the spirit of President Truman, he would have followed steadily the present course in politics: 3

"Stevenson would have followed in President Truman's footsteps, the present course in politics would have been steadily pursued as things are now we have to be prepared for many a surprise."
"Because Stevenson is a democrat."
"It seems to me the political course of the democrats is more moderate."
"Because he would pursue a more moderate policy, the way President Truman did."
"Eisenhower is a Republican, therefore there will be big changes and disturbing developments."
"Truman belongs to another political party, and the people are still used to that party."
"Stevenson would have continued where Truman left off."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

Stevenson would be more likely to prevent another war: 3%

"Because in that case we wouldn't have to worry so much about another war."
"Stevenson would have been the likelier man to prevent another war."
"Because in my opinion Stevenson would mean a better guarantee for peace."
"I think he is against war."
".... while Eisenhower will let the armies march and we'll have to sacrifice our men once more."
"Ike means war."
"He would try to ward off the danger of war, that's a fact."
"If Stevenson were the head of the government, a war would be less likely."

Stevenson's attitude towards Germany and Europe is more conciliatory: 1

"Eisenhower wouldn't be concerned so much about Europe, I guess Stevenson houses friendlier feelings for Germany."
"Now new people will take over, we can't be quite certain whether American aid for Europe will be continued."
"It would have been more favorable for Germany if the Democrats had won."
"He is a Democrat and as such he is more interested in the affairs of Germany and in settling controversial issues peacably."
"Stevenson has greater sympathies for us Germans."
"I would prefer Stevenson because Eisenhower stated after the capitulation, 'I'm here not as a liberator but as a conqueror'."

Stevenson takes a keener interest in social programs, he cooperates more extensively with the trade unions: 1

"He cooperates more closely with the trade unions than do the Republicans."
"Because the pledges he made are more favorable to the trade unions."
"He favors an equal share in prosperity for all, he cares more about the social developments."
"He is more for the man in the street."

Others: 1

"Because as far as religion is concerned he is on our side, I mean Stevenson is a Catholic, too."
"Stevenson would have been more firm dealing with Russia."
"I rather think that Eisenhower was backed by capitalist groups."

No opinion/No answer: 16%

04255

III. ANTICIPATIONS OF POLICY CHANGES

CONSIDERABLE EXPECTATION OF POLICY CHANGES WITH EISENHOWER VICTORY ...

Four in ten West Germans express the belief that there will be changes in American policy as a consequence of Eisenhower's victory. The largest proportion anticipate that policies will be changed "somewhat" rather than considerably.

"Do you feel that American policy toward Western Germany will change under the new president, General Eisenhower, or not? Somewhat or considerably?" (After all told the following:

"In the course of the American presidential elections General Eisenhower was elected the new president of the United States and Governor Stevenson was defeated. Eisenhower belongs to a different party than that Mr. Truman, the current president, belongs to.")

	WEST GERMANY
Will change considerably	12%
Will change somewhat	29
Won't change	30
No opinion	29
	100%

FAVORABLE EXPECTATIONS OUTWEIGH UNFAVORABLE ...

Among West Germans expecting policy changes, the predominant expectation is that they will be in a favorable direction.

"Will this change in American policy be favorable or unfavorable for Western Germany?" (Asked of all respondents foreseeing changes).

Favorable	25%
Unfavorable	12
No opinion	4
	41%

04256

Among population subgroups, expectations of favorable changes in American policy as a consequence of Eisenhower's election to the presidency are most widespread among the more educated and informed opinion leading levels. In no group examined does more than one in five indicate unfavorable expectations.

	Expect favorable changes	Expect unfavorable changes	Expect no changes	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	34%	16%	29%	21%...100%	204
Women	15	8	31	46	196
Education:					
Elementary school	22	12	30	36	325
Beyond elementary	36	12	30	22	73
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	18	9	31	42	90
150 - 299 DM	26	14	29	31	143
300 - 399 DM	26	7	29	38	85
400 DM and more	32	14	37	17	71
Age:					
Up to 29 years	21	10	34	35	86
30 - 49 years	25	14	28	33	159
50 years and over	27	10	30	33	154
Party Preference:					
SPD	32	16	31	21	112
Coalition (CDU/CSU, FDP)	37	9	37	17	101
Other parties	30	10	35	25	20
No party	14	12	28	46	96
Don't know	8	8	20	64	71

A point of interest emanates from comparing expectations as to policy changes against earlier obtained expressions of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with current American policy toward West Germany. The indication is that the effect in West Germany of the Eisenhower victory has been mostly to increase net satisfaction among West Germans already expressing satisfaction by and large with American policy. The presently dissatisfied who see a change for the better in Eisenhower's victory are apparently cancelled out by those who see a change for the worse.

"Do you feel that American policy toward Western Germany will change under the new president, General Eisenhower or not?"

"Will this change in American policy be favorable or unfavorable for Western Germany?" (Asked of those who answered "Will change considerably" and "Will change somewhat" to previous question).

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with American policy toward Western Germany?"

	Expect favorable changes	Expect unfavorable changes	Expect no changes	No opinion	No. of cases
Satisfied	34%	10%	36%	20%..100%	172
Dissatisfied	29	33	23	15	161
Neither/nor	17	6	35	42	95
No opinion	8	6	14	72	72

WHAT FAVORABLE CHANGES EXPECTED? ...

Among the favorable anticipations cited, the most frequent theme was better understanding of Germany with consequent greater political and economic support.

"Will this change in American policy be favorable or unfavorable for Western Germany?"

IF "Favorable":

"In what way will American policy towards Western Germany change?"

WEST GERMANY

Better understanding for our problems, stronger political and economic support for Germany: 11%

"I guess that conditions will improve as Eisenhower is familiar with conditions in Europe."
"Our economic situation will improve, as Eisenhower is well acquainted with Europe's problems and difficulties."
"He was in Europe and knows all about conditions over here, therefore, will strengthen Western Germany against Communism, i.e. he will provide employment for us Germans."
"Eisenhower knows what Germany means for America he, therefore, won't neglect the interests of Germany."
"Eisenhower needs our cooperation for the defense of Western Europe, I'm sure he'll help us attain equality and will support our economy to a greater extent in order to create a strong bulwark against the East."
"The new president will strengthen the economy of West Germany to a greater extent in order to get it to comply with the wishes of America in the economic and political field."
"Above all, I believe that Eisenhower will grant us more help, he will favor us above the French."
"I learned that Eisenhower intends to appoint Mr. McCloy whom I consider to be a decent person and who knows Eisenhower very well, and General Clay his assistants - these three men know what the needs of West Germany are."
"Eisenhower will allow us to increase our industrial capacity."
"I think that Eisenhower has a better understanding for our problems because his ancestors were Germans."

Rearmament of Germany will be pushed ahead (possibly against the will of the other European countries): 5

"In my opinion Eisenhower will advocate the rearmament of West Germany more strongly, he might see to it that Germany will be admitted to the NATO."
"They want to know where they stand in Europe, America will insist on Germany's defense and rearmament in the face of protests by other West European nations."
"They will endorse extended rearmament programs, they may give preference to Germany over France regarding military aid."
"The stand America takes re the German rearmament issue, the misgivings of the French will be disregarded in the interest of European defense."
"Germany's security against Russia would be increased regarding West German affairs Eisenhower would top-play military questions, he would favor plans for an army."

The idea of a United Europe will be promoted - Germany will be linked more closely to the West: 3

"The plan of a West European Union will be pushed ahead more vigorously."
"He will try to mobilise the potentiality of Europe even more than it was done up to now, we hope he'll do it skillfully."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

"The idea of a United Europe and other programs will be more strongly supported now."
"The policy aiming at a United Europe will be more strongly promoted even the French who always show a reluctant attitude will have to further this policy under American pressure, the imperialist designs will be foiled."
"Not only Germany, but the whole of Europe will have to make a decision, Germany will be more closely linked to the West."
"We'll come into closer contact with the Western nations, and that's quite favorable for us."
"The differences between France and Germany will be reconciled."

Reunification, recovery of the Eastern territories, Four-Power conference will come about: 3%

"He will make a clear-cut decision on the issue involving Germany and the East."
"The new President will more energetically demand a settlement of the conflict with the East, and will push ahead the German reunification issue."
"He will show the greatest willingness to help bring about reunification of the Eastern territories with Germany if necessary through military means."
"He will reestablish the former German "Reich"."
"Closely supervised elections will be held in the East zone thus Communism will suffer a set-back and there may be a better chance of a reunification."
"A Four-Power discussion might let Germany appear in a more favorable light and may result in advantages for it."
"I think that a peace treaty will be concluded and a new leaf will be turned over."

America will intervene in the Saar dispute for the benefit of Germany: 2

"As to the Saar problem America will intervene in favor of West Germany."
"America will exert stronger pressure on France in order to induce it to make concessions to Germany, especially with regard to the Saar issue, because the Saar is the key to peace in West Europe."
"He knows the Germans to be a reliable people, he might help us to settle the Saar problem."
"I hope that the new President will be pretty firm with the French so that these guys will give way and see the light as far as the Saar is concerned, otherwise a united Europe will never be realized."
"Eisenhower is more vigorous he'll exert stronger pressure on France."

Danger of war will decrease, peace, the general situation will improve: 2

"The danger of war will decrease, there won't be any remarkable changes in the economic field."
"I guess that there is a better chance for peace."
"I think that Eisenhower will try to prevent another war because he is well aware of its consequences."
"The US will establish peace and order in the world with our help, they realized that their attitude towards us was wrong, through the solidarity of the nations of the Western bloc, war will be prevented."

Others: 2

"The prisoners-of-war might be repatriated."
"I do hope that he finds a better solution to the problem of German POWs still in Russia."
"All the agreement between America and Stalin will be revised."

No opinion/No answer: 2

30%

O Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04259

WHAT UNFAVORABLE CHANGES EXPECTED? ...

When unfavorable expectations are examined it is seen that any apprehensions that the election of a former general to the American presidency portends a more militaristic and war-inciting policy, apparently characterize no more than the order of one in ten among the West German population. The indication is therefore that such a reaction may be evaluated as distinctly limited in scope.

"Will the change in American policy be favorable or unfavorable for Western Germany?"

IF "Unfavorable":

"In what way will American policy toward Western Germany change?"

WEST GERMANY

America will exert pressure on Germany, the policy Eisenhower will carry out may have militaristic tendencies: 4%

"That the Germans will be still more suppressed, I mean that they will be forced to rearm."
"That Eisenhower will exert pressure so that an army will be set up (defense contribution), all financial aid from the US will be stopped if the defense contract will not be accepted."
"They will give still more directions to us and will press us to join the NATO."
"As to the Germany treaty they will exert still more pressure on us."
"There will be stronger militaristic trends."
"He is not quite sincere, he is too much a soldier, he will have nothing but the interests of America in view, no matter what our worries and problems may be."
"American policy will be more strict since Eisenhower was a soldier he judges from a different point of view as compared to Mr. Truman."
"Eisenhower will get things under control, he will make use of the presidential energency powers to an even greater extent than did Mr. Truman."
"America will become more aggressive than before, and that may easily cause complications in which we may be involved, too, we'll have to do things we don't want to do, for instance, we'll have to rearm."

The relations with Russia will get tenser, the danger of war will be increased: 4

"Political and armed conflicts might arise, the East/West tensions would be aggravated."
"It will be a policy that leads to war and not only West Germany but all Western Europe will suffer from it."
"We might be dragged into a war between East and West as Eisenhower wants to end this conflict quickly and forcibly, no doubt."
"A more determined policy will be adopted toward Russia and that might bring on another war for us."
"Ike is a soldier and his foreign policy will be influenced by military considerations, this might turn out to our disadvantage in regard to Russia, we too once had a soldier as Chancellor (Reichskanzler) and leader."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

The interest in Germany and Europe will decrease, a less pro-German course will be adopted in politics: 2%

"The Americans will become somewhat reserved and show less interest in West Germany."
"If the war in Korea is ended the Americans won't take so much interest in the rearmament program and in the general affairs of Germany any longer."
"Their interests would shift from West Germany and Europe to Asia."
"The new party is more radical in its views and won't make so many concessions to West Germany."
"As to Korea and Russia the American policy will change, negotiations with the Russians will turn out to be unfavorable for Germany."
"Since Eisenhower's opinion of Germany is not too favorable, he will show preference for other countries, especially for France, we are certain to get a bad deal, the general trend of current policy will change."
"He will be less concerned about favorable social conditions existing in Germany than Truman was, he hates the Germans though he is of German descent shortly after the war he behaved abominably towards Germany."

Aid for Europe may be cut down, economic disadvantages for Germany may accrue: 2

"That the new government won't support our economy any longer because there are some people in America who plead for cutting the aid for Europe."
"Marshall aid will probably be reduced considerably."
"It may be that Europe and Germany won't be financially supported any longer."
"They may put us on shorter rations, I mean, he may reduce the funds for Germany."
"More taxes through the defense contribution, ERP means on reciprocal terms only."
"Everything will get much more expensive and scarce once more because Eisenhower will reduce the aid for us."

No opinion/No answer: * 12%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

IV. REACTIONS TO ELECTION CAMPAIGNING

ADVERSE REACTIONS INFREQUENT ...

Concern has been voiced on occasion that the somewhat rough and tumble tactics that are sometimes characteristic of American election campaigning might engender doubts among West Germans as to the virtues of the American democratic process. That such fears have only very limited substance is the indication of the present study with the large majority of West Germans aware of the elections stating that they were not in any way disturbed by the nature of the campaigning. Accompanying comments suggest that some West Germans have already learned enough about American political life to discount the sound and fury of election campaigning.

"As far as you were able to follow the election campaign in America, did you hear of or read about anything that disturbed you? (What was that?)"

	WEST GERMANY
No, did not hear anything disturbing:	64%

"No, the election campaign was conducted in a typically American way with a great amount of propaganda, but it was fair."
"I think that the election campaign was all right, perhaps sometimes a bit hot-headed but that's just part of it."
"I didn't hear anything."
"No, I didn't hear anything that disturbed me."

Election ballyhoo and mutual accusations:	2

"That the election campaign was not fair, I heard there was much confusion and fighting on either side."
"I was disturbed by all this election ballyhoo."
"All this din, affecting all sides of public life."
"Too much heckling by the two parties (Democrats against Republicans and vice versa)."
"The way they threw mud at each other."
"The yarns these two fighting cocks fed to people beat everything, there's a limit to everything, after all."

Eisenhower's plan to withdraw American troops from Korea, replace them by South-Koreans and employ atomic weapons:	2

"I was frightened when Truman published the secret document concerning Eisenhower's plans for the troops in Korea."
"Eisenhower wants to waste no time to terminate the Korean affair and use the atom bomb."
"That the Americans want to leave the South-Koreans to their own devices, they couldn't do the same thing to us."
"Yes, the document about Korea (troops are to be withdrawn)."
"That the Koreans were encouraged first and now, as Eisenhower says, the Americans want to withdraw."
"Some time ago Eisenhower wanted to withdraw the troops from Korea. He changed his opinion, but what if he wants to do the same in Germany?"

(Cont'd on next page)

Others: 3%

"I'm disturbed by the fact that it seemed as if Stevenson would win."
"That the American people decided Truman's policy wasn't the right one."
"That in election speeches isolationist policies were discussed."
"That McCarthy and his followers might get too strong and form an extreme anti-Communist group which would oversimplify issues much in the same way as our extremist anti-Jewish groups (in Nazi-Germany)."
"The Communist's constant underground activities to stir up the colored races of America."
"Yes, occasionally you hear people say that if Eisenhower's elected there will be another war."
"During the election campaign Eisenhower was reproached with having left wide areas of Germany to the Russians at the end of the war."
"Yes, I heard that Eisenhower is said to have been supported by the capitalists, that they made propaganda for him, that is."

Didn't bother about it, I'm not interested: 5

"No, I don't read anything but the headlines of political news, I don't want to hear anything about politics."
"I don't know a thing about politics, I regard the election campaign more from the sportsman's point of view."
"I don't want to hear anything about politics, I don't care what they do over there."
"I just don't bother about what they say over there."
"I'm not interested in what happens over there."
"I didn't pay much attention to all that."

No opinion/No answer: 7

83%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04263

WEST GERMAN AUDIENCE POTENTIAL FOR A PROJECTED ATOMIC ENERGY EXHIBIT

Report No. 164
Series No. 2

November 17, 1952

R E S T R I C T E D

DECLASSIFIED
by authority of
Morton H. Fosberg,
Chief,
PUB: Research Staff

MAY 1 1955

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04264

I. WHAT IS THE POTENTIAL AUDIENCE FOR AN ATOMIC ENERGY EXHIBITION?

An American-sponsored exhibition on atomic energy held in Germany would, presumably, have at least the following three purposes: 1) to indoctrinate those unaware of peacetime utilization of atomic energy with the realization that such uses do exist, 2) to tell those people that America is doing research in this area, and 3) to make it clear that America favors putting the atom's uses under international control.

Who are the groups who should be encouraged to visit an atomic energy exhibition having such purposes? Who would American sponsors of such an exhibition hope to attract? First, all those West Germans who do not know that the atom can be used for many non-military purposes. Then, those who know that it can be used in peacetime, but who do not know that the United States is doing anything about developing such use. These people would be the "target group" for such an exhibition.

Would enough West Germans who are uninformed about peacetime uses of atomic energy (or of America's non-military atom research program) want to attend an exhibition on this subject to make its planning worthwhile? This is the question which motivated the present study. The approach utilized was to obtain an estimate of maximum interest by surveying in an area where an exhibition would encounter the fewest difficulties. Frankfurt, whose residents not only live within access to a permanent exhibition grounds but who generally can be expected to know of its traditional Messe, provides such an area. Under optimum conditions, then, what proportion of those people whom it is desirable to reach show 1) sufficient interest in the subject of this proposed exhibition, and 2) a stated willingness to see an exhibition on the subject of their interest?

DEFINING THE "TARGET GROUP" ...

Nearly one-half of adult Frankfurt residents can be counted out as "target group" members. That is, 47 per cent of those interviewed are not in pressing need of indoctrination — in terms defined above — because they know both that the atom can be used for peaceful purposes and that America is doing peacetime atomic research:

	Frankfurt Adults
Know about peacetime uses of atomic energy and think America is working on these uses	47%
Do not know that atomic energy can be used in peacetime	33
Know about peacetime uses of atomic energy but who do not know that America is working on these uses	20
	100%
	(190)

Two groups remain, then, whom it is desirable to attract to an atomic showing: the one-third who do not know that the atom can be put to non-military uses, and the one-fifth who are aware of peacetime uses but who do not know that America is doing research on peaceful application of atomic principles. These people need to be told the facts.

SMALL MINORITY ARE POTENTIAL EXHIBITION VISITORS ...

There is little interest in seeing an atomic energy exhibition among those most in need of indoctrination. Only one in ten of this "target group" say that they would possibly be interested in seeing an atomic energy exhibition — free of charge — were it held in Frankfurt. These represent 5% of the total Frankfurt adult population.

"Supposing the following exhibitions would be shown in Frankfurt which could be seen free of charge, Would one of them possibly interest you?" (Which one?)

	"Target group" Members
Exhibition of modern means of transportation (railroads, automobiles, aviation, shipping)	32%
Exhibition on atomic energy	10
Agricultural fair	23
Exhibition on economic co-operation within Europe	21
International industrial fair	23
NONE	39
No opinion	2
	150%*

* Some people picked more than one exhibition; therefore these figures add to more than 100%.

Of the five suggested exhibitions, the one having the least interest among those who should be reached for indoctrination on the atom, is that on atomic energy!

Those who did not indicate interest in an atomic exhibition above were subsequently asked whether or not they would be interested in learning anything about how atomic energy can be used.** In this way another group of potentially interested people was obtained, but when asked in what way they would prefer to get such information (through newspaper articles, an exhibition, or films about it) -- only another 26 per cent could be added to the total of people who say they would have any interest in an atomic exhibition.

When all figures are accumulated, here is the picture:

Pick an atomic energy exhibition as being of interest to them	5%	In "Target group"
Didn't pick exhibition but would like to learn more about atomic energy and would like to get information from exhibition when given choice of media	14	
Have no interest in learning about atomic energy or, if interested, do not care to see exhibition	34	
NOT IN "TARGET GROUP"	47	
	100%	

** Those who said they would not be interested in learning something about atomic energy were asked why they felt this way. Less than one in ten reject learning anything about it because they think of war, destruction and terror when the subject is mentioned. Most either appear to stand in awe of the science and appear abashed at the idea of trying to comprehend it or rationalise by saying "It's none of my business" or "I've got worries and other interests". A number of people feel they are too old to concern themselves with things of the future, leaving such interests to the young.

A little over one-third of the "target group" members (representing about one in five of all Frankfurt adults) -- at the most -- can be considered potential visitors who also need indoctrination at an atomic energy show. (It must be remembered that less than a third of these had indicated any interest in such an exhibition when given a list of possible shows they might see. Most of them, then, do not have enough interest to have chosen the atomic exhibition when it was first suggested to them. In a sense, any intimation of interest on their part had to be "pulled out" of most of them).

Too, it is unlikely that this expression of "interest" can be taken to mean that all these people would be sufficiently motivated to leave their homes, travel to the exhibition grounds and spend time walking through it.

FILMS AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO AN EXHIBITION ...

Motion picture films might be as appealing as an exhibition to those who would like to know more about atomic energy (and who also belong to the group which <u>should</u> be told about it). People who did not mention an interest in seeing an atomic energy show but who said they would like to learn something about the field were asked:

> "If you would want to get information on the use of atomic energy, what would you prefer: to read articles about it in the papers, to visit an exhibition on it, or to see a film about it?"

Many in the "target group" named both films and exhibitions as being ways in which they would like to get information about the atom. Apparently these people did not answer the question in terms of preference. Almost as many would like to learn about atomic energy by seeing a film as by seeing an exhibition, and because many of these are the same people the advantages of using the less expensive of the two media might well be noted. (No statistically reliable statements can be made because only 34 people in the sample were asked the question. However, 26 named exhibitions and 22 nominated films).

AN EXHIBITION SLANT THAT MIGHT ATTRACT MORE VISITORS ...

On the preceding page of this report the first table shows the comparative "pull" of various possible exhibitions (modern transportation, agriculture, atomic energy, etc.) One may note that the exhibition evidencing the greatest attraction is that on modern transportation. People are apparently more interested in seeing automobiles and airplanes of the future -- possibly powered by atomic energy -- than they are in the other more or less hackneyed or intrinsically less appealing subjects. This interest could be used as an entry-way to getting to this target group, incidental to the main theme of modern transportation, the story of America's research into peacetime use of the atom and her desire for international control. The two subjects lend themselves well to an integration of themes of actual displays in the exhibition.

WHAT IS LIKELY TO HAVE MOST APPEAL IN FILM OR AT AN EXHIBITION ON THE ATOM ...

The use of the atom in tomorrow's transportation and in the production of power is of highest interest to those in the target group who would be interested in learning something about atomic energy. However, these people are almost as likely to want to know about the application of atomic principles in medicine.

There is comparatively little interest in the history of scientific research resulting in the A-bomb or in the use of the atom for military purposes, in methods of producing atomic energy, or in plans for international control of atomic energy utilization. This suggests that any attempt to indoctrinate or inform in these areas might best be directed through those in the high interest category, mentioned above. Whether by film or exhibition, the less popular themes can be carried subtly by those which enjoy popular interest.

R E S T R I C T E D

II. COMPARISONS OF ATTITUDES RELATED TO RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN USES OF THE ATOM

NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD AMERICAN USE OF ATOM MORE PREVALENT AMONG "TARGET GROUP" ...

It becomes even more obvious that the "target group" -- those to whom indoctrination on the atom and America's role in its use should be addressed -- has a much less favorable attitude toward the United States with respect to atomic energy uses than does the rest of the adult Frankfurt population.

Among the general adult population of Frankfurt twice as many people believe something is being done in America to use atomic energy for peaceful purposes as attribute the same effort to the Soviet Union. While one-half of the residents say that America is doing something in this respect, only 7 per cent of the "target group" say that this is true.

"How about your personal impression: is something being done in America about using atomic energy for peaceful purposes, or do they only manufacture atom bombs?"

"And how about Russia: do you have the impression that something is being done in Russia about using atomic energy for peaceful purposes, or do they only manufacture atom bombs over there?"

	UNITED STATES		RUSSIA	
	"Target group"	Frankfurt Adults	"Target group"	Frankfurt Adults
Peaceful purposes	7%	51%	3%	24%
Atom bombs only	23	12	31	26
No opinion	70	37	66	50
	100%	100%	100%	100%

SMALL MINORITY THINK AMERICAN A-BOMB MANUFACTURE MAKES WAR LESS PROBABLE ...

There seems to be little support among adult residents of Frankfurt (extremely little among the "target group" members) for the view that America's building of atom bombs will deter the advent of war -- frequently voiced as America's motive for manufacturing and stockpiling A-bombs. Only 8 per cent of those who need indoctrination on the basis of earlier criteria discussed in this study go along with America's motive. The others obviously somehow should be reached if the point is to be made.

"Does, in your opinion, the manufacture of atom bombs in America increase the danger of war or is the danger of war thus decreased?"

	"Target group"	Frankfurt Adults
Increase	29%	27%
Decrease	8	22
Does not influence situation	15	19
No opinion	48	32
	100%	100%

RESTRICTED

BUT MORE SAY THAT AMERICA FAVORS INTERNATIONAL CONTROL THAN SAY RUSSIA DOES ...

One-half of all adults said that they have heard of or read about plans to place atomic energy under international control. Compare this proportion with the 28 per cent of "target group" members who claimed to know of such plans. This makes it clear that those defined throughout this report as needing indoctrination on other grounds also are ignorant of the question of controlling the use of atomic energy -- presumably one key part of an A-energy education program.

All people (including those who were not in the "target group") who are aware of plans to place the atom under international control were then asked whether they think Russia and America are for or against such a plan. Twice as many believe that the United States supports the idea of international control as attribute such support to the USSR. (There were too few cases in the "target group" who knew about plans to separate them for comparison).

	UNITED STATES	RUSSIA
Is for international control	26%	12%
Is against it	13	28
Partly-partly	1	-
No opinion	13	13
Unaware of plans for international control	47	47
	100%	100%

04269

AN APPRAISAL OF PAMPHLETS AS A MEDIUM OF INFLUENCE IN WEST GERMANY

Report No. 165
Series No. 2
December 22, 1952

RESTRICTED
OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04270

SOME SUMMARY EXCERPTS

I. Extent of Public Receptivity to Pamphlets

... Receptivity to pamphlets as a source of information supplementary to other media appears to be distinctly limited in West Germany with but one in four vouchsafing even a verbal expression of interest in reading such material. Interest is somewhat more widely evidenced in West Berlin, but still does not exceed minority proportions.

... Disinclination to read pamphlets is rather general even among the better educated and economically better situated - elements that ordinarily can be counted upon for interest in informational media.

... Study of the comments advanced by the respondents evincing a lack of receptivity to pamphlets indicate rather clearly that something more is involved than a simple lack of interest. The single most frequent category of replies in West Germany, and an underlying tone throughout, points to the existence of more than a little adverse attitude toward pamphlets as such, deriving it appears, from what is felt to be their dubious origins, one-sideness, tendentiousness, etc. - down to such irritants as their often unsolicited mode of distribution.

II. Readership and Evaluation

... Even in the sum total of a year's distribution from all sources, pamphlets appear to qualify only in a limited way as a mass medium. One in four in West Germany (one in three in West Berlin) express remembrance of having encountered such material over the past year.

... Among the one in four reporting having seen pamphlets over the past year, a third stated that they did not read them, with reasons expressive of the same combination of disinterest and distaste earlier indicated in connection with general public reaction.

... That the majority lack of receptivity toward pamphlets in West Germany runs deeper than mere ignorant stereotype, becomes evident from the finding that even among respondents who report having read pamphlets, adverse impressions predominate by more than two to one. The objection is again a combination of disinterest and distrust, with the emphasis in the present group on the latter. Unfavorable reactions are less frequent in West Berlin.

III. The Relation of Pamphlet Coverage to Other Media

... Any guidance deductions from the apparent unpalatability of pamphlets to many West Germans best awaits a further consideration - do pamphlets reach people who in appreciable numbers are not being touched by press and radio? If the answer to such a question is yes, the possibility would have to be kept in mind that despite apparent audience negativity to the medium, coverage may be better than no coverage. However, the answer from the tabulated findings below appears to be in the negative. The indication is that both in West Germany and West Berlin pamphlets secure their readership among people who generally have extensive contact with press and radio output, and often in addition with magazines and movies.

... The upshot is then that psychological contraindications to the use of pamphlets would not appear to be offset by considerations deriving from the pattern of pamphlet coverage.

04271

Findings reported in the present study are based upon a 1200 case representative probability sampling of West Germany and a 200 case sample of West Berlin, gathered between the 12th and 27th of November 1952. As usual interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff.

I. EXTENT OF PUBLIC RECEPTIVITY TO PAMPHLETS

PAMPHLETS LACK POPULAR APPEAL ...

Receptivity to pamphlets as a source of information supplementary to other media appears to be distinctly limited in West Germany with but one in four vouchsafing even a verbal expression of interest in reading such material. Interest is somewhat more widely evidenced in West Berlin but still does not exceed minority proportions.

> "As you may know, leaflets, pamphlets or small booklets are sometimes issued and distributed free of charge by organisations, societies or other agencies. These booklets are about the size of small folders, some of them are bigger, some smaller. In them political, economic and social issues from all over the world are discussed in detail, and sometimes they are illustrated. Of course they have nothing to do with articles of trade or advertisements by any firms."
>
> "Suppose you would see somewhere such leaflets, pamphlets or booklets: would you be interested in reading these booklets, or do you think that through radio, newspapers, periodicals and films you get sufficient information about political and economic issues from all over the world?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Interested in reading them	23%	22%	27%	18%	39%
Not interested	69	69	69	73	60
No opinion	8	9	4	9	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

04273

Among population sub-groups in West Germany, disinclination to read pamphlets is rather general even among the better educated and economically better situated - elements that can be usually counted upon for interest in informational media.

	Interested in pamphlets	Not interested*	No. of cases
Sex:			
Men	29%	71%...100%	570
Women	18	82	623
Education:			
Elementary school	22	78	934
Beyond elementary	27	73	257
Income (per month):			
Up to 149 DM	20	80	220
150 - 299 DM	22	78	449
300 - 399 DM	29	71	276
400 DM and more	24	76	212
Age:			
Up to 24 years	28	72	139
25 - 34 years	30	70	247
35 - 44 years	24	76	254
45 - 54 years	21	79	252
55 years and over	17	83	288
Party Preference:			
SPD	32	68	279
CDU/CSU	24	76	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	32	68	94
Other parties	31	69	67
No party	16	84	286
Don't know	13	87	226
Occupation:			
Professionals	29	71	58
Businessmen	19	81	127
White-collar workers	25	75	169
Skilled laborers	28	72	250
Semi-skilled laborers	16	84	133
Farmers	25	75	138
Housewives	36	64	25
Unemployed	42	58	33
Not employed: pensioners; students, retired, etc.	16	84	224
Religion:			
Catholics	22	78	506
Protestants	23	77	626
Origin:			
Natives	22	78	952
Expellees, Refugees	27	73	241

* Since expressions of "No opinion" on a question like the present is fundamentally just another way of indicating disinterest, they have not been separately tabulated.

BASIS FOR UNPOPULARITY ...

Study of the comments advanced by the respondents evincing a lack of receptivity to pamphlets indicate rather clearly that something more is involved than a simple lack of interest. The single most frequent category of replies in West Germany and an underlying tone throughout points to the existence of more than a little adverse attitude toward pamphlets as such, deriving it appears, from what is felt to be their dubious origins, one-sidedness, tendentiousness, etc. - down to such irritants as their often unsolicited and somewhat impositional mode of distribution.

"Why wouldn't you be interested in reading such booklets? (Apart from the fact that you learn enough from other sources of information)."

	WEST GERMANY	BERLIN
Booklets are of dubious origin, their contents are ambiguous, not authentic, worthless:	15%	9%

"I'm suspicious because I don't know the authors of such things nor the publishers, probably these booklets are meant to conceal the real motives."
"Those are dubious things, I don't waste any time on them."
"Because what they contain is untrue, at least it's slanted, because everybody wants to be right."
"Everybody puts things differently, one couldn't find one's way through the tangle."
"It's all just a bunch of lies."
"Because mostly nothing good comes of it, it's usually something underhanded and you don't know what to make of it."
"I know right from the beginning that it's sent by some party or other who play things up just the way they please."
"Because I don't believe in anything but what I can see."
"Because I'm of the opinion that these booklets serve a certain purpose, the promises they contain won't be kept."
"Because they have strong tendencies, are one-sided and not objective."
"Because they are confusing, they write now this, then that."
"That's mostly one-sided stuff, I mean everybody praises the goods he wants to sell."

Booklets are issued by political parties and they deal with political subjects:	13	20

"Things which are brought to my notice in such a way have mostly a political tinge and I'm not interested in things like that on principle."
"Because they mostly deal with politics and regard things in a one-sided manner."
"These things are political and I'm not interested in them."
"I don't care about politics and all that, they don't ask us and do just as they please and that's what they call democracy."
"I would much rather read a novel, if I've got time, politics isn't a woman's concern."
"It's nothing but politics, every party promises a lot and they don't keep anything."
"It's always the same old stuff, mostly they come from the trade unions."

No interest for various reasons: other fields of interest (household, occupation), family problems, sickness, too old, etc.:	11	10

"I'm 74 years of age, I've got other worries."
"Because I'm not interested, I've got enough work on my hands."
"I'm more interested in my job and my marriage."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	BERLIN
"That's no concern of us women, we've got enough work to do in the household."		
"Because we're fed up with such things."		
"A novel at the most, I enjoy that much more."		
"I'm as good as blind on one eye, so I read nothing at all."		
"I wouldn't understand it, as I just started reading."		
"I'm more interested in the radio, what do I care for other things, market reports and farmers' programs is all I'm interested in, that's where you can learn from."		
"Because I'm too old and don't want to know about these things, if I read at all, I want to read some decent stuff such as a book or a novel."		
"I've got other worries, I've got to look after a mentally deranged husband."		
"I can't live on that kind of stuff, I have to attend to other things."		
"All I read in the newspapers is the obituaries."		
Lack of time:	10%	9%
"I don't have the time to do so."		
"I rarely ever get around to reading."		
"I've to work hard and there isn't much spare time."		
"As a housewife I've got no time for reading."		
Rejection without any specific reason:	10	2
"We throw them into the fire, we won't have that kind of rubbish, I also threw away the DIVO-letter immediately."		
"We just throw them away, no interest."		
"I'm just not interested, that's it."		
"Because I'm not interested in all that stuff, I don't want to know anything about it."		
"I don't like that, such scraps of paper handed to you by people in the street, they mostly don't contain anything of interest."		
"I have a dislike of such publications."		
"I just don't like that silly stuff."		
"If there are leaflets or booklets in the letter-box, I throw them away without reading more than the headlines."		
"Because I don't care for all this."		
Booklets serve propaganda purposes - agitation - they are meant to create dissention:	9	9
"They mostly contain election slogans which you know anyway."		
"Mostly it's political propaganda."		
"Always one and the same inflammatory stuff."		
"Seems to be nothing but propaganda."		
"I think it's just to stir people up, to sow dissention."		
"That's only agitation."		
"They always want to put something over you, it's much ballyhoo, it's just a facade, there's nothing behind it."		
I learn enough from other sources of information:	4	11
"Radio brings enough information."		
"What I read in the papers is sufficient, you can trust the papers, I don't think foreigners have something better to offer."		
"Our radio talks enough about politics."		
Lack of opportunity:	1	-
"I hardly ever get these things."		
"We don't have it here in the country."		
"No opportunity."		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	BERLIN
	3%	1%

Others:

"Such radical tendencies mustn't be allowed to come up, neither from the left, nor from the right, I always try to adopt a middle course."
"In the East Zone I had to read so many booklets that I can't stand them any more."
"Before the elections I read some pamphlets."

No opinion - No answer:	* 76%	* 69%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
O Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04277

II. READERSHIP AND EVALUATION

LIMITED PUBLIC CONTACT WITH PAMPHLETS ...

Shifting the focus now from the question of receptivity to that of actual public contact, the initial indication emerging from the present findings is that even in the sum total of a year's distribution from all sources, pamphlets appear to qualify only in a limited way as a mass medium. One in four in West Germany (one in three in West Berlin) express remembrance of having encountered such material over the past year.

"Have you perhaps, during the past year seen any such booklets, pamphlets or leaflets?" (Allusion is to initial detailed description).

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Have seen them	25%	27%	22%	21%	34%
Have not	75	73	78	79	66
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Remembered pamphlet contacts embrace a variety of topics, the single most frequent of which is election-associated material.

"Do you remember what these pamphlets were about? (What did they contain?) Or their titles?"

	WEST GERMANY	BERLIN
Political contents - about political parties, election propaganda, etc.:	9%	1%
"Election propaganda."		
"Publications of political parties."		
"Some party approached the voters."		
"About the election."		
"Information about municipal elections held on the 9th of November, 1952."		
"About the program of the SPD concerning the elections."		
"It was just election material."		
Social and economic questions and problems:	3	5
"Pamphlet by employer-union "Home and World", free of charge, contents mainly social problems, how to be a leader."		
"About the agricultural structure of the Federal Republic."		
"About wage claims."		
"About the closing time of shops."		
"Demand for the additional half-monthly salary."		
"About the Shop Organization Law."		
Religious publications:	2	2
"About the discovery of the book of Mormon by Mormon priests."		
"About welfare affairs, The Watch-Tower."		
"Jehovah's Witnesses."		
"Christian guards: Listen! Religious things."		
"Something about the purgatory."		
America: - Marshall Plan, etc.:	1	4
"They were American pamphlets about Truman."		
"Very much about America and about everything the American trade-unions are doing." Etc.		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	BERLIN
KPD (Russian) Propaganda:	1%	3%
"About the peace efforts of the KDP."		
"About the efficient reconstruction methods of the Russians in the Eastern Zone."		
"That Communists want to prevent the war, no war anymore, etc."		
"Political contents with East Zone tendencies."		
"About Truman, Churchill, and Schuman and their intrigues and war propaganda against the East and against peace."		
Conditions in the Eastern Zone (Russia):	1	5
"About Russia and the poverty of the Russian people."		
"About the Eastern Zone."		
Contractual Agreement - EDC Agreement:	1	2
Reunification:		
"It was about the reunification of Germany."		
"Unity, one way or another."		
"A request made by the West to negotiate with the East about the reunification of Germany."		@
Schuman Plan - Coal and Steel Pool:	*	2
"Tarantula" (a political satire)	-	3
Others:	2	3
"About the neglect of the youth."		
"Heroes and traitors."		
"Concerns the 20th of July."		
"Yearly report of the town-council."		
"Improvement of factories, Buderus production news."		
"South-West State."		
"It concerned the football match Germany-France."		
No opinion - no answer:	5 / 26%	8 / 39%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04279

EXTENT OF READERSHIP ...

Among the one in four reporting having seen pamphlets over the past year, a third stated that they did not read them, with reasons expressive of the same combination of disinterest and distaste earlier documented in the discussion of general public receptivity.

"Did you also read them?" (Asked of respondents reporting having seen pamphlets).

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Have read them	17%	18%	15%	12%	24%
Have not	8	9	7	9	10
	25%	27%	22%	21%	34%

IF "No"

"For what reasons didn't you read them?"

	WEST GERMANY	BERLIN
Various expressions of rejection	4%	6%
"I refuse acceptance."		
"We burn this kind of stuff right away."		
"Because I disapprove of such booklets."		
"I had to remove them from my letter-box, or they would have blocked it up, then they went straight to the oven, I am not interested in things like that."		
"Because I am not interested in things that are thrown in my letter box without having asked for them."		
No interest in politics and propaganda	2	1
"I already told you that I'm not interested in politics any more."		
"No interest whatever, I don't want to hear anything about politics any longer."		
"I'm not interested in such stuff, it usually camoflages some sort of propaganda or even something worse."		
Lack of time	1	2
Rejection because it's just Communist (Russian) propaganda	*	1
"They mean propaganda for the East Zone, and I dislike the Russians."		
"Russian agitation against the West."		
Other reasons	1	2
"I once got one at the station, but I threw it away as it was dark already."		
No opinion - No answer		

In line with expectation, group comparisons reveal that both contact with, and readership of pamphlets are most widespread among the better educated and better off - population elements which have the most access to such material and the most time and general inclination for reading.

"Have you, perhaps, during the past year seen any such booklets, pamphlets or leaflets?"

"Did you also read them?" (Asked of those who answered 'Yes, have seen them' to previous question).

	Seen and have read them	Seen, but not read them	Not seen	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	24%	9%	67%...100%	570
Women	10	7	83	623
Education:				
Elementary school	15	7	78	934
Beyond elementary	24	13	63	257
Income (per month):				
Up to 149 DM	8	6	86	220
150 - 299 DM	15	6	79	449
300 - 399 DM	23	11	66	276
400 DM and more	22	11	67	212
Age:				
Up to 24 years	13	7	80	139
25 - 34 years	17	9	74	247
35 - 44 years	19	7	74	254
45 - 54 years	18	9	73	252
55 years and over	16	7	77	288
Party Preference:				
SPD	27	9	64	279
CDU/CSU	15	7	78	241
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	30	8	62	94
Other parties	18	7	75	67
No party	11	8	81	286
Don't know	7	7	86	226
Occupation:				
Professionals	31	14	55	58
Businessmen	16	8	76	127
White-collar workers	20	11	69	169
Skilled laborers	22	9	69	250
Semi-skilled laborers	15	5	80	133
Farmers	5	5	90	138
Housewives	16	4	80	25
Unemployed	24	6	70	33
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	11	7	82	224
Religion:				
Catholics	14	9	77	506
Protestants	17	7	76	626
Origin:				
Natives	17	9	74	952
Expellees, Refugees	15	6	79	241

[redacted]

READERS' REACTIONS PREDOMINANTLY UNFAVORABLE ...

That the majority lack of receptivity toward pamphlets in West Germany which has thus far been documented, runs deeper than mere ignorant stereotype becomes evident from the finding that even among respondents who report having read pamphlets adverse impressions predominate by more than two to one. The objection is again a combination of disinterest and distrust, with the emphasis in the present group on the latter. Unfavorable reactions are less frequent in West Berlin.

"What is your impression of them?" (Asked of respondents who reported having seen and read pamphlets over the past year).

	WEST GERMANY	BERLIN
NEGATIVE:		
One-sided propaganda - lies - empty promises - misrepresentation of facts, etc.:	8%	7%
"Because everything, as I told you before, is much too biased, I think, it's just phony." "It's biased, they are meant to influence people." "Biased and not objective enough." "Unnecessary propaganda." "They are biased, they put things the way they need them for some purpose."		
Not interested - general dislike - didn't make an impression:	3	2
"This is something that doesn't interest me." "I don't care very much for things like that, as I don't believe they improve things." "It's all nonsense, none of them cares for us." "I'm not interested in political pamphlets."		
Other negative impressions:	*	*
"Those are really fanatics who want to help reform the world." "I accept the government pamphlets, if they're issued by political parties I'm rather skeptical." Etc.		
POSITIVE:		
Interesting and instructive - good impression:	4	12
"I found them very interesting." "One should read them even if all of it may not be true." "One can learn therefrom and then they don't cost anything."		
Objective and true:	*	3
"That the description is true to fact." "Wasn't bad at all, in many things they were right." "It's true to fact, you can't, however, apply what's said to all cases." "Everybody is right in what he says." "What they say is true."		
Other positive impressions:	*	*
"You can compare them with each other and then make up your mind on it." Etc.		
No opinion - No answer:	1 17%	1 25%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

III. THE RELATIONS OF PAMPHLET COVERAGE TO OTHER MEDIA

DO PAMPHLETS REACH PEOPLE NOT OTHERWISE EASILY REACHED? ...

Any guidance deductions from the apparent psychological unpalatability of pamphlets to many West Germans best awaits a further consideration - do pamphlets reach people who in appreciable numbers are not being touched by press and radio? If the answer to such a question is yes, the possibility would have to be kept in mind that despite audience negativity to the medium, coverage may be better than no coverage. However, the answer from the tabulated findings below appears to be in the negative. The indication is that both in West Germany and in West Berlin pamphlets secure their readership among people who generally have extensive contact with press and radio output, and often in addition with magazines and movies.

The upshot is then that psychological contraindications to the use of pamphlets would not appear to be counterveiled by considerations deriving from the pattern of pamphlet coverage.

"Have you perhaps, during the past year seen any such booklets, pamphlets or leaflets?"

IF "Yes":

"Did you also read them?"	WEST GERMANY Readers (198)	BERLIN Readers (47)
("Do you listen to the radio?") "Do you listen to the news over the radio? Approximately how often during the week?"		
Several times daily	33%	26%
Daily	45	49
2 - 6 times a week	13	17
Once a week	1	4
Less than once a week	1	-
Don't listen to the news	2	4
Don't listen to the radio	5	-
	100%	100%
("Do you read the newspapers?") "Approximately how often do you read the newspapers during the week?"		
6 times a week	69%	71%
4 - 5 times a week	10	2
2 - 3 times a week	9	19
Once a week	9	4
Less than once a week	1	-
Don't read the newspapers	2	4
	100%	100%
"Do you also read pictorials and periodicals?"		
Yes, periodicals	7%	2%
Yes, pictorials	25	21
Yes, both	48	68
No, neither-nor	20	9
	100%	100%
"Approximately how often do you go to the movies?"		
More than once a month	30%	47%
Approximately once a month	20	28
Less than once a month	19	17
Less than twice a year	31	8
	100%	100%

04283

AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE MARSHALLHAUS EXHIBIT

Report No. 166
Series No. 2

December 23, 1952

R[illegible] OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04284

INTRODUCTION

In conjunction with the Industrial Fair held in West Berlin, Sept. 19 - Oct. 5, 1952, the Mutual Security Administration and the Office of the U.S. High Commission for Germany presented a special exhibit in the Marshallhaus, the American pavilion at the Funkturm exhibition grounds. It took the form of a model house, modern in style and arrangement, and furnished with materials and finished products from all countries in the Atlantic community. The theme of the exhibit was that through mutual cooperation the high standard of living, which the house was designed to symbolize, was not only an ideal to strive for but could become a reality to the people of the Atlantic community.

In order to measure the impact of the theme on exhibition visitors as well as their more specific reactions to the house itself, the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, conducted a survey among visitors to the Fair.

Two samples were employed, the first consisting of 108 visitors interviewed at the exits of the Fair grounds, and the second of 253 Marshallhaus visitors. Interviewing was conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff.

HIGHLIGHTS

... The Marshallhaus exhibit at the Autumn Industrial Fair in West Berlin appears on the whole to have favorably impressed the people who saw it.

... However, indications are that this exhibition drew proportionately fewer Fair visitors (25% of the total)than any of the national pavilions.

... The crowds and consequent unwillingness to stand in line kept most non-patrons away, according to their own statements.

... Reasons such as this for not visiting the Marshallhaus are a clear indication of its drawing power and basic popular appeal. But they also indicate that some solution ought to be found to the problem of how to cope with too many people in a limited space. This is not the first time this problem has arisen in MSA presentations; as may be recalled crowded conditions and the slow progress through the exhibit were the criticisms which RAS researchers most frequently found to be levelled against the "Train of Europe."*

... Since such presentations are presumably designed to attract and get the largest possible audience, the suggestion is warranted that in planning similar exhibits ways and means of either speeding up the flow of traffic through the exhibits, and/or providing some kind of auxilliary show to those standing in line be seriously considered.

* See RAS Report # 98, "Reactions of the Berlin Audience to the Train of Europe."

... As to the Marshallhaus exhibit itself, the basic theme -- a higher standard of living through international cooperation -- was clearly evident to somewhat less than half (44%) of the visitors. Another third manifested some comprehension of the theme, though many of them tended to stress the implications of the exhibit for a higher German standard of living rather than the significance of cooperation. A fairly large fraction (14%) regarded the showing as a demonstration of American accomplishments.

... The basic theme, while more or less clear to the bulk of visitors, was not nearly so markedly evident as that presented of the "Train of Europe" an earlier MSA designed exhibition. In a roughly equivalent sampling of a West Berlin and East German audience, eight in 10 were able to specify the theme presented by the Train in contrast to less than five in 10 in connection with the Marshallhaus.

... Nine in 10 of the Marshallhaus visitors declared that they liked the exhibit; and equally large proportions asserted, when its theme was spelled out to them, that a better life was actually possible of achievement through cooperation.

... The conveniences and general efficiency of the layout were focussed on as the most favorable aspects of the House itself. The kitchen won much applause among specific features.

... The furniture (especially the chairs) and the modern decor in general were the butt of many criticisms. To more than a few this modernism was directly associated with America - and unfavorably more frequently than not.

... From the personal viewpoint, about two thirds stated that their visit to the House had stimulated them and given them greater hope for their future, though only a fifth voiced the belief that they personally would achieve the standard of living symbolized by the House.

... A considerable minority, however, were displeased or disappointed - some because they felt that such a standard of living was out of their reach, and some because of their aversion to the "modernistic" style of the House.

... The feelings of inaccessibility, envy, and in some instances outright dislike of what they say in the "ideal house" dampened these visitors' belief in the main theme of the showing, and thus diminished the impact.

... The existence of these criticisms raises a question of whether it would not have been advisable to embody the international cooperation theme in some framework less permeated with the prejudiced and strongly felt differences of opinion which frequently derive from differences in taste.

RESTRICTED

[redacted]

CROWDS KEPT MANY AWAY FROM MARSHALLHAUS ...

In an effort to gauge comparative attendance of Fair visitors to the Marshallhaus vis-a-vis other national pavilions, a sample of 108 were interviewed at fair grounds exits regarding which of the nine exhibits they had seen. The lowest percentage -- 25 per cent -- of Fair visitors said they had visited the Marshallhaus.@ However, the results suggest that this line of inquiry was more a measure of the capacity than of the attraction of the Marshallhaus.

The very success of the exhibit in attracting interest kept people away. Asked why they did not visit the Marshallhaus, by far the greatest number of people said that it was too crowded, mentioning things like, "one had to line up for too long a time," "there were at least four or five hundred people at the entrance, and waiting takes too much time," " I suffer from weak feet, so I couldn't stand in line so long," and so on. Two-thirds of those who did not get inside the Marshallhaus gave reasons of this kind.

"Why didn't you visit the Marshallhaus?"

Too crowded	65%
Not enough time to visit it	23
Didn't expect anything interesting	7
Didn't know where House was	5
Other reasons	2
No opinion/no answer	2
	104%*

No. of cases = (81)

* Figures add to more than 100% because some people gave more than one reason.

Less than one in ten of those who did not visit the House said that they expected nothing of interest and therefore did not go. Of course, it may be that some of the 23 per cent who said they did not have the time used this as an answer of convenience to cover their real lack of interest. Decidedly negative comments represent an extremely negligible part of the total.

MARSHALLHAUS EXHIBIT ACCORDED MORE FAVORABLE APPRAISAL THAN THE FAIR ITSELF ...

The people who braved the crowds to visit the Marshallhaus were in general favorably impressed, judging by the responses of the sample of 253 visitors who were queried in detail on their impressions of the House as they were leaving it. In fact, more of them expressed approval of it than did so of the Fair as a whole, though opinions of the latter were also largely favorable.

"Is your overall impression of the Industrial Fair generally good or not so good?" (First question asked.)

"What was your overall impression of the exhibition in the Marshallhaus - was it good or not so good?"

	Fair	Marshallhaus
Good	80%	96%
Not so good	16	4
No opinion	4	-
	100%	100%

@ Next lowest in number of visitors was the Canadian pavilion (37%), and the most frequently visited was the British (67%). Sixty-one per cent saw the French exhibit, and 53% were in the Holland and Italy pavilions.

R E S T R I C T E D

LESS THAN HALF GAINED A CLEAR GRASPS OF THE EXHIBIT'S THEME ...

The theme of the Marshallhaus exhibit -- a better life through cooperative effort -- was clearly apparent to more than four in ten of those who saw it. Another one-third seemed to have some grasp of the purpose of the showing. Note that about as many East German visitors were cognizant of its theme as were West Germans.

"What, in your opinion, was being expressed through the exhibition in the Marshallhaus? (And what else?)"

	Total	West German visitors	East German visitors
Clearly comprehend theme	44%	46%	40%
Suggest some comprehension of theme	35	34	39
Attribute irrelevant theme	6	8	3
Gave erroneous theme	14	12	17
Others	1	*	1
	100%	100%	100%
No. of cases =	(253)	(179)	(74)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Here are typical excerpts from their spontaneous comments. One in six persons misunderstood the purpose of the exhibit and believed it to be an espousal of America's living standards and its related achievements:

	All Marshallhaus visitors
COMPREHENSION OF THEME	
<u>Cooperation with the West will raise standard of living:</u>	
They want to show what standard of living the West European nations might reach if they cooperate (European Union); they wanted to demonstrate that work can be carried out more efficiently on an international level - through joint work better living conditions will be achieved for the individual countries; cooperation between the ERP member nations; cooperation between the free nations of Europe and America in order to achieve a higher standard of living for each nation and later on for the East, too; how we expect life to be in a united Europe, how the whole of Europe can attain a better standard of living through a joint effort; that better living conditions can be achieved through cooperation; the way modern men may live if nations work together; that the future could be built more brightly if the nations work together; etc.	44%

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

04288 [redacted]

All Marshall-haus visitors

SOME COMPREHENSION OF THEIR

Proposals on how to increase production and how to raise the German standard of living:

Improvement of the economic situation through less complicated manufacturing processes; the Germans have to work harder if they want to afford all these things, the German worker has to increase his output; the industrial output and the economic situation of America, it's being suggested to the Germans to aspire to the American way of living; that, as the speaker stated, all the good and practical things can be made use of in Germany, too; a better and more comfortable life and how to build it; a better life on a moderate income, that even the unskilled worker gets a chance to lead a better life; to show the middle-class people and the workers that a better life is within reach for them, too; Germany's effort to reach the US standard; the efficiency of individual states how to go about that life gets more comfortable and less of a burden; etc. 10%

To show the different standards of living of East and West:

The sharp difference between the standard of living in the West and that in the Eastern Zone; it is to demonstrate the standard of living of people who live in a free world; to show the difference between the standard of living in the East and the West in the economic as well as in the cultural field, the habits and tastes, and to give an all-round view of the cooperation of NATO member nations; that the Western standard of living allows people to lead a comfortable life; one wants to demonstrate the standard of living of the nations that joined the Atlantic community; that with the money earned in a certain number of hours one can buy an electric iron, it illustrates the living standard of people living in Western countries; that's a political exhibition, they want to demonstrate that the West is superior to the East; that freedom should be secured for all nations of the world, and that cooperation of the people in the States is especially good; they want to make propaganda for the Atlantic Pact Community in order to strengthen the bulwark against Communism; etc. 20

(cont'd on next page)

To compare the industrial output in the various countries:
To inform the visitors on what's going on in individual countries; to display the products of all countries so that everybody can form an opinion on them, and to coordinate developments; the production figures in the Marshall Plan countries; to illustrate what's produced throughout the world, and the way of living in the different countries; etc. 5%

IRRELEVANT THEME

Suggestions regarding modern interior decoration and home economics:
They wanted to show how to furnish a home along modern lines and the arrangement of all kinds of articles; how to live in a modern way, and without heavy expenses for purchases; to show the housewife how to live and work with comfort, how to furnish a home nicely with only a few portable pieces for furniture; the progress made in home economics; that we Germans have to become more modest as to the interior of our homes, we have to live more simply like other nations do; modern housing construction, the even surfaces are more modern, more practical and easier to clean - they look bright and cheerful; etc. 6

ERRONEOUS THEME

Information on American achievements and the American standard of living:
That America has the highest standard of living of all countries; to demonstrate the progress made in the US; they want to show people how the Americans live; the way the Americans work, what they produce, working processes for the individual articles and goods; American production, to show the difference between American and German working methods; life in the States, and that many things may serve as a model for us, especially in the field of sanitation; an all-round view of the national output and the economic capacity of the US; the development of technical sciences in America; the special aspects of American economy should be demonstrated, the individual states of America and their special structure should be shown; to show German women how practically everything is arranged in America; etc. 13

Information on aid granted to Germany:
To demonstrate what foreign nations do for us, that their aid makes a better life possible for the Germans; to demonstrate the help that America granted through the Marshall Plan; that America is the god-sent rescuer of Germany and Europe; etc. 1

Others:
That world trade is indispensable, and that all consumer goods of the Western world are at the disposal of the Americans; they wanted to show us American progress, the motor-cars as they were constructed yesterday and today; etc. 1

100%

No. of cases = (253)

MOST VISITORS AGREE WITH THEME WHEN TOLD WHAT IT IS ...

While many people failed to obtain a clear grasp of theme of the Marshallhaus exhibit, as is indicated by the foregoing comments, almost all of them voiced agreement with the general proposition when it was spelled out. As may be noted below, about nine in ten visitors (from both East and West Germany) declared that it is possible to attain a higher living standard through mutual cooperation.

"Do you believe that the idea - through cooperation of West European countries the living standard of the people involved will be raised - can be realized or not?"

	All Marshallhaus visitors		
	TOTAL	West	East
Can be realized	88%	88%	91%
Cannot be realized	8	8	9
No opinion	4	4	-
	100%	100%	100%
No. of cases =	(253)	(179)	(74)

BUT PERSONAL REACTION TO THE "IDEAL HOUSE" IS MUCH MORE LIMITED ...

Response to slogans aside, the question remains: was the exhibition of itself a graphic presentation of the theme? Here again the indications are by no means entirely favorable. While the preponderance stated that looking at the House stimulated them and increased their hopes for a better future, relatively few, judging by their own comments, came away sanguine of their chances, personally, to achieve the kind of life symbolized by the "ideal house." And a considerable minority far from being buoyed up by the exhibit expressed negative views, either because the standard of living presented seemed so unattainable, or because they actually disliked the modern decor and arrangements of the House.

"And now let's put aside the questions just discussed for a moment. What kind of a feeling did you have when looking at the House and the articles exhibited in the "Marshallhaus?"

- All Marshallhaus visitors

Desire and hope to own the things exhibited:

Much has to be done to achieve such a living standard, but one day we will succeed; I wished it would come true for me, it's my belief that I'll make it; perhaps it will not be too long before all this will come true; that all this we have seen will be realised some day, everywhere, in the West and in the East as well; I hope that we who live in the DDR will have the same living standard one day; I had a very pleasant feeling, I wished that we would have the same conditions as in the U.S.; all this is very fine, we, too, should have it; I would like to have these things myself, as I'm a refugee from Silesia and lost all I had; I really wished I could live in the same way that I've seen here, it's a cheering sight; that one day I could live in this way, I do hope that at some time things will take a turn to the better; I think it's nice that all this has been shown to us, so that we can make an effort to get all this, too; that what's been shown to us (the House) may be realised some day, and that in times to come everybody will be able to buy it; etc. 21%

(cont'd on next page)

All Marshallhaus visitors

General satisfaction about the inspiring, varied exhibition:

Although I had to wait for a long time I had a feeling of satisfaction; I enjoyed it, beautiful shapes and beautiful colors; I was curious and had a pleasant surprise; I was full of enthusiasm that I had the opportunity to see this; attractive, neat and in good taste, the whole atmosphere of the exhibition; a pleasant feeling, this exhibition will be an inspiration to people to work for and to think over the problems of our country; I could imagine that I could come to like the home culture and the way of living demonstrated here; I enjoyed all the nice and modern things; the exhibition is even better than last year's; the basic idea is good, I enjoyed the exhibition; etc. 12%

Satisfaction about the general economic progress:

One is glad to see that things are improving, that in the course of the past three years a turn to the better could be observed all over the world; that the general economic situation is better than back in 1945; that things are really picking up; the feeling that the situation is steadily improving; that the world is progressing and that there are always new developments; etc. 11

Satisfaction about and hope for (further) good cooperation between the Atlantic Pact nations:

It will be a long way to the European Union, everybody thinks that he has to give up too much for it, we all should be as impartial as the Americans are so that we'll all get together; I am glad to see the progress that has been made with regard to the European Union; that each country gave its share to make the exhibition a success, I was glad to see that; if we could get together through the Marshall Plan and have better cooperation by knowing more of each other, that would be very good indeed; that progress in respect to the Western countries' cooperation can be noticed; a feeling of confidence, and this idea occurred to me: when will the exchange of goods produced by the Atlantic Pact countries be so far advanced that we can wholly participate; the cooperation of the Atlantic Pact nations is good as it is, it should remain like this or even improve; etc. 9

Positive attitude towards the Western world:

A feeling of great relief, even on entering the Marshallhaus you know that in the West you're safe; well really, here you live in a free world; I feel that the Western economy is superior; they want to show the high cultural level of the Atlantic Treaty nations; that the industries of the Western countries are steadily progressing; the appreciation they (the Americans) show for things made by others, not only for their own products, that they really are progressive; etc. 6

(cont'd on next page)

All Marshall-
house visitors

Appreciation of the organization and arrangement of the exhibition:
I was impressed that everything was arranged in such a way that you didn't feel overwhelmed; it was pleasant because everything was so nicely explained; I was not disappointed, there were not only statistics and tables but also real things; that such an exhibition gives you a clearer picture than theoretical studies on political economy; I had the feeling that the samples of the individual countries were very cleverly arranged; one's attention is drawn to that what's most essential and it's comprehensible at the first glance; they went to a lot of trouble, didn't mind expenses and devoted much time on arranging the display so clearly; I liked it that in many cases the standard of a skilled worker was applied; etc. 5%

Disappointment about unattainability of exhibited articles:
It's a pity, but I cannot afford anything that's shown; I would like to have such things, I believe, however, that I won't succeed; it makes you sad to know that with us here there is no getting on, no hope that things would change to the better; the feeling: what have we done wrong that we can't buy those things?; that I could never afford to buy the things which are shown here; we can't buy these things anyway; etc. 16

Comparisons between East and West, Germany and America:
That our freedom here in Germany is still very limited as compared to America; people in the Western countries are better off than we are, it makes you envious; that we here in West Berlin, not to mention the East Zone, are still far behind with regard to replacing clothes, furniture and household goods; how good are housing conditions in America and how far behind are we; I had the feeling that here one is in a free world, things like this you won't see at all in the East Zone, you hardly feel alive there; etc. 6

Rejecting propaganda:
They take a lot of trouble to talk us into something that's rather doubtful; it's a bit too much propaganda stuff; they carry on propaganda to demonstrate the contrast to the East; etc. 2

Criticism of the display and of the arrangement of the fair:
I wouldn't want to live in such a house, I would rather have three big rooms than six or seven small ones; I don't want to live in the house shown here, it's much too small and too primitive, I should feel as if I were in prison; all this seems so strange and in such glaring colors, like posters, I don't want things this way, I want them to harmonize; hasn't left much impression on me, is too cold and too sober; all is topsy-turvy, the people who arranged this didn't know much about their job, furniture on this side and cars on the other, such a sharp contrast; etc. 10

Others:
It's reassuring that not only cannons are produced but also things for a peaceful life; etc. 4

No opinion/No answer: 2

104%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

ARRANGEMENT AND DESIGN OF THE HOME'S INTERIOR DREW MOST OBJECTIONS AND ALSO MOST OF FAVORABLE COMMENTS...

Whatever the visitor thought of the furniture design, interior decoration, room and space arrangement -- these were the focus of their comments; either the home was designed and furnished so much to their liking or to their extreme distaste that these factors drew more comment than any other. The "practical" design of interior equipment (especially of the modern kitchen) and of furnishings, generally, was often applauded for making living more convenient. The furniture and room arrangement were also derided because they appeared to lack comfort or to offend the aesthetic preference of many visitors.

"Generally speaking, what did you like best in the Marshallhaus?"

	All Marshallhaus visitors
<u>The modern, convenient arrangement of the house:</u> The house, the practical way rooms are arranged in a small housing unit; such a modern flat - I would love to have it; that handy modern furniture; the house, it's a way to solve the most urgent of all problems that affects everybody, the housing problem, which has to be settled in some way or other; the house; the American way to furnish a house because everything is so handy; the furnishing is very practical; the glass house and its furnishing; the house - amazingly simple but equipped in a most modern way; etc.	44%
<u>The well fitted kitchen:</u> The fine kitchen where all the things are handy; the American style kitchen, though it isn't large it's practical and everything is easy to reach; the kitchenette because its equipment is most practical and of a high technical standard; the arrangement of the kitchen, the practical range and the washing up table beside it, that the US shows what consumer goods it made up to now; etc.	22
<u>Other specific rooms:</u> The work-shop where a washing machine, a drying machine and tools and machinery are installed, that saves time and space; the bathroom, the nursery and the wash house; the bathroom; the nursery; etc.	13
<u>Household equipment and pieces of furniture:</u> The practical things for the housewife; the practical electrical household appliances as electrical range, refrigerator, washing machines; the easy chairs and the upholstery, I'd have loved to sit down on one, the good quality of the material, the shape of the garden tables; this modern kitchen range; a blackboard in the nursery should be introduced here, too; etc.	12

(cont'd on next page)

[redacted]

All Marshall-haus visitors

Arrangement and organisation of the exhibition:
The generous and clear way to show things, so that even the man in the street can understand them; that the exhibition is divided up into several parts, that gives people an accurate idea of the whole thing; the clever arrangement of the exhibited articles, the furniture, the equipment of the motor-cars, etc., the supplementary statistics; etc. 7%

I was pleased with everything:
I don't know - I liked everything; etc. 2

Others:
The beautiful girl guides; a slogan at the entrance: "This man is a worker and a consumer at the same time": time-saving processes in the household; using mechanical power in order to facilitate the work of the housewife; the nice girls one finds all over the place: etc. 4

I didn't like anything:
Nothing at all; I didn't look at it very carefully; etc. 1

105%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer, and therefore the figures add to more than 100%.

""And what didn't you like so much?" (In the Marshallhaus)

The furnishing is too sober, simple, unpractical, uncomfortable:
The bedroom looked so cold to me; the nursery was a bit primitive; the matter-of-fact character of the house doesn't appeal to German mentality; the furniture is too sober, and the style too pronouncedly American; the furniture is too sober in my opinion; the flat looks too cold and bare, the children have to play on the floor all the time; the furniture is practical but it looks rather bare; the shape of some of the furniture doesn't suit German taste; the garden furniture seems to me exaggeratedly practical at the cost of pleasing lines; the bedroom is too primitive, and it seems one can use the nursery only at the hazard of one's life; etc. 33%

The modern chairs are disliked:
We Europeans are not used to this kind of soft easy chairs; I didn't like the chairs made all of a piece; the shape of the chairs, one looked like a washing basin, another (a black one) like a chair doctors use in check-ups; the different types of chairs don't appeal to me; the chairs are not comfortable; the modern stainless steel chairs, one fears to fall through when sitting down; the clumsy shape of chairs and the like; the primitive garden chairs made of plastics; etc. 11

(cont'd on next page)

All Marshall-haus visitors

Bad organisation:
That one had to queue for such a long time; that I had to wait half an hour before I could get in; the policemen in the front were a bit rude; the queuing before one gets in, because I can't spare much time for it; the noisy loud-speakers; etc. 45

Too many statistics:
Too much statistical material, the pavilion where a few motor-cars are shown, is full of posters with statistics; part of the statistical material, not all the tables are interesting; these illustrations, I'm not very interested in them; etc. 4

Propaganda:
The posters about peace, etc., the propaganda slogans; the awkward propaganda, one should point to the fact that it concerns all NATO members nations, not America alone; a critical observer isn't impressed by slogans as "We are the most independent," one always says that those who make propaganda do need it; the Atlantic Pact organisation is presented in too favorable a light; the slogan at the entrance "We have the highest living standard of all nations" sounds so conceited; etc. 4

No interest in certain articles:
I have little interest in industrial things and machines because they are not in my line; the home, as a man I'm not interested in things like that; the furnishings in the house, they are not so interesting for me; the woven materials, that's something for women; etc. 3

Others:
The garden tools; the woven materials; the heated blanket, that's too much; that the ideal married couple don't do anything but sit down and smoke; etc. 6

No criticism, everything was liked:
I don't know, as everything pleased me; I liked everything; everything was all right; everything was nice and cleverly arranged; there wasn't anything that I didn't like; everything is very interesting; I was interested in everything, and everything pleased me; everything is nice what they show here; I didn't discover anything bad yet, nothing is obtrusive, everything is presented in an objective manner; etc. 37

No opinion/No answer: 2

1046

04296

A YEAR END SURVEY OF RIGHTIST AND NATIONALIST SENTIMENTS IN WEST GERMANY

DEC 15 1952
FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY
GBL No. 167

G. A. Almond
Personal Copy

04297

RESTRICTED

A YEAR END SURVEY OF RIGHTIST AND NATIONALIST SENTIMENTS IN WEST GERMANY

I. The Current Status of Neo-Nazism

II. Present Thinking on Jewish Restitution

III. Some Sidelights on Nationalism

Report No. 167
Series No. 2
January 12, 1953

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

DEC 15 1953

Report is for professional informational purposes only. No material from, or reference to, these EV studies are to be published or disseminated w o prior w itten permis on from the Chief of the Evaluation Staff. Reports should not be shown to others except with the same understanding.

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

Office of Public Affairs
Reactions Analysis Staff

INTRODUCTION

Year end assessments of West German progress have tended to preoccupy themselves with impressive economic gains, with the intimation more often than not that there have been similar improvements in West German political orientations. Such a conclusion, of course, does not necessarily follow, and it is the purpose of the present study to ascertain whether in fact with the improving economic situation there is evidence of decrease among the German rank and file of Nazi and nationalist modes of thinking.

The findings herein reported derive from a 1,200 case representative probability sampling of West Germany gathered between the 1st and 10th of December 1952. Trend figures emanate from earlier surveys. Interviewing was conducted in all instances under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff.

SUMMARY EXCERPTS

I. THE CURRENT STATUS OF NEO-NAZISM

General Orientation Toward National Socialism

... Surveys over the past year have only served to add additional verification to the fact that only a minority of the West German people take the view that, everything considered, there was more evil than good in National Socialism. On the contrary, the viewpoint continues to preponderate that there was more good than evil in National Socialist ideas.

... In an earlier report the position was taken it was both psychologically and logically unreasonable to expect the German people to agree everything was evil about National Socialism. But it is not too much to expect of anyone who would give evidence of anti-Nazi orientation to state there was more evil than good in Nazi ideas. The conclusion therefore cannot be escaped from the evidence at hand, that the general orientation toward National Socialist ideas among the West German people today is definitely more favorable than unfavorable.

... There is evidence of a gain in pro-Nazi orientation among youth (18 - 24) over the past year, to the point where they now almost equal the high point among youth of the Hitler era (25 - 34 years of age). The same period has also witnessed a distinct rise in pro-Nazi orientations among adherents of the Free Democratic Party (FDP).

Reactions to a Possible Nazi Restoration

... The results to a more concrete and more action related index of Neo-Nazism only add to the picture of a widespread German vulnerability to a recrudescence of Nazi political ideas. Indicated in the combined returns from two year-end surveys is that whatever the economic and social gains West Germans have made during 1952 under their present political system, they evidence no appreciably greater indication than before to actively oppose any possible Nazi restoration.

... Specifically in the latest survey only 24 per cent of the West German population react to the prospect of the restoration of an NSDAP-like party to power in West Germany with the answer, "I would do everything I could to prevent it." Another 26 per cent check the answer, "I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it." Twenty-five per cent check, "I would not care," nine per cent check, "I would like to see it happen, but would not do anything for it." Four per cent state, "I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it." And finally 12 per cent express "No opinion" in the matter.

... Whatever amount of "Neo-Nazism" such figures may be taken to indicate, the fact remains clear that by their own admission the large majority of the German people cannot be counted on to resist the efforts of any Nazi-type group to return to power.

... Among particular population groupings the most significant trend on the present question over the past year has been a marked shift in attitude among FDP adherents. In the latest survey the proportion who admit to positive approval of a Nazi restoration has risen to no less than one in four. It is evident that the recent shift to the right in leadership strikes a responsive chord among the rank and file adherents.

... Comparative returns on West German reactions to the possibility of a Communist as versus a Nazi-type movement attempting to come to power in West Germany, leave no doubt that in terms of German susceptibility, Neo-Nazism is a far greater problem than Communism.

Further Intimations of Rightist Receptivity

... Any new Nazi movement seeking to come to power in West Germany would not be likely to express itself as favoring anything so bald as totalitarianism, but rather something like "a single strong national party which really represents the interests of all of our people." It adds not a little to the evidence of rightist receptivity in West Germany to find that such a theme carries wide appeal.

... Youth particularly seem to be carried away by the appeal of a "single strong national party." They far overshadow even youth of the Nazi era in their more than two to one excess of support over opposition.

... That the rehabilitation of the status not only of Nazism, but of Nazis, has gone far in West Germany to date is indicated by majority espousal of unrestricted opportunities, in political as well as business, for former members of the Nazi party.

... When questioned specifically about Nazi bigwigs, disapproval rises to a preponderance, but still does not embrace a majority of the West German population.

... The growing partiality for Nazism that was earlier documented for the FDP is strikingly evident on the present question with an almost four to one acceptance of former Nazis. In respect to former Nazi bigwigs the FDP adherents stand out as the only population grouping among those examined to reliably manifest more acceptance than rejection.

... It is also not without significance that it is youth again which is in the van of Nazi susceptibility, in this instance with the least rejection, among age groupings, of both Nazis in general and high Nazi functionaries.

Reaction to Ranke and Remer Theses

... On October 26, 1952 at a meeting of former members of the SS, General Ranke, a former German paratroop officer, created a sensation by stating that the list of German war criminals was an honor roll, and that the Allies were the real war criminals of the last war with their bombing of women and children. That such a statement strikes a responsive chord among large elements of the West German population would seem to be indicated by the finding of 31 per cent reacting to it as right and an additional 25 per cent as partly right. Only 25 per cent took an unqualified position that Ranke was wrong.

... In view of earlier group trends it is significant that the largest preponderance of right over wrong - in characterising Ranke's thesis - is to be found among youth, Hitler Youth, and FDP adherents.

... General Remer's bid for rightist support - in the days of the SRP - with the thesis that the July 20th plotters on Hitler's life were traitors, proves to be considerably less popular than Ranke's gambit. The indication from the present findings is that the majority of the West German people do not feel that the July 20th plotters are to be regarded as traitors.

A Note on Neo-Nazism and Economic Circumstances

... Indications are at hand which make it dangerous to bask in the assumption that there is no danger of a Nazi revival as long as the economic situation is good. For one thing, though 1952 has been a year of increasing economic satisfaction, the evidence is that Neo-Nazism has not waned. Secondly, cross tabulations reveal that Neo-Nazism evidences in the latest findings no material relationship to respondents' expressions of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the development of their economic circumstances.

II. PRESENT THINKING ON JEWISH RESTITUTION

Do Germans Feel a General Responsibility For Redressing Wrongs Done to Jews?

... It was the conclusion from an earlier study that despite two out of three professing approval of Jewish restitution, the majority of the West German people appear to have the kind of adverse attitudes toward the Jews which either make them outright opponents of restitution, or if verbally approving, highly doubtful supporters of any measures that might be taken to actually implement such aid. That this earlier judgment was in no way overdrawn became evident at the very outset of the present study in the candid expression of opinion on the part of the majority of the West Germans sampled that Germans in general need neither feel guilty for what was done to the Jews during the Third Reich nor feel responsible for righting these wrongs.

Do Germans Approve the Israel Agreement?

... In the light of the majority disavowal of any general German responsibility for redressing injustices to Jews, it perhaps comes as no surprise that the West German reaction to the Bonn-Israel agreement is a two to one recommendation that the Bundestag reject it. Pro and con opinions divide in West Berlin.

... The reasons brought forward to justify opposition to the Bonn-Israel accord embrace numerous lines of argument, ranging from claims that the restitution is excessive, down to the remarkable thesis that the issue is a closed one since both those who were really guilty and those who really suffered losses are dead.

... Most of the minority recommending Bundestag acceptance of the Bonn-Israel accord argue that this restitution is a moral and legal obligation.

Does German Support For the Israel Agreement Stand Up Against Arab Opposition?

... When the Israel accord is put under some counter pressure it is observed that fully half of the one in four support earlier expressed for the agreement is of the fair weather variety. When apprised of the fact that the Arab League had threatened to break off trade relations with Germany should the Israel agreement be ratified, only one in ten in West Germany (12%) take the position that the restitution agreement with Israel is the more important consideration.

... The few (12%) who judge the Israel accord to be more important than Arab trade voice comments which suggest that as many are moved by fear of Jewish retaliation or sacrifice of international good will, as are impelled by moral considerations. Also made evident by the present replies is that the 22 per cent who earlier supported the Israel agreement as a moral obligation largely melt away under the threat of economic disadvantage, to the point where only 6 per cent adhere to their original thesis.

Opposition to Restitution Vis-a-Vis Neo-Nazism and Economic Circumstances

... Clearly revealed in the pattern of returns is that opposition to Jewish restitution is to a significant extent bound up with pro-Nazi attitudes.

... Also disclosed by cross analysis is that despite the frequent reference to economic stringencies in justifying rejection of the restitution accord, there is no indication of an appreciably greater economic squeeze on respondents who oppose the Israel agreement than among those who approve.

Present Extent of Anti-Jewish Sentiments

... The considerable tie-up of anti-restitution opinions with pro-Nazism carries a strong suggestion, of course, that behind anti-restitution lies anti-Semitism. But more conclusive, though essentially incomplete, evidence of a large reservoir of anti-Jewish sentiments among West Germans emanates from respondents' own comments. The incompleteness of these indications lies in the fact that the net catches only those willing to expose adverse orientations toward the Jews. Since anti-Semitism is publicly frowned upon in West Germany today - whatever may be the case in private - one must assume the existence of many who are unwilling to reveal their feelings to an unknown interviewer.

... In the light of such a deflationary factor it is a matter of no little significance that on a generalized open inquiry clearly antagonistic replies were received from almost four in ten of the West Germans sampled, and probably antagonistic replies from an additional fraction more.

04302

... All in all, if such returns can be obtained via the relatively crude and open method of public opinion surveying, it would appear distinctly unsafe to conclude that anti-Jewish orientations characterize less than a majority of the West German population. It will remain for further research to bring more evidence to bear on this point. How this situation may compare with that obtaining in other countries is a question beyond the scope of this study.

III. SOME SIDELIGHTS ON NATIONALISM

... Using the term nationalism in the sense of the opposite of internationalism, the results of the present study suggest that over the past year and a half there has been a significant rise in nationalism among the West German public. On a question cast in a realistic setting, attitudes have shifted from preponderantly internationalist in mid 1951 to preponderantly nationalist in late 1952.

... Though nationalist attitudes are not lacking among others as well, they manifest most frequent expression, in the present connection, among individuals of Neo-Nazi bent.

... The rise in nationalism becomes all the more significant when it is observed where in the population it most distinctively occurs. Again it is the youth and the FDP, who figured so prominently in Neo-Nazi trends, who are at the fore.

... On the second test of nationalism versus internationalist orientations - this time in the context of the military - the trend has not been considerable, but it has all been in the direction of strengthening an earlier indication that a German national army definitely outweighs in popular appeal the internationalist conception of the European Defense Community. Currently nationalist preferences lead by a margin of two to one.

... Part of the idea of European integration is doing away with the nationalist seeking after top dog position that has so long disturbed the peace of Europe. It comes as an additional suggestion of nationalist strains in current German thinking that despite the consequences attaching to earlier expression of the same orientation, a majority still state that they would like to see West Germany the "strongest country" in Western Europe, and a preponderance hold that in fact West Germany is entitled to play the leading role in the Europe of the future.

... Liking for the idea of West Germany once again the strongest country in West Europe outweighs dissenting inclinations among all population groups. On the more interesting question of whether Germans deserve to play the leading role or not, it is notable that German youth are in the van of nationalistically oriented opinion.

04303

I. THE CURRENT STATUS OF NEO-NAZISM

Initially considered in the present report is the present distribution and characteristics of Nazi-type proclivities in the West German population, or what has been termed "Neo-Nazism."

04304

I. GENERAL ORIENTATION TO AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM

FAVORABLE ORIENTATIONS PREDOMINATE IN WEST GERMANY ...

Surveys over the past year have only served to add additional verification to the fact that only a minority of the West German people take the view that, everything considered, there was more evil than good in National Socialism. On the contrary, the viewpoint continues to preponderate that there was more good than evil in the ideas of National Socialism.

"When you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?"

	May 51	Aug 51	Sep 51	Oct 51	Oct/Nov 51	Aug 52	Oct 52	Dec 52
WEST GERMANY	(799)*	(789)	(796)	(1201)	(1193)	(1195)	(1582)	(1196)
More good	34%	37%	46%	45%	42%	40%	43%	44%
More evil	40	36	35	32	37	37	35	39
No opinion	26	27	19	23	21	23	22	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
BRITISH ZONE	(414)	(413)	(411)	(622)	(617)	(622)	(815)	(622)
More good	33%	39%	51%	47%	44%	37%	43%	45%
More evil	40	30	30	28	32	39	34	40
No opinion	27	31	19	25	24	24	23	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
US ZONE	(291)	(291)	(291)	(456)	(452)	(435)	(478)	(433)
More good	38%	35%	42%	43%	41%	42%	45%	46%
More evil	38	44	40	34	42	34	35	39
No opinion	24	21	18	23	17	24	20	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
FRENCH ZONE	(94)	(94)	(94)	(123)	(124)	(138)	(189)	(141)
More good	29%	36%	38%	40%	32%	47%	38%	37%
More evil	46	41	45	46	46	36	36	38
No opinion	25	23	17	14	22	17	26	25
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In an earlier report* the position was taken that it was both psychologically and logically unreasonable to expect the German people to agree that everything was evil about National Socialism. But it is not too much to expect of anyone who would give evidence of anti-Nazi orientation to state that there was more evil than good in Nazi ideas. The conclusion therefore cannot be escaped from the evidence at hand, that the general orientation toward National Socialist ideas among the West German people today is definitely more favorable than unfavorable.**

* See report No. 118, dated January 10, 1952, "The Present Status of 'Neo-Nazism' In West Germany."

** The point should not be missed in this connection that the "No opinion" answers to the present inquiry can only be safely interpreted as more favorable than neutral to Nazism in view of the opportunities Germans have had to learn about Nazi evils.

04305

SOME REGIONAL TRENDS ...

Readers will perhaps have noted in the preceding table indication of an apparent rise in unfavorable orientations toward National Socialism in the British Zone over the past year. Though the sample size ordinarily employed in BAS surveys is not designed for detailed geographical comparisons, it is worth pressing this indication one step further.

BRITISH ZONE	North/Rhine Westphalia				Lower Saxony & Schleswig Holstein			
	Oct/Nov 51 (326)	Aug 52 (329)	Oct 52 (384)	Dec 52 (325)	Oct/Nov 51 (237)	Aug 52 (239)	Oct 52 (378)	Dec 52 (257)
More good	43%	37%	44%	43%	50%	36%	44%	43%
More evil	34	42	35	39	24	39	32	42
No opinion	23	21	21	18	26	25	24	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

US ZONE*	Bavaria				Hesse			
	Oct/Nov 51 (233)	Aug 52 (229)	Oct 52 (313)	Dec 52 (235)	Oct/Nov 51 (122)	Aug 52 (107)	Oct 52 (177)	Dec 52 (132)
More good	46%	48%	46%	49%	40%	41%	38%	40%
More evil	39	31	34	36	41	37	37	39
No opinion	15	21	20	15	19	22	25	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The significant disclosure emerges from the British Laender comparisons, that in the areas most distinctly associated with the rise and fall of the Socialist Reichs Party - Lower Saxony and Schleswig Holstein - National Socialist sentiments have lost considerable ground. It would seem to be indicated therefore that the failure of the SRP to make a go of their plans has reacted unfavorably on potential supporters. There is also the suggestion that the strong measures the Bonn government took to suppress the SRP were effective in reducing the Neo-Nazi threat, rather than incitive of any martyrdom-inspired gains. If this is the case, of course, the point should not be lost sight of in considering ways and means of dealing with any future rightist threats.

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

Among the more significant disclosures from population group comparisons (see succeeding pages) are the following:

1. The viewpoint that everything considered there was more good than evil in the ideas of National Socialism continues to be no less frequent, if not more, among opinion leading population elements than among their counterpart groupings.
2. Despite some fluctuation, there is evidence of a gain in pro-Nazi orientation among youth (18 - 24) over the past year, to the point where they now almost equal the high point among youth of the Hitler era (25 - 34).
3. The past year has witnessed a distinct rise in pro-Nazi orientations among respondents of FDP political persuasion. More will be said about this later.

* Separate tabulations for Baden/Wuerttemberg in the US Zone, and for the French Zone Laender are omitted because of too few cases for statistically reliable indications.

04306

"When you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?"

	More good								More evil								Don't know								No.of cases
	May 51	Aug 51	Sep 51	Oct 51	Oct Nov 51	Aug 52	Oct 52	Dec 52	May 51	Aug 51	Sep 51	Oct 51	Oct Nov 51	Aug 52	Oct 52	Dec 52	May 51	Aug 51	Sep 51	Oct 51	Oct Nov 51	Aug 52	Oct 52	Dec 52	
Sex:																									
Men	36%	43%	50%	52%	46%	46%	47%	46%	46%	37%	37%	33%	38%	39%	40%	42%	18%	20%	13%	15%	16%	15%	13%	12%	618
Women	32	33	42	40	38	35	40	42	35	35	34	32	36	39	36	36	33	32	24	28	26	26	24	22	578
Education:																									
Elementary school	34	36	45	43	40	39	41	42	39	36	35	33	37	38	39	40	27	28	20	24	23	23	20	18	968
Beyond elementary	35	43	55	52	48	46	52	53	44	35	35	29	37	41	34	38	21	22	10	19	15	13	14	9	226
Income:																									
0 - 299 DM	35	37	43	54	40	39	40	42	39	35	37	21	37	39	38	40	26	28	20	25	23	22	22	18	630
300 - 399 DM	38	43	56	52	46	41	51	47	40	36	28	32	39	39	34	36	22	21	16	16	15	20	15	17	289
400 DM and more	23	33	49	49	44	42	46	47	51	41	37	28	38	46	41	42	26	26	14	23	18	12	13	11	243
Age:*																									
18 - 24 years	-	-	-	-	36	48	38	49	-	-	-	-	32	27	30	29	-	-	-	-	32	25	32	22	149
25 - 34 years	-	-	-	-	56	47	52	52	-	-	-	-	24	33	34	32	-	-	-	-	20	20	14	16	254
35 - 44 years	-	-	-	-	45	44	49	45	-	-	-	-	36	37	32	38	-	-	-	-	19	19	19	17	254
45 - 54 years	-	-	-	-	42	36	43	39	-	-	-	-	39	47	41	44	-	-	-	-	19	17	16	17	265
55 years and over	-	-	-	-	29	29	33	38	-	-	-	-	50	46	49	49	-	-	-	-	21	25	18	13	271

* In earlier surveys age comparisons were made on a less refined basis and hence are here omitted.

04307

"When you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?"

	More good								More evil								Don't know								No. of cases
	May 51	Aug 51	Sep 51	Oct 51	Oct Nov 51	Aug 52	Oct 52	Dec 52	May 51	Aug 51	Sep 51	Oct 51	Oct Nov 51	Aug 52	Oct 52	Dec 52	May 51	Aug 51	Sep 51	Oct 51	Oct Nov 51	Aug 52	Oct 52	Dec 52	
Party Preference:																									
SPD	36%	40%	49%	42%	42%	47%	46%	48%	46%	44%	43%	43%	44%	43%	43%	40%	18%	16%	8%	15%	14%	10%	11%	12%	292
CDU/CSU	23	29	36	42	34	32	37	37	55	48	48	43	53	52	49	52	22	23	16	15	13	16	14	11	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	42	46	58	54	49	54	63	59	46	46	28	28	41	34	30	35	12	8	14	18	10	12	7	6	118
Other parties	51	57	60	53	60	43	44	43	31	34	33	31	31	38	48	40	18	9	7	16	9	19	8	17	102
Don't know	23	23	34	32	35	35	31	41	31	29	26	24	27	32	30	31	46	48	40	44	38	33	39	28	323
Occupation:																									
Professionals	35	29	54	43	47	38	37	48	48	34	31	25	40	47	47	45	17	37	15	22	13	15	16	7	56
Businessmen	28	46	50	52	46	42	52	44	38	31	28	28	33	37	31	41	34	23	22	20	21	21	17	15	127
White-collar workers	28	35	49	48	47	42	46	49	47	46	33	31	36	43	37	32	25	19	18	21	17	15	17	19	130
Skilled laborers	36	41	52	47	46	45	45	46	45	35	33	32	33	35	39	39	19	24	15	21	21	20	16	15	236
Semi-skilled laborers	42	42	51	51	44	43	47	45	37	34	32	26	35	35	35	38	21	24	17	23	21	22	18	17	175
Farmers	28	42	36	35	33	32	42	44	38	33	38	35	40	39	33	40	34	25	26	30	27	29	25	16	138
Housewives	34	28	50	59	26	33	46	38	26	26	33	23	48	31	32	25	40	46	17	18	26	36	22	37	32
Unemployed	27	52	44	42	55	48	50	57	43	21	41	44	30	39	33	39	30	27	15	14	15	13	17	4	44
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	30	24	36	35	34	33	32	36	38	46	49	39	45	46	43	43	32	30	15	26	21	21	25	21	214
Religion:																									
Catholics	31	31	44	40	38	37	38	40	44	41	37	38	43	42	43	44	25	28	19	22	19	21	19	16	539
Protestants	37	43	47	48	45	42	48	48	35	32	33	27	32	35	33	35	28	25	20	25	23	23	19	17	594
Origin:																									
Natives	33	35	46	45	41	39	42	43	41	39	35	33	39	40	39	41	26	26	19	22	20	21	19	16	958
Expellees, Refugees	37	47	48	45	44	46	48	49	36	23	32	27	31	31	33	33	27	30	20	28	25	23	19	18	238

04308

II. REACTIONS TO A POSSIBLE NAZI RESTORATION

WIDESPREAD VULNERABILITY EVIDENCED ...

The results to a more concrete and more action-related index of Neo-Nazism only add to the picture of a widespread German vulnerability to a recrudescence of Nazi political ideas. Indicated on the combined returns from two year - end surveys is that whatever the economic and social gains West Germans have made during 1952 under their present political system, they evidence no appreciably greater indication than before to actively oppose any possible Nazi restoration. Specifically in the latest surveys only 24 per cent of the West German population react to the prospect of the restoration of an NSDAP-like party to power in West Germany with the answer, "I would do everything I could to prevent it." Another 26 per cent check the answer, "I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it." Twenty-five per cent check, "I would not care," nine per cent check, "I would like to see that happen, but would not do anything for it." Four per cent state, "I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it." And finally 12 per cent express "No opinion" in the matter.

Whatever amount of "Neo-Nazism" such figures may be taken to indicate, the fact remains clear that by their own admission the large majority of the German people cannot be counted on to resist the efforts of any Nazi-type group to return to power.

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?" (Card with alternatives).

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone	
	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52
	(1193)	(2389)	(617)	(1243)	(452)	(865)	(124)	(281)
I would do everything I could to prevent it	20%	24%	18%	27%	22%	20%	24%	28%
I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it	30	26	31	26	30	27	28	22
I would not care	23	25	21	22	24	29	29	28
I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it	10	9	11	9	10	11	6	7
I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it	3	4	4	4	2	4	5	2
No opinion	14	12	15	12	12	9	8	13
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

N=

REGIONAL TREND ...

The indication on the earlier question that there has been a weakening of Nazi sentiment in Lower Saxony and Schleswig Holstein over the past year also evidences itself in the present inquiry, it will be observed below. And in the US Zone there is some suggestion that Bavaria is deserving of attention as a possible focus of a developing Neo-Nazi trend.

BRITISH ZONE	North/Rhine Westphalia		Lower Saxony and Schleswig Holstein	
	Oct/ Nov 51 (326)	Nov & Dec 52 (631)	Oct/ Nov 51 (237)	Nov & Dec 52 (572)
I would do everything I could to prevent it	21%	28%	13%	25%
I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it	33	24	26	28
I would not care	22	26	21	17
I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it	10	8	11	10
I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it	2	4	7	3
No opinion	12	10	22	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%

US ZONE	Bavaria		Hesse		Wuerttemberg Baden*	
	Oct/ Nov 51 (233)	Nov & Dec 52 (469)	Oct/ Nov 51 (122)	Nov & Dec 52 (264)	Oct/ Nov 51 (97)	Nov & Dec 52 (132)
I would do everything I could to prevent it	20%	17%	18%	24%	30%	21%
I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it	29	29	38	24	25	31
I would not care	25	28	23	28	26	30
I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it	11	12	10	11	7	6
I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it	2	5	1	2	5	5
No opinion	13	9	10	11	7	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Wuerttemburg/Baden figures are included on the present question because with the combining of the last two surveys the number of cases becomes large enough to offer reasonably reliable results.

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

1. Among particular population groups (see tabulations following) probably the most significant trend over the past year is a marked shift in attitude among FDP adherents. In the December survey the proportion who admit to positive approval of a Nazi restoration has risen to no less than one in four.* It is evident that the recent shift to the right in leadership strikes a responsible chord among the rank and file. It need hardly be emphasized that such a mushrooming Neo-Nazi trend in a party as important as the FDP calls for the most serious consideration.

2. The better educated and economically more fortunate appear to be somewhat less favorable to a Nazi restoration than their counterparts,** but the trend over the past year has been largely in the direction of less repudiation of Nazism among opinion leading elements.

3. Over the past year Hitler Youth (25 - 34) maintain their position as the age level most partial to Nazism. Present day youth (18 - 24) show a slight (and possibly inconclusive) polarising trend on the present question, i.e. a possible increase in the proportion voicing resistance to Nazism, but on the other hand close to Hitler Youth on the categories of indifference to Nazi restoration plus approval.

4. Among occupation groups there is a suggestion of a net drop in repudiation of Nazism among professional and white-collar elements.

* This figure is not shown in the table as there November and December returns have been combined.

** This deviates somewhat from the pattern of results on the earlier more good versus evil inquiry and indicates that the two indices are not measuring entirely the same dimensions of Neo-Nazi sentiment.

04311

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"

	I would do everything I could to prevent it		I would not like it, but I would not do anything against it		I would not care		I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it		I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it		No opinion		No. of cases*
	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	
Sex:													
Men	28%	31%	32%	27%	19%	19%	10%	10%	4%	4%	7%	9%	1188
Women	13	18	29	25	27	31	10	9	2	2	19	15	1201
Education:													
Elementary school	18	23	29	26	26	27	9	9	4	3	14	12	1904
Beyond elementary	30	32	36	29	11	16	13	10	3	5	7	8	485
Income:													
0 - 299 DM	17	20	28	26	26	27	10	9	3	4	16	14	1299
300 - 399 DM	26	21	31	26	18	28	14	10	4	3	7	12	565
400 DM and more	27	28	38	29	17	22	7	10	4	3	7	8	
Age:													
18 - 24 years	16	25	30	22	28	28	11	11	4	3	11	11	288
25 - 34 years	15	20	30	26	25	26	16	12	4	5	10	11	501
35 - 44 years	20	22	31	29	22	25	10	9	5	3	12	12	508
45 - 54 years	25	27	29	25	22	23	9	9	3	3	12	13	517
55 years and over	22	28	32	27	22	24	5	6	2	2	17	13	559
Party Preference:**													
SPD	26	32	36	25	18	24	12	11	3	4	5	4	571
CDU/CSU	29	34	34	30	18	21	7	7	3	2	9	6	518
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	29	25	48	29	6	21	14	14	3	6	-	5	212
Other parties	20	28	34	30	20	14	15	6	5	7	6	15	169
No party	15	16	26	25	30	31	10	11	5	4	14	13	570
Don't know	8	12	20	21	32	32	8	7	3	2	29	26	539

* Since the numbers shown are a combination of two surveys the case numbers for the 1951 survey are approximately half in each instance.

** There has been some variation in wording in the party preference question over the surveys cited, but the figures are still broadly speaking, comparable.

0431

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"

	I would do everything I could to prevent it		I would not like it, but I would not do anything against it		I would not care		I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it		I would welcome it and do everything I could to support it		No opinion		No. of cases
	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	Oct/ Nov 52	Nov & Dec 52	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	Oct/ Nov 51	Nov & Dec 52	
Occupation:													
Professionals	30%	36%	47%	24%	13%	21%	4%	8%	2%	1%	4%	10%	114
Businessmen	18	29	35	25	21	26	12	8	5	3	9	9	254
White-collar workers	25	25	33	26	14	22	17	12	2	3	9	12	307
Skilled laborers	23	27	26	25	22	26	12	19	5	4	12	9	486
Semi-skilled laborers	16	20	31	26	31	26	9	9	5	4	8	15	308
Farmers	17	18	30	27	29	27	4	10	2	3	16	15	276
Housewives	17	15	20	18	23	47	6	8	6	-	28	12	57
Unemployed	24	23	24	35	24	22	15	11	2	2	11	7	77
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	18	24	28	25	24	23	9	8	1	4	20	16	438
Religion:													
Catholics	22	27	32	25	25	24	8	9	2	4	11	11	1045
Protestants	18	21	29	28	22	26	12	10	5	3	14	12	1220
Origin:													
Natives	20	25	31	25	24	26	10	9	3	3	12	12	1910
Expellees, Refugees	20	24	28	31	22	22	11	8	3	5	16	10	479

REPLY TO A CRITICISM ...

The widespread lack of resistance to Nazism turned up on the present question has been challenged on the grounds that the framework of inquiry is such that respondents envision themselves as unarmed in opposition to armed oppression and hence the results reflect fear of such oppression rather than any lack of distaste for Nazism. Such an allegation fails to bear up under analysis.

First of all even if fear of armed oppression were involved there would be nothing preventing any anti-Nazi respondents from checking the answer, "I would not like to see it (Nazi restoration) happen, but I would not do anything against it" - and it will be remembered fully 50 per cent among West Germans showed no inclination to register even this very circumspect opposition to Nazism.

But the really striking refutation of the criticism emanates from a comparative inquiry into reactions to Communism. If the contention is correct that it is fear of unarmed opposition to armed oppression that makes respondents disinclined to say that they would do anything to oppose a Nazi-type movement trying to come to power, there would be no less disinclination if the same question is raised about a Communist movement. With the Communist record of terrorism and intimidation fresh before their eyes, possibly fewer West Germans should be willing to "take to the barricades" to oppose Communist putsch.

But what in fact prove to be the results? Whereas only 24 per cent among West Germans express a willingness to do everything in their power to resist a NSDAP-like movement seeking power, 53 per cent, or more than twice as many express such a willingness to resist a Communist movement.

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?" (Card with alternatives).

"Supposing some sort of Communist party would attempt to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?" (Card with alternatives).

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone	
	Nazi Party Nov & Dec 52 (2389)	Communist Party Oct 52 (1582)	Nazi Party Nov & Dec 52 (2389)	Communist Party Oct 52 (1582)	Nazi Party Nov & Dec 52 (2389)	Communist Party Oct 52 (1582)	Nazi Party Nov & Dec 52 (2389)	Communist Party Oct 52 (1582)
I would do everything I could to prevent it	24%	53%	27%	58%	20%	45%	28%	51%
I would not like to see it happen, but I would not do anything against it	26	32	26	28	27	38	22	31
I would not care	25	7	22	6	29	9	28	6
I would like to see that happen, but I would not do anything for it	9	1	9	1	11	1	7	*
I would welcome it and would do everything I could to support it	4	*	4	*	4	*	2	*
No opinion	12	7	12	7	9	7	13	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

NEO-NAZISM VERSUS COMMUNISM ...

Apart from its bearing on the criticism discussed, the comparative tabulations above make it clear that as far as West German susceptibility is concerned, Neo-Nazism is a far greater problem than Communism. Since the parallel questions have not yet been asked of the same people, it will remain for further study to answer the interesting question of relationships between rightist and leftist extremism.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

III. FURTHER INTIMATIONS OF RIGHTIST RECEPTIVITY

NAZI-TYPE THEME CARRIES WIDE APPEAL ...

Any new Nazi movement seeking to come to power in West Germany would not be likely to express itself as favoring anything so bald as totalitarianism, but rather something like - "a single strong national party which really represents the interests of all of our people." It adds not a little to the evidence of rightist receptivity in West Germany to find that such a theme carries wide appeal.

> "Here are some views as they are often expressed by people: Would you tell me of each one whether you would approve of it or not."*
>
> "We should again have a single strong national party which really represents the interests of all of our people."

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Approve	44%	47%	41%	36%
Disapprove	37	34	40	40
No opinion	19	19	19	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The results to the above question are particularly significant in that they suggest the preponderance of West Germans are still quite insecurely attached to democracy if they have missed the point that it is the essence of democratic philosophy not to place one's trust in a "single strong national party," but rather in open competition of interests and checks and balances.

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

Youth (18-24) particularly seem to be carried away by the appeal of a "single strong national party." They far overshadow even youth of the Nazi era (25-34) in their more than two to one excess of support over opposition.

Though higher statused population elements tend to be more opposed than their counterparts, in no group examined do as many as clear majority evince disapproval of the Nazi-type idea.

* This introduction was followed by a series of statements only one of which is at present under consideration. The statement is deliberately cast in somewhat slogan form, rather than handled in the usual more even-handed questionnaire fashion, because obviously that is the way such an argument would be put.

"We should again have a single strong national party which really represents the interests of all of our people."

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	44%	46%	10% ...100%	618
Women	43	28	29	578
Education:				
Elementary school	45	34	21	968
Beyond elementary	39	49	12	226
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	46	32	22	630
300 - 399 DM	42	37	21	289
400 DM and more	39	50	11	243
Age:				
18 - 24 years	56	23	21	149
25 - 34 years	49	34	17	254
35 - 44 years	44	37	19	254
45 - 54 years	37	43	20	265
55 years and over	37	41	22	271
Party Preference:				
SPD	52	36	12	292
CDU/CSU	40	49	11	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	40	47	13	118
Other parties	51	31	18	102
No party	45	29	26	84
Don't know	37	28	35	323
Occupation:				
Professionals	34	52	14	56
Businessmen	37	49	14	127
White-collar workers	38	45	17	138
Skilled laborers	51	34	15	236
Semi-skilled laborers	45	36	19	175
Farmers	44	31	25	138
Housewives	53	25	22	32
Unemployed	54	30	16	44
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	41	31	28	214
Religion:				
Catholics	44	39	17	539
Protestants	44	33	23	594
Origin:				
Natives	43	38	19	958
Expellees, Refugees	44	35	21	238

Is the only exception on FDP ?

MAJORITY ACCEPTANCE OF FORMER NAZIS ...

That the rehabilitation of the status not only of Nazism, but of Nazis, has gone far in West Germany to date is indicated by majority espousal of unrestricted opportunities, in politics as well as business, for former members of the Nazi party.

"Do you generally approve or not of former members of the NSDAP today again having the same opportunities for advancement in business and politics as the other Germans?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Approve	58%	59%	61%	48%
Disapprove	29	30	26	31
No opinion	13	11	13	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%

When questioned specifically about Nazi bigwigs, disapproval rises to a preponderance, but still does not embrace a majority of the West German population.

"And how about persons who held high positions during the Third Reich - would you approve of it or not if such persons would today again have the same opportunities for advancement in business and politics as the other Germans?" (Asked of those who "Approve" or express "No opinion" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Approve	36%	36%	36%	37%
Disapprove	48	49	48	44
No opinion	16	15	16	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%

So bigwigs aside Nazis have rebounded to majority acceptance in German life.

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

Population group comparisons (see pages following) disclose that the opinion leading population elements - the better educated and economically better situated - are particularly inclined as compared to their counterparts, to accept Nazis without restrictions in business and politics. Even in reference to high Nazi functionaries the same trend is manifested, though in this latter case approval vies with disapproval.

The growing partiality for Nazism that was earlier documented for the FDP is strikingly evident on the present question with an almost four to one acceptance of former Nazis. In respect to former Nazi bigwigs the FDP adherents stand out as the only population grouping among those examined to reliably manifest more acceptance than rejection.

It is also not without significance that it is youth again which is in the van of Nazi susceptibility, in this instance with the least rejection, among age groupings, of both Nazis in general and high Nazi functionaries.

D4317

"Do you generally approve or not of former members of the NSDAP today again having the same opportunities for advancement in business and politics as the other Germans?"

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	64%	29%	7% ...100%	618
Women	52	28	20	578
Education:				
Elementary school	54	31	15	968
Beyond elementary	77	18	5	226
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	53	30	17	630
300 - 399 DM	58	33	9	289
400 DM and more	72	21	7	243
Age:				
18 - 24 years	62	22	16	149
25 - 34 years	65	26	9	254
35 - 44 years	61	26	13	254
45 - 54 years	57	32	11	265
55 years and over	48	35	17	271
Party Preference:				
SPD	58	34	8	292
CDU/CSU	58	34	8	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	76	20	4	118
Other parties	63	26	11	102
No party	50	30	20	84
Don't know	53	23	24	323
Occupation:				
Professionals	72	21	7	56
Businessmen	68	21	11	127
White-collar workers	70	23	7	138
Skilled laborers	61	29	10	236
Semi-skilled laborers	53	34	13	175
Farmers	52	30	18	138
Housewives	44	25	31	32
Unemployed	66	29	5	44
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	46	35	19	214
Religion:				
Catholics	52	34	14	539
Protestants	63	24	13	594
Origin:				
Natives	58	29	13	958
Expellees, Refugees	58	28	14	238

"Do you generally approve or not of former members of the NSDAP today again having the same opportunities for advancement in business and politics as the other Germans?"

IF "Approve" or "No opinion":

"And how about persons who held high positions during the Third Reich - would you approve of it or not if such persons would today again have the same opportunities for advancement in business and politics as the other Germans?"

	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	41%	51%	8%...100%	618
Women	31	45	24	578
Education:				
Elementary school	33	49	18	968
Beyond elementary	50	43	7	226
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	33	48	19	630
300 - 399 DM	37	51	12	289
400 DM and more	44	48	8	243
Age:				
18 - 24 years	41	40	19	149
25 - 34 years	38	50	12	254
35 - 44 years	36	46	18	254
45 - 54 years	34	51	15	265
55 years and over	32	51	17	271
Party Preference:				
SPD	33	58	9	292
CDU/CSU	30	59	11	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	53	37	10	118
Other parties	42	45	13	102
No party	38	39	23	84
Don't know	34	38	28	323
Occupation:				
Professionals	48	45	7	56
Businessman	43	43	14	127
White-collar workers	49	42	9	138
Skilled laborers	39	50	11	236
Semi-skilled laborers	28	54	18	175
Farmers	30	48	22	138
Housewives	28	34	38	32
Unemployed	34	57	9	44
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	26	51	23	214
Religion:				
Catholics	32	52	16	539
Protestants	40	43	17	594
Origin:				
Natives	36	47	17	958
Expellees, Refugees	35	51	14	238

REASONS GIVEN FOR NO RESTRICTIONS ON NAZI HIGHER-UPS ...

West Germans supporting unrestricted access of even former high Nazi functionaries to business and political advancement argued most frequently that ability, not party membership should be decisive. Some respondents qualified their support with the stipulation - provided that they have not committed any crimes (presumably as Germans would define such).

"And how about persons who held high position during the Third Reich - would you approve of it or not if such persons would today again have the same opportunities for advancement in business and politics as the other Germans?"

IF "Approve"

"For what reasons do you approve of it?"

Nr. (just undecided)

WEST GERMANY

Ability is decisive - not party membership: 17%

"Because these people usually were quite bright, they might be useful to us again."
"If they really have the qualifications."
"Because among them were people who know a lot and were quite able and we miss them today."
"Some of these people have rich experiences, they would be useful to us."
"Because very many of them have a good record and are capable people."
"Some of them have accomplished quite a lot, a capable person is always looked after and he will certainly be able to work to the benefit of others."
"Because I'm sure there are experts among them who are indispensable for the smooth functioning of an administration."
"Because they've got the necessary background and have not done badly at all in the past."
"Germany needs these people, such as scientists and technicians, I'm sure it will have a favorable effect."
"Because he who has a call for a certain line of work should have an office, too, it doesn't matter whether he was a party member or not, the main thing is ability."

Provided they didn't commit any crimes: 9

"Yes, if they just were people in leading position and are not guilty of murder."
"Provided their hands are clean, if they just served the government and weren't criminals."
"If a person was but a nationalist, he should not be condemned for his convictions, if he, however, actually committed crimes, as laid down in the law, then, of course, measures should be taken."
"If they are decent people, they should be left alone, I'm sure the others will be eliminated."
"They hanged the war criminals as it is."
"Those people who got blood on their hands, have been weeded out already."
"Because I trust they convicted the real criminals of the Third Reich, the others were bright guys."

* Since zonal differences are minor they have not been separately indicated.

(Cont'd on next page)

D4320
WEST GERMANY

(Cont'd from preceding page)

They wanted the best for Germany - they only did their duty: 4%

"The majority of these people worked for a cause they believed to be good, only a few were guilty of crimes."
"There were decent people among them, not all of them were necessarily bad characters, and many of them worked to the benefit of the people."
"They were full of good will."
"Because they worked for the benefit of the people, those among them who were scientists, technicians, and economists, if these people are held down, this means only a disadvantage to the people"
"If they have the welfare of the people in view."
"All they did was to work for Germany."
"They only did their duty at that time."
"Because our economy was sound under these people, they were qualified for the positions they held, too."
"Because they got more things done at that time than do the top people today."

People should let the past rest: 4

"People should consider a case closed some day and forget about it."
"Why should the whole affair start all over again for these people?- what happened is a matter of the past."
"You should let by-gones be by-gones, those people have learned from their errors."
"Some day you have to let the past rest, otherwise a sound reconstruction will never be accomplished, we all have to co-operate."
"Because they should at long last call the whole Nazi business quits, you can't make a person pay for a life-time for having held different political views at some time."
"Because these people were denazified and thus paid for their guilt."
"Because the war has been ended such a long time ago."

Equal opportunities for all - they are human, too: 4

"Every human being should be given a chance."
"People should have equal opportunities, that's a human right you can't deprive anybody of."
"They didn't do me any harm, I don't discriminate against anybody."
"They didn't do me any harm, they are people just like you and me."
"They want to get ahead in life, too, most of them didn't do any wrong."

They acted under pressure - they were misguided: 1

"They didn't do any wrong, they were under orders, they couldn't handle things the way they wanted to, why should they be excluded today?"
"Because they are just ordinary people like all of us, maybe it wasn't their fault that they were party members, they might have joined the party under pressure."
"Most of them had to join the party, and today they must be given a chance to earn a living."
"They were just misguided people."
"A small minority only knew about the machinations of the top officials."

Other reasons (including a few exceptions to politics): 2

"In my opinion, the people who were at the top at that time, were idealists."
"A capable person should be allowed to accept any job he's qualified for, he should, however, not be allowed to continue his former political activities."

No opinion / No answer: * 4%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS GIVEN FOR RESTRICTING NAZI BIGWIGS ...

Reasons given by those respondents who while not disapproving acceptance of former Nazis in general, disapproved unrestricted activity on the part of high Nazi functionaries, were in the following vein.

"And how about persons who held high positions during the Third Reich - would you approve of it or not if such persons would today again have the same opportunities for advancement in business and politics as the other Germans?"

IF "Disapprove":

"For what reasons do you not approve of it?"

NS (only understood by [illegible])

	WEST GERMANY
Nazism, totalitarianism might be revived:	5%
"They might plunge Germany into misery once more, they often trampled underfoot what was good about National Socialism."	
"They'd hold the same views they had under Hitler, we'd have the whole world against us once more."	
"Because they would mislead the people once more."	(D
"They would slowly work towards another one-party system, a dictatorship such as we had in the years 1933 - 1945."	
"Because even today there are tendencies which might lead us down the same old road again, ending in the events of the year 1933, for these people were never true democrats."	
"They would regiment people once more."	
"Pressure, no freedom to express one's opinion, they would use the same methods once more, they should remain in the background."	
They profited through the Third Reich - there are enough others who are just as capable:	4
"They shouldn't get to the top once more, long enough they held the fat jobs, now others should get a chance."	
"Because they made enough money before, as it is."	
"Because up till now only the small people have had to suffer, nothing happened to the bigwigs."	
"They could give others a chance, those people have lived comfortably before."	
"Because these people have made their way usually through party connections, and only in rare cases through their ability."	
"They should do something positive, they should be put to work."	
"They shouldn't get back to the top, we've got other people, too, it doesn't have to be those old Nazis."	
"Because our present government functions all right without those few rare birds who did a good job at that time, and the others should keep out of politics, anyway."	
They are to blame for the war and Germany's misery:	3
"They are responsible for the misery we're in and they should not get into leading positions again."	
"Because they bungled the job at that time."	
"They plunged Germany into war and misery."	
"Because these people made mistakes and don't want to admit it even today."	
They bear part of the responsibility for the acts of terror and the crimes committed in the Third Reich:	3
"Because nearly all of them have done some wrong, many people were sent to concentration camps by those very guys."	
"Before, they held high positions and suppressed us, there are people who are pretty versatile, the others have brains, too, it must not necessarily be always the same people."	

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMANY

"At that time they treated people just the way they pleased, they shouldn't have a chance to repeat that."
"Because they suppressed our people."
"They advocated the cause (of National Socialism), and thus they are to blame for all that happened, they influenced public opinion, I mean those who profited during that period."
"They knew what was up and they deceived us at that time, they would not hesitate to betray us once more."
"Those people who held high positions identified themselves with the Nazi regime and its misdeeds."

They can't be trusted, as their political beliefs are still the same: 3%

"They stick to their views, as it is."
"You can't expect them to have changed their view in the short time that has passed in such a way as to ensure an agreeable co-operation."
"Judging from observations made up till now, these people should become democrats first."
"They wouldn't have the confidence of the present generation."
"It's a matter of prestige, they would see to it that all the other Nazis would get into top positions, too."

Each case should be reviewed and the innocent (party followers - Mitlaeufer) should be given a chance: 1

"I'm against it on principle, decisions should, however, be made in in each case, a person like Schacht, for instance, would be useful to us."
"One should review each case carefully, because even among them there were some decent people, not everybody has moral scruples, those who haven't any may once again drift into a course that does not guarantee human rights."

To give them equal opportunities would mean to harm Germany's reputation abroad: *

"They've definitely lost the game, their reputation isn't good abroad."
"Because of propaganda carried on abroad, because it would strain our foreign relations, they would keep a firmer hold on us once more."
"Because nothing good will come of it, people abroad would lose interest in Germany if the leading clique of old would be on top once more."

Other reasons: 1

"Those who were fired should remain out of circulation, I wouldn't mind if they'd give them an adequate pension, though."
"The party wasn't a good thing."

No opinion / No answer: * 20%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IV. REACTION TO RAEDER AND REMER TRIALS

MAJORITY HOLD RAEDER RIGHT OR PARTLY RIGHT ...

On October 26, 1952 at a meeting of former members of the SS, General Remer, a former German paratroop officer, created a sensation by stating that the list of German war criminals was an honor roll, and that the Allies were the real war criminals of the last war with their bombing of women and children.

That such a statement strikes a responsive chord among large elements of the West German population would seem to be indicated by the finding that 31 per cent react to it as right and an additional 25 per cent as partly right. Only 25 per cent took an unqualified position that Remer was wrong.*

"Did you perhaps hear or read about a speech held by the former German paratroop General Remer a few weeks ago, which attracted considerable attention?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, heard about it	43%	49%	36%	42%
No, didn't hear about it	57	51	64	58
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Information Given to All:
"In this speech at a meeting of former members of the SS, General Remer said that the list of the German war criminals was an honor roll and that the Allies were the real war criminals of the last war as they had bombed German cities, women and children."

"Apart from whether it was a wise thing to say - what is your personal opinion about it? Do you think that General Remer was essentially right with this declaration or that he was not right?"

Was right	31%	31%	32%	31%
Was partly right	25	25	26	20
Was not right	25	25	25	28
No opinion	19	19	17	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%

All in all it would seem to be necessary to face the fact that allied bombing of German cities is likely to see considerable service as a springboard for arguments exculpating German misdeeds.

That sentiments in the present connection bear more than a little relationship to Neo-Nazism is evident from cross tabulation of attitudes.

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"

"Apart from whether it was a wise thing to say - what is your personal opinion about it? Do you think that General Remer was essentially right with this declaration or that he was not right?"	Would do everything to prevent it (279)	Dislike, but would do nothing against it (330)	Would like to see it happen (174)	Wouldn't care (311)	No opinion (102)
Was right	15%	30%	56%	37%	20%
Was partly right	30	28	28	19	9
Was not right	41	30	15	17	12
No opinion	14	12	1	27	59
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* See also in the present connection Report No. 153, dated September 8, 1952 entitled "Current West German Views On the War Criminal Issue."

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

In view of earlier group trends it is significant that the largest preponderance of right over wrong - in characterizing Remoke's thesis - is to be found among youth (18 - 24), Hitler Youth (25 - 34), and FDP adherents. In no group examined does the proportion who state Remoke was wrong in his allegation, reliably exceed one in three.

Information to all:
"In his speech at a meeting of former members of the SS, General Remoke said that the list of the German war criminals was an honor roll and that the A lies were the real war criminals of the last war as they had bombed German cities, women and children."

"Apart from whether it was a wise thing to say - what is your personal opinion about it? Do you think that General Remoke was essentially right with this declaration or that he was not right?"

	Was right	Was partly right	Was not right	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	32%	29%	28%	11%...100%	618
Women	31	19	23	27	578
Education:					
Elementary school	33	21	24	22	968
Beyond elementary	24	38	32	6	226
Income:					
0 - 299 DM	31	23	24	22	630
300 - 399 DM	38	22	24	16	289
400 DM and more	28	31	30	11	243
Age:					
18 - 24 years	36	20	22	22	149
25 - 34 years	36	29	22	13	254
35 - 44 years	34	23	28	15	254
45 - 54 years	28	26	24	22	265
55 years and over	25	23	30	22	271
Party Preference:					
SPD	35	24	31	10	292
CDU/CSU	26	26	33	15	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	41	35	20	4	118
Other parties	28	30	22	20	102
No party	39	17	18	26	84
Don't know	28	20	18	34	323
Occupation:					
Professionals	16	38	37	9	56
Businessmen	34	24	25	17	127
White-collar workers	31	28	25	16	138
Skilled laborers	34	27	24	15	236
Semi-skilled laborers	33	20	21	26	175
Farmers	34	24	22	20	138
Housewives	22	40	19	19	32
Unemployed	34	25	32	9	44
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	30	19	25	26	214
Religion:					
Catholics	31	25	27	17	539
Protestants	32	24	24	20	594
Origin:					
Natives	31	25	25	19	958
Expellees, Refugees	31	23	27	19	238

BUT REMER'S THESIS PROVES UNPOPULAR ...

General Remer's bid for rightist support - in the days of the SRP - with the thesis that the July 20th plotters on Hitler's life were traitors, proves to be considerably less popular than Remeke's gambit. The indication from the present findings is that the majority of the West German people do not feel that the July 20th plotters are to be regarded as traitors.

"If you remember the 20th of July 1944 when the attempt on Hitler's life failed - should those persons who took part in the attempt on Hitler's life be regarded as traitors to their country or should they not be regarded as such?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Traitors to their country	19%	21%	19%	12%
Not as traitors to their country	58	55	59	65
No opinion	23	24	22	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%

REASONS ADVANCED FOR REJECTING TRAITORS APPELATION FOR JULY 20TH PLOTTERS ...

In arriving at their judgments on the present issue Germans appear to be most impressed by the fact that had the plotters succeeded Germany might have been spared untold misery and ruin. (See page following for comment tabulation). That such considerations carry weight even among the most distinctively Neo-Nazi is evident from the following cross-tabulation.

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"

"If you remember the 20th of July 1944 when the attempt on Hitler's life failed - should those persons who took part in the attempt on Hitler's life be regarded as traitors to their country or should they not be regarded as such?"	Would do everything to prevent it	Dislike but would do nothing against it	Would like to see it happen	Wouldn't care	No opinion
Traitors to their country	6%	18%	40%	22%	13%
Not as traitors to their country	87	66	48	39	26
No opinion	7	16	12	39	61
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"If you remember the 20th of July 1944 when the attempt on Hitler's life failed - should those persons who took part in the attempt on Hitler's life be regarded as traitors to their country or should they not be regarded as such?"

(only underlined responses)

IF "Not as traitors to their country" or "No opinion":

"How should these men be regarded?"

WEST GERMANY

They wanted to save Germany from ruin: 23%

"They wanted to save the nation, and a lot of damage might have been prevented, no doubt."
"They tried to prevent the people from rushing into their ruin."
"As sensible people, they did it just to avoid an even worse disaster."
"They did it out of the compassion they felt for the German people because they realised that things were going wrong, they wanted to save what still could be saved, therefore they were decent guys."
"Just as men, they didn't do anything wrong, they only wanted to avert even greater calamity."
"They wanted to do something so that the nation might fare well."
"Those men realised that the whole thing was sheer madness."
"As people who wanted to avert destruction of the nation."
"They wanted to rescue Germany, I regard them as fighters for freedom, it's a pity that their plan didn't work."

They wanted to end a futile war and to prevent further bloodshed: 13

"In 1944 we had lost the war already and these people tried to stop that madness."
"The majority of people understood at that time that there was no chance to win the war, they wanted to shorten the final struggle."
"Hitler was said to be a lunatic or an idiot, and that's my opinion, too, these men would have spared us from many of the consequences of war, we wouldn't have had to go on fighting for another few months."
"They only wanted to bring about an earlier end of the war."
"They wanted to put an end to the war and in their way they loved their Fatherland."
"They fought to save Germany, they realised that the war was lost already."
"They were brave men, they wanted to save the Fatherland, the war was practically at an end, everybody could see that the situation was hopeless."
"As far-sighted men, most of them had an inside knowledge of the goings-on, they realised that this massacre couldn't go on and so they did something about it."
"As men who realised what the outcome of the war would be, they tried to bring about peace in order to stop futile bloodshed and destruction."

They wanted to oust a disastrous regime: 5

"All they wanted was to form a new government, they wanted to save what still could be saved, these people felt they advocated a just cause."
"They knew pretty well what road the "Fuehrer" would lead us down, it was high time to put an end to this regime."
"They realised that Hitler had to be removed in order to save Germany from ruin."
"As great men, who wanted to put these henchmen out of the way as they were the undoing of Germany in half the world."
"They didn't betray their Fatherland, but only the government, these men were soldiers."
"These men were convinced that such an attempt was the only chance to do away with Hitler, to restore order, they were vigorous, determined men."
"As persecutees of the Nazi regime, they wanted to help Germany, after all, if they had succeeded, things would be better for us today."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

They were idealists who, in their way, wanted the best: 9%

"As idealists, but it was too late already, and I'm not sure whether the way they went about it was the right one."
"As idealists who only wanted the best for our people and who believed in their mission."
"As idealists who didn't have adequate means to realize their plans."
"I'm sure their motives were pure."
"That they fought for their convictions, they, too, believed they were in the right."
"They acted in the belief to work for a just cause."
"I would regard them as idealists who had a different aim in view."
"As martyrs for an idea."

They were heroes: 5

"These men were wise, honorable and decent, they wanted us to escape from doom, they are heroes, so to speak."
"They realized earlier than others how things stood, if all of us had known that two years earlier, then things would be more agreeable for us today, to risk doing such a thing proves they were heroes."
"As heroes who aimed for the best."
"As heroes who never claimed to be such."
"These men were heroes who dared to work against the state."
"As men with dash who defied a power stronger than their own."

They were patriots: 3

"They did it out of love for their home country."
"People say they wanted the best for Germany, therefore I regard them as honorable, patriotic men."
"As people who were loyal to their country."
"Patriots."

They were revolutionaries whose plans failed: 2

"Maybe as revolutionaries whose plans didn't come off."
"As dopes because t ey didn't go about it more cautiously, but they were fine men."
"They tried to avert disaster, but it wasn't the right approach, I really don't know, but I wouldn't regard them as traitors to their country."
"As people who were deluded to some extent, they should have acted at an earlier date."

They were traitors, but they wanted nothing but the best: 2

"It's a tough problem, they shouldn't have violated their military oath, but on the other hand they only meant the best."
"They committed treason, but they didn't betray their country, I don't know what to call that, but I don't want to gloss it over by calling it heroism."
"As liberators, this term bothers me, but I couldn't say what they should be called, there's no doubt that it was a case of treason, and therefore you can't call them heroes."
"Treason remains treason whatever way you look at it, you have to take into consideration, however, what they did it for, I don't know what to call it."

I'm not interested - I don't care: 1

"I couldn't tell, I never took any interest in this matter."
"I don't give a hoot." Etc.

Other answers: 3

"They were innocent victims."
"If it had worked, they would have been heroes, but what should I say about this affair now?"
"Neither as heroes nor as traitors, just as ordinary people." Etc.

No opinion - No answer: 21
63%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS ADVANCED FOR DEFENDING TRAITOR APPELATION ...

The minority who insist that the July 20th plotters are to be looked upon as traitors argued in the following vein:

WEST GERMANY

Their action meant a stab in the back to combat troops - it hastened defeat: 7

"These people were low characters, the only thing that mattered at that time was to win the war for Germany, while every decent German served at the front, these people sabotaged the cause of the combat troops."
"While we served our country, these people stabbed us in the back."
"If a people is fighting for its very existence, then nobody should let down those fighting at the front, there was a danger, too, that we'd get entirely under Communist domination."
"Just in the war, when it was a matter of life or death, these people stabbed us in the back."
"I still think we'd never have lost the war, if this conspiracy had not occurred, if they had not betrayed our soldiers."
"Mainly because of this we lost the war, because of strife and sabotage."
"Because they wanted to oust the top officials at a critical time, the people would have been without a leader in war times."
"I can't feel any enthusiasm for the whole thing - treason remains treason, whatever way you look at it, in times of war people should stick together and gain the victory first."
"In respect to the combat troops, the soldiers did their duty, they were betrayed by these people, too."

Their actions were illegal - they acted against the lawful government: 6

"Because at that time Hitler was the head of the state."
"Because they acted against the government at that time."
"Because they revolted against the government."
"Because they carried out an attempt on Hitler's life, you can't let the head of the government down if things go wrong."
"At that time the "Fuehrer" was the head of our government."
"Because we lived under this regime, and these men wanted to overthrow the government."
"Because it meant an offense against the chief executive."
"If a person would attempt to Adenauer's life now, he would be a traitor to this country, too."
"Because they wanted to oust the government, nobody has the right to do a thing like that."
"Because a government official whose life has been endangered, has to do away with such people."
"Everybody who conspires against the government in power is a traitor."

They violated their oath of allegiance as officers: 3

"Because at that time they were disloyal to the government in power before 1945 and violated their oath of allegiance."
"These people committed treason, as they had been sworn in."
"They had taken an oath upon Hitler and you have to keep a pledge."
"As officers they violated their oath of allegiance."
"These people were soldiers who have to honor a pledge."
"I was a soldier myself at that time and I remember what confusion the whole thing caused though we were just ordinary soldiers, we didn't break our word and fought to the last."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

They are traitors because they acknowledged the National Socialist regime: 1%

"First they served Hitler enthusiastically, and when the situation was most critical, they committed treason, for officers this case has no parallel in history."
"First they joined up with Hitler and later on they wanted to kill him."
"Because first they approved of National Socialism, later on when it was too late when things were in a hopeless mess, they sabotaged instead of trying to help."
"They shouldn't have done that."

They acted selfishly - they were out to gain personal advantages: 1

"Their motives were base, they wanted positions for themselves."
"They only wanted to secure posts for themselves."
"They wanted to do away with Hitler for purely egotistical motives."

They were just would-be assassins - their actions were criminal: 1

"Just as would-be murderers and nothing else."
"It was a crime."
"Their purposes were evil, they wanted to murder Hitler."

Other comments: 2

"They shouldn't have done that."
"Because they would have caused an uprising of the people and there would have been nothing but chaos." Etc.

No opinion - No answer: * 21%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
○ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

Though inclinations to characterise the July 20th plotters as traitors does not preponderate in any of the population groups examined, consistently it is youth again and the FDP who most widely see the attempt to do away with Hitler as an act of treason against the Fatherland.

"If you remember the 20th of July 1944 when the attempt on Hitler's life failed - should these persons who took part in the attempt on Hitler's life be regarded as traitors to their country or should they not be regarded as such?"

	Traitors to their country	Not as traitors to their country	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	24%	63%	13%...100%	618
Women	14	52	34	578
Education:				
Elementary school	19	56	25	968
Beyond elementary	20	67	13	226
Income (per months):				
0 - 299 DM	18	54	28	630
300 - 399 DM	21	60	19	289
400 DM and more	19	68	13	243
Age:				
18 - 24 years	36	42	22	149
25 - 34 years	25	55	20	254
35 - 44 years	16	62	22	254
45 - 44 years	14	58	28	265
55 years and over	12	66	22	271
Party Preference:				
SPD	23	64	13	292
CDU/CSU	13	72	15	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	27	56	17	118
Other parties	21	57	22	102
No party	24	57	19	84
Don't know	15	42	43	323
Occupation:				
Professionals	11	80	9	56
Businessmen	17	62	21	127
White-collar workers	25	54	21	138
Skilled laborers	26	60	14	236
Semi-skilled laborers	23	50	27	175
Farmers	13	54	33	138
Housewives	13	59	28	32
Unemployed	18	68	14	44
Not employed: pensioners, students, retired, etc.	11	56	33	214
Religion:				
Catholics	17	61	22	539
Protestants	21	54	25	594
Origin:				
Natives	18	60	22	958
Expellees, Refugees	23	50	27	238

04331

V. A NOTE ON NEO-NAZISM AND ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES

There has been ample evidence from earlier studies that the primary appeal of National Socialism is economic, followed secondarily by assertions of more order, discipline, unity, and the like. And it would be unsafe to expect other than Neo-Nazism becoming more acute if the economic situation markedly worsened. But indications are at hand which make it dangerous to bank in the converse assumption that there is no danger of a Nazi revival as long as the economic situation is good. For one thing, it may be noted below that 1952 has been a year of increasing economic satisfaction, yet there is no indication that Neo-Nazism has gone down. Secondly, cross tabulations reveal that Neo-Nazism evidences in the latest findings no material relationship to respondents' expressions of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the development of their economic circumstances.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the development of your economic circumstances during the past year?" (IF "Satisfied": Very satisfied or fairly satisfied? IF "Dissatisfied: Very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)

WEST GERMANY

	Oct 1951 (1193)	Aug 1952 (1195)	Dec 1952 (1196)
Very satisfied	4%	8%	8%
Fairly satisfied	44	51	56
Dissatisfied	39	30	28
Very dissatisfied	12	10	7
No opinion	1	1	1
	100%	100%	100%

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"

	Would do everything to prevent it (280)	Dislike, but would do nothing against it (331)	Would like to see it happen (175)	Wouldn't care (313)	No opinion (97)
"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the development of your economic circumstances during the past year?"					
Very satisfied	9%	8%	11%	7%	6%
Fairly satisfied	52	58	52	60	60
Dissatisfied	30	25	27	27	30
Very dissatisfied	9	9	9	5	3
No opinion/No answer	*	*	1	1	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

● See particularly Report No. 118, dated January 10, 1952, entitled "The Present Status of Neo-Nazism in West Germany."

* Less than one half of one per cent

04332

II. PRESENT THINKING ON JEWISH RESTITUTION

Since the issue of Jewish Restitution offers a framework with respect to which the nature of current Neo-Nazism can be more adequately envisaged, it was included as a segment of the present inquiry. Moreover, with the recent signing of an accord with Israel (now subject to Bundestag ratification), and subsequent objections on the part of Arab League, the time has become ripe for following up an earlier concrete study in this area.*

* Report No. 113, dated December 5, 1951, entitled "German Opinions on Jewish Restitution and Some Associated Issues."

I. DO GERMANS FEEL A GENERAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR REDRESSING WRONGS DONE TO JEWS?

MAJORITY DISCLAIM ANY GENERAL RESPONSIBILITY ...

It was the conclusion from an earlier study that despite two out of three professing approval of Jewish restitution, the majority of the West German people appear to have the kind of adverse attitudes toward the Jews which either make them outright opponents of restitution, or if verbally approving, highly doubtful supporters of any measures that might be taken to actually implement such aid. That this earlier judgment was in no way overdrawn became evident at the very outset of the present study in the candid expression of opinion on the part of the majority of the West Germans sampled, that Germans in general need neither feel guilty for what was done to the Jews during the Third Reich, nor feel responsible for righting these wrongs. Only in West Berlin does the viewpoint appear to preponderate - by an insecure margin - that the German citizenry bear a general responsibility for rectifying as far as possible the injustices that were committed in their name.

"Three persons are talking about the war and everything Germany did to the Jews during the Third Reich."

Mr. Mueller says: 'Every individual German bears a certain guilt for what Germany has done to the Jews during the Third Reich and everybody should acknowledge this guilt.'

Mr. Schmidt says: 'Not every German needs to feel guilty, but everyone should feel responsible as far as possible to right the wrongs Germany did the Jews during the Third Reich.'

Mr. Schulze says: 'The Germans in general need not feel guilty nor responsible for righting any wrongs to the Jews. Only those who really committed something are guilty as well as responsible.

"With whom would you agree?"

	WEST GERMANY (1196)	British Zone (622)	US Zone (433)	French Zone (141)	Berlin (199)
Mr. Mueller	5%	6%	5%	5%	4%
Mr. Schmidt	29	35	22	28	50
Mr. Schulze	59	52	67	61	45
No opinion	7	7	6	6	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN VIEWPOINT ...

Population breakdowns of the returns disclose that in no group examined* does affirmation of a general German responsibility for Jewish restitution (including the stronger position of German guilt) achieve preponderant status. Such a viewpoint is somewhat more frequent among the opinion leading population elements - the better educated and the economically better situated - but is none the less exceeded in both groups by denials of responsibility.

It will be noted also that disclaiming of general responsibility for Jewish restitution is most widespread among youth (19-24) and Hitler Youth (25-34). It is possible that this reflects the fact that some of these younger elements feel that they cannot be held for events in which they had little to say. But it may also reflect the point, documented in the preceding paper, that younger population elements are in the forefront of West German Neo-Nazi trends.

	(Guilt)	(Responsibility)	(Neither)	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	6%	35%	56%	3%...100%	618
Women	5	23	61	11	578
Education:					
Elementary school	5	28	59	8	968
Beyond elementary	7	35	56	2	226
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	8	26	55	11	179
150 - 299 DM	4	27	61	8	451
300 - 399 DM	5	28	62	5	289
400 DM and more	5	37	54	4	243
Age:					
18 - 24 years	4	24	65	7	149
25 - 34 years	3	26	64	7	254
35 - 44 years	6	31	56	7	254
45 - 54 years	6	29	58	7	265
55 years and over	8	34	52	6	271
Party Preference:					
SPD	6	33	57	4	292
CDU/CSU	5	39	52	4	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	5	30	63	2	118
BHE	6	28	59	7	54
Other parties	11	31	50	8	48
No party	8	16	69	7	84
Don't know	4	20	62	14	323
Occupation:					
Professionals	5	50	40	5	56
Businessmen	6	28	60	6	127
White-collar workers	6	35	54	5	138
Skilled laborers	6	29	60	5	256
Semi-skilled laborers	6	24	64	6	175
Farmers	2	20	64	14	138
Housewives	-	31	53	16	32
Unemployed	5	23	70	2	44
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	7	28	57	8	214
Religion:					
Catholics	5	29	59	7	539
Protestants	5	28	60	7	594
Origin:					
Natives	6	29	58	7	958
Expellees, Refugees	5	29	62	4	238

* Except among respondents of professional occupations for whom, however, there are too few cases in the present sampling for firm conclusions.

II. DO GERMANS APPROVE THE ISRAEL AGREEMENT?

TWO TO ONE REJECTION OF ACCORD ...

In the light of the majority disavowal of any general German responsibility for redressing injustices to Jews, it perhaps comes as no surprise that the West German reaction to the Bonn-Israel agreement is a two to one recommendation that the Bundestag reject it. Pro and con opinions divide in West Berlin. In no West German group examined, population breakdown reveals, does support for the Jewish restitution accord reliably exceed one in three.

West Germany and Israel signed an agreement in August of this year according to which the Federal Government has to pay to the State of Israel 3 billion DM in products and goods in the course of several years as a restitution for what happened to the Jews during the Third Reich.*

"The Bundestag has yet to vote on this agreement. What would you prefer, should the Bundestag accept this agreement, or should it reject it?"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Accept it	26%	29%	23%	25%	50%
Reject it	49	43	56	50	44
No opinion	25	28	21	25	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Accept it	Reject it	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	29%	56%	15% ...100%	618
Women	24	41	35	578
Education:				
Elementary school	25	48	27	968
Beyond elementary	33	53	14	226
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	28	33	39	179
150 - 299 DM	25	50	25	451
300 - 399 DM	21	54	25	289
400 DM and more	35	52	13	243
Age:				
18 - 24 years	25	53	22	149
25 - 34 years	25	53	22	254
35 - 44 years	24	54	22	254
45 - 54 years	28	45	27	265
55 years and over	30	41	29	271
Party Preference:				
SPD	31	54	15	292
CDU/CSU	36	42	22	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	28	55	17	118
BHE	33	39	28	54
Other parties	23	54	23	48
No party	19	58	23	84
Don't know	15	45	40	323
Occupation:				
Professionals	35	52	13	56
Businessmen	21	57	22	127
White-collar workers	27	59	14	138
Skilled laborers	30	50	20	236
Semi-skilled laborers	21	55	24	175
Farmers	22	46	32	138
Housewives	25	34	41	32
Unemployed	27	46	27	44
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	30	35	35	214
Religion:				
Catholics	28	50	22	539
Protestants	25	47	28	594
Origin:				
Natives	26	50	24	958
Expellees, Refugees	26	46	28	238

* As it was deemed desirable to obtain a general West German judgment on the present issue - including those not yet aware of the accord - all were filled in with the basic outlines as indicated and then asked to express a reaction. Figures on the current extent of awareness of the restitution agreement, and also of the fact of Arab objection, are to be found in an Appendix.

[redacted]

REASONS ADVANCED FOR ADVOCATING REJECTION ...

The reasons brought forward to justify opposition to the Bonn-Israel accord embrace numerous lines of argument, it may be observed below, ranging from claims that the restitution is excessive, down to the remarkable thesis that the issue is a closed one since both those who were really guilty and those who really suffered losses are dead.

"Why, in your opinion, should the Bundestag reject his agreement? (Israel Agreement)"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
<u>Restitution claims are excessive, they mean a burden to the small tax-payer - restitution in our own country should have priority:</u>	24%	20%

"Because economic conditions being the way they are, this would be impossible, the Jews haven't been harmed so badly as to be justified in their claim for 3 billion marks."
"Because in that case we would have to pay even more taxes, our country is poor and can't pay such large sums."
"Because just as many Germans suffered under the National Socialist regime, and these people should be compensated first."
"I think, the sum mentioned is too high, how much longer are we to pay off the debts of the Third Reich, after all."
"Is there anyone who aids those 11 million expellees, who lost everything they had, too, through no fault of their own? - why should I pay for others while I suffered losses myself?"
"Nobody gave anything to us and we went hungry, those who committed crimes against Jews have been punished, now we are the ones who have to face the music, that's really the limit."
"Because it's always the man in the street who has to pay for it, we've paid enough for war damages through our patents."
"Because the sum agreed upon is much too high, if we'd pay reparations to the other former enemy countries in proportion to this sum, we'd have to pay for more than a hundred years."
"Because that's going too far, the sum agreed upon is much too high, who has to raise the money, the working people, no doubt."
"3 billion is too much, we've suffered a lot ourselves, I don't see why the Jews should profit from us once more."
"The other countries don't pay any damages to us for things we lost, either, why should we then throw such a roll of money at the Jews?"
"Because thus only one category of claimants is recompensed, restitution should be made equally to all Germans, bombed-out people included."
"Because the burdens we have to bear are heavy enough, they should attend to the refugees first."
"Because in the end it will be us workers who have to toil for it."
"Who will give anything to us? - we've lost our fortune twice as it is, the government doesn't give a hoot."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	BERLIN
Not the state of Israel but only those Jews who actually suffered losses are entitled to claim restitution:	11%	11%

"Israel is no concern of ours, we can't recompense the Jews of the whole world, but only Germans who suffered through the Nazis."
"In all of Israel there are at the most 5 per cent Jews who have suffered losses, these people should be compensated."
"In that way restitution can't be settled, Israel hasn't had any war damage, and besides these Jews were Germans, how come Israel demands restitution? - those countries would have a right to do so that were turned into battlefields and where damage actually was caused."
"Back in 1945 there was no state of Israel, therefore only individual Jews who suffered losses can make a claim."
"Not all of these Jews are persecutees who have a right to claim restitution."
"Restitution cases should be settled individually, those who lost something should get it back from those to whom Hitler gave the stuff."
"Because it's a lot of money and if it were paid, it may go to the wrong people, those who really suffered losses wouldn't get it anyway."
"Because this would be no restitution for the atrocities committed, the money or the goods may go to some Jew who was never harmed by us."
"Those who actually suffered losses would never see any of it, anyway, only a few rich people would profit, those who really were wronged would be left empty-handed."
"Then every Tom, Dick and Harry can ask for restitution."

Only German who really were guilty should be called upon to pay restitution claims:	7	6

"The mass of people would be affected, why should I pay for the guilt of others?"
"The whole nation cannot be held responsible for what was done to the Jews, the guilty ones have been punished as it is."
"What concern of ours is it what happened in the Third Reich."
"Why should the German nation as a whole pay for the sins committed by a small minority."
"We are not to blame for the fate of the Jews, none of us knew about it and we couldn't have done anything about it anyway."
"In how far does the restitution issue concern the present government? - why should those suffer now who didn't do any wrong?"
"We need our money ourselves, we didn't expel the Jews, those should pay who are to blame for it."
"Those who robbed the Jews should now give the money back to them."

The Jews who suffered losses have been compensated already:	4	3

"Auerbach settled the restitution claims for the Jews, didn't he?"
"Because enough has been done in this respect, a large part of German restitution funds was awarded to Jews."
"Those Jews who lived in camps all were recompensed, are we to pay still more?"
"All Jews who had been inmates of concentration camps have been awarded damages, that should be enough."
"After the war the Jews have got quite a lot, they lived most comfortably of all of us hem during the past few years."
"Apart from everything else, the Jews have been compensated by getting the best posts after the war, today all of them are rich once more, because they know how to make money."
"The American Jews are to blame for the war as well, and in spite of this their claims were generously satisfied through reparations in 1945."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
The agreement would injure our (trade) relations with other countries:	4%	3%

"Because thus we'll turn 300 million people into enemies."
"Because our trade relations with the Arab countries will suffer and German industry will miss orders for billions of marks."
"Because in that case the Arabs will annul the trade pact, the Arabs would be more useful to us."
"They should wait for a while, you have to make allowances for the Arab point of view, because right now this might have grave consequences for us in the economic sphere, they won't place any orders with our industry any more and this would mean unemployment in this country would become still more widespread."
"Because if we should ratify this treaty, some countries, I can't remember right now which ones, will not buy any products from us any more."
"Because it would mean a grave economic set-back for us, if we'd act otherwise."

The Jews have themselves to blame for their difficulties:	2	3

"The Jews aren't blameless, either."
"The Jews brought it on themselves through their arrogant behaviour."
"Because all over the world the Jews are unpopular, not only in this country."
"Because the Jews are partly to blame too, they worked against Germany, they have only themselves to blame for the treatment they received."
"Even before that the Jews exploited Germany."
"They stole enough from us, as it is, at the time when the Third Reich regime took over, they illegally transferred whole fortunes to foreign countries."

The time has come to forget about the whole thing - those who really were guilty and those who really suffered losses are both dead:	1	3

"All that is done with, why should we again start paying."
"To those who still live no harm was done, and those who were to blame for developments aren't among the living any more, I think people should forget about this affair without first giving away such a lot of money."
"Those who really were responsible are dead or deported."
"It's unjust that we should pay, the few people who were responsible are no more."
"Besides, those who should benefit from the money are dead."

Other reasons:	4	3

"Because the political situation demands it."
"Because, for one reason, it's an inopportune moment, Adenauer should have waited for a while."

No opinion/No answer:	*	*
	5%C	52%C

* Less than one half of one per cent.
C Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

REASONS ADVANCED FOR RECOMMENDING ACCEPTANCE ...

Most of the minority recommending Bundestag acceptance of the Bonn-Israel accord argue that this restitution is a moral and legal obligation. The sentiments expressed, it will be noted below, are eminently praiseworthy. It will be seen shortly how many of those who for the moment are voicing such sentiments remain with them when the Israel accord is put under a little pressure, i.e. stacked up against the possibility of loss of Arab trade.

"Why, in your opinion, should the Bundestag accept this agreement? (Israel Agreement)"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Restitution is a moral and legal obligation:	22%	30%

"Because it's a moral obligation towards the Jews."
"We are guilty, and we are obliged to make up for the crimes we committed."
"Because then the whole matter was unjust, and injustice should be made good as far as possible."
"Because we inflicted heavy damage upon the Jews, there is no doubt about it."
"The Bundestag should settle this matter as soon as possible, these three billions aren't a big compensation compared with our guilt and the many murdered Jews."
"We didn't learn about the mass liquidation of Jews before the war was ended, the least we can do is to support the survivors with money and goods."
"It's our duty to do something about it there is no doubt, these mass liquidations were most atrocious, and in spite of the fact that we didn't know much about it, the responsibility rests on us."
"Right across the street there lived some Jews who were beaten to death, and all their property was taken away and destroyed, those who did that were criminals for whose crimes we have to pay because we didn't do anything to prevent it."
"Because it's our moral obligation to make up for misdeeds, we let the persecution of Jews happen without objecting, and thus became accomplices."
"Because everybody must feel responsible for what was done to the Jews."
"Because it is a justified claim that wrongs done to them should be atoned for because every human being, whether Christian or Jewish, has a right to live."
"Because they did so much harm to these people, they should have let them stay here, a great many would be glad if the Jews were here now."
"Because we as a nation must feel obliged to atone for the injustice that was inflicted upon the Jews as a nation."
"The claim is justified, we refugees also want compensation for part of our losses."
"Millions were killed, even whole families were liquidated without leaving an heir, in such cases the Israel state becomes their legal successor, thus it can help many needy Jewish families."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Germany's rehabilitation in the eyes of the world:	4%	6%

"So that we can be rehabilitated in the eyes of other nations."
"If we are at all interested in cooperating with other nations, this constitutes an obligation for us."
"To prove the world the sincerity of our efforts, and to be recognised as a worthy member of the Community of Nations."
"We must regain our reputation in the world which, above all, presupposes atonement for moral guilt."
"In order to demonstrate to the world that we sincerely wish to make up for the wrongs of the past, even if it is hard on us."
"The attitude of our government will have consequences on our relations to foreign countries, it might restore our ethical and moral reputation, and do us credit with Jewish financial circles in foreign countries."
"The sooner we start making up for misdeeds, the sooner we regain our good reputation."
"So that the Jews learn that not the Germans as a nation but Hitler personally is to be blamed for what has happened."
"In order to restore our reputation, though, actually, money can't make up for the wrongs."
"If we keep up this agreement they will confer confidence upon us."
"If the Bundestag would reject this agreement we would break our word, and all the other nations would be against us."

Attempt to bring about reconciliation:	2	8

"In order to show the Jews that we are sincerely willing to make up for our faults."
"Restitution would soften the hatred of the Jews."
"To prevent the aversion from the Jewish side being deepened."
"Because this agreement is to restore the Jewish honor."
"That this people may forget its hatred."
"One should give something to the Jews so that they can't say they haven't got back what belonged to them."
"The Jews and the other peoples won't be quiet until we have paid for our alleged misdeed-."
"In order to reestablish friendly relations to the Jews."
"In case we would reject it there would be a permanent source of trouble, but we need peace and order for the people's sake."

Economic advantages through Israel:	1	1

"If we accept this agreement, foreign countries and, above all, the Jewish big capitalists will grant us credits."
"We'll get loans from the Jewish high finance."
"They may help us later if we do it now."
"It might pave the way for good commercial relations."
"If we reject it they might drop the trade relations."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Affirmative answers with certain reservations:	1%	1%
"Only if it can be taken for granted that not the state of Israel but the Jewish individuals who suffered losses will get the money."		
"Israel as a state didn't exist then, one should put the money at the disposal of the UN to distribute it among the Jews all over the world."		
"We should only accept it when the needy Germans such as the disabled ones can be granted sufficient support."		
"These reparations mustn't be used for war purposes."		
"If we did harm to the Jews, we have to make up for it, but within limits."		
"It might turn out that those who possessed one house will get two others for it."		
Other reasons:	1	2
"Manufacturing the goods for reparation purposes will boost our economy."		
"It should serve as deterrent for everybody in order to prevent those excesses from happening again."		
"To promote peace in the world."		
No opinion / No answer:	* 3%	* 3%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

III. DOES GERMAN SUPPORT FOR THE ISRAEL AGREEMENT STAND UP AGAINST ARAB OPPOSITION?

SUPPORT MELTS TO ONE IN TEN ...

When the Israel accord is put under some counter-pressure it is observed that even the one in four support earlier expressed for the agreement is fully half of the fair weather variety. When apprised of the fact that the Arab League had threatened to break off trade relations with West Germany should the Israel agreement be ratified, only one in ten in West Germany (12%) take the position that the restitution agreement with Israel is the more important consideration. In no population group examined does more than one in five take such a stand.

"The Arab League has entered a protest with the Federal Government against the agreement between West Germany and Israel on the grounds that the Arabs are still in a state of war with Israel and that such an agreement would support the State of Israel against the Arabs. The Arab League announced it would break off any trade relations with West Germany should the agreement be ratified."

"What, in your opinion, is more important for West Germany, the agreement with Israel or the continuation of trade relations with the Arab League?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Agreement with Israel	12%	15%	11%	5%	22%
Arab trade relations	52	49	55	57	56
No opinion	36	36	34	38	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Israel agreement	Arab trade	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	15%	63%	22% ...100%	618
Women	9	40	51	378
Education:				
Elementary school	11	51	38	968
Beyond elementary	17	55	28	226
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	11	37	52	179
150 - 299 DM	12	54	34	451
300 - 399 DM	11	56	33	289
400 DM and more	17	55	28	243
Age:				
18 - 24 years	9	59	32	149
25 - 34 years	11	60	29	254
35 - 44 years	12	53	35	254
45 - 54 years	15	48	37	265
55 years and over	13	44	43	271
Party Preference:				
SPD	15	61	24	292
CDU/CSU	18	47	35	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	15	64	21	116
BHE	9	48	43	54
Other parties	4	56	40	48
No party	4	53	43	84
Don't know	7	44	49	323
Occupation:				
Professionals	23	52	25	56
Businessmen	13	57	30	127
White-collar workers	16	59	25	138
Skilled laborers	11	62	27	236
Semi-skilled laborers	11	50	39	175
Farmers	7	48	45	138
Housewives	9	47	44	52
Unemployed	13	48	39	44
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	11	41	48	214
Religion:				
Catholics	10	54	36	532
Protestants	14	51	35	594
Origin:				
Natives	12	53	35	878
Expellees, Refugees	12	49	39	256

REASONS ADVANCED FOR PUTTING ARAB TRADE ABOVE ISRAEL ACCORD ...

Economic advantage is the key theme among West Germans who place Arab trade above the Israel accord. For those who disavow responsibility for Jewish restitution the judgment is obviously only a question of economics. For others there is more evidence of conflict of conscience, with material advantage winning out.

"Why do you consider trade with the Arab League to be more important (than the agreement with Israel)?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Trade with the Arab League is vitally important for Germany:	32%	35%

"Trade first - we cannot afford to renounce orders that would earn millions."
"It would jeopardise our export on which we live."
"These Arab states are more important for the German economy than this small country Israel."
"Speaking as a merchant I would go where I can expect a profit."
"It would bring money to our country."
"The Arabs buy more from us than this small country Israel- these are the main reasons."
"Well, if the Arabs don't like it - and we are not really very keen on getting rid of those 3 billions as Germany cannot support herself."
"I work in the stockings industry and we export to the Arab countries."
"Breaking off these relations would have a very negative effect and would cause unemployment."
"With a view to our economy we cannot afford to offend the Arab States."
"We need market outlets."
"Because we need foreign trade relations very urgently."
"Relations with the Arabs mean work and bread for thousands of people."
"We need trade relations - Germany is a poor country."
"We have to earn money because we ourselves need help."

Trade relations with the Arab states are to our advantage whilst payment without return to Israel is to Germany's disadvantage:	10	14

"Because it is an advantage for us whilst the other thing would be a disadvantage."
"We cannot very well pay 3 billion DM and that way renounce the foreign exchange that we would earn through trade with the Arabs - it would ruin us."
"It would be more advantageous for us economically, we pay to Israel without getting anything in return, whilst we would gain something if we sold goods to the Arabs."
"We would give money to the Jews as a present, whilst we would earn money from the Arabs if we kept up the relations."
"We have nothing to expect from the Jews - from the Arabs we can expect much and over a long period."
"Israel is only interested in getting money from us as a present, but they still would buy in America, the Arabs are very good trade partners."
"To make business - provide work for our factories - we don't get anything for our work from the Jews."
"Why should we disrupt the relations with the Arabs - merely because we furnish the others with our money."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Germany should not jeopardize her friendship with the Arabs:	4%	2%
"The Arabs mean us well, it would be nonsense to break up this friendship for the sake of the Jews."		
"The Arab states always meant us well, but we can never make the Jews mean us well."		
"They bear us friendlier feelings than the Jews do."		
"The Arabs aided during the war."		
"We have enough enemies, therefore it is more important for us to keep up good relations with the Arabs."		
"It would be very difficult to take up good relations with the Arabs once they have been disrupted."		
I don't like the Jews:	2	2
"Because I don't like the Jews."		
"The Jews were stinkers and only thinking of their advantages."		
"I prefer the Arabs - and they are friendlier toward Germany than the Jews ever were."		
"A Jew gives you 1000.-- and he asks you for 2000.-- after a year."		
Restitution to Israel may be paid later from the surplus gained through foreign trade:	2	2
"We want to earn money."		
"Trade first - afterwards let's pay from the profits."		
"By trade we can earn money which we can give to the Jews later on."		
"That way we could make the money we need to pay the reparations to Israel."		
Germany must not support Israel in her fight against the Arabs:	1	-
"Because we cannot very well help Israel in her fight."		
"We would merely enable the Jews to continue their war against the Arabs."		
"We would help avoiding war in the Orient."		
Other reasons:	2	4
"Otherwise the East Bloc states would trade with the Arabs."		
"We have nothing to make up for generally - why should we spoil our relations with the others - the State of Israel is nonsense, they'll never be able to exist on their own."		
"The people who were responsible for killing the Jews are no longer here and we all would have to pay for those."		
"Only the people who are really damaged ought to be indemnified."		
No opinion / No answer:	1	*
	54%@	59%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer

REASONS ADVANCED FOR PUTTING ISRAEL ACCORD ABOVE ARAB TRADE ...

The few (12%) who judge the Israel accord to be more important than Arab trade voice comments which suggest that as many are moved by fear of Jewish retaliation or sacrifice of international good will, as are impelled by moral considerations.

Also made evident by the present replies is that the 22 per cent who earlier supported the Israel agreement as a moral obligation largely melt away under the threat of economic disadvantage, to the point where only 6 per cent adhere to their original thesis.

"Why do you consider the agreement with Israel to be more important (than trade with the Arab League)?"

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
Moral injustice must be atoned for regardless of economic disadvantages:	6%	12%

"It's a moral obligation, and it must have priority over economic considerations."
"We have to make up for what has happened to the Jews, and when I have to make amends for something I mustn't shrink from sacrifices."
"I think the crimes committed by us weigh heavier than trade relations with peoples even if these are friends of ours."
"We have to fulfill our obligations in any case even if the business relations with the Arabs will suffer from it."
"Fulfillment of moral obligations comes first."
"Right is more important than trade relations."
"Because we have to make up for Hitler's infamous actions at any costs."
"Because we have to make amends for longstanding crimes committed to the Jews."
"No talk about business before the restitution matter is settled."

Friendly terms with the Jews are important for us because of their great influence and their relations:	3	6

"For the moment we would suffer losses but that will be settled soon, it's more important not to incur the hatred of the Jews."
"We want to be at peace with the Jews, at last."
"They shouldn't hesitate any longer to come to terms with the Jews."
"Because those who are good to the Jews now will be rewarded for that.
"The Jews are powerful, if we annoy them we'll have to pay for it."
"Because the Jews all over the world are of greater importance than the Arabs."
"In order to get rid of our guilt and because Israel is more important than the Arabs, the strong Western nations would be offended if we would behave otherwise."
"The Jews rule commerce and can cause serious damage to us."
"We have nothing to do with the Arabs, the Israelites, however, are influential that's why we should get on their side."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
<u>The disagreement with the Arabs may be settled:</u>	2%	2%
"Commercial relations can always be resumed especially since the Arab states can be persuaded in the course of negotiations that we have no other choice."		
"Other means may be developed to do justice to both, the Arabs too."		
"I think that after we have concluded the agreement with Israel, we'll later come to terms with the Arab League, too, that's why I deem it more important."		
"We shall come to an agreement after all."		
"This matter with the Arabs will be settled sooner or later."		
"The Arabs need us anyhow, they need our commercial goods."		
<u>Germany must restore its standing:</u>	2	4
"We must show the world our good will to make up for what has happened."		
"In order to improve Germany's reputation in the world."		
"When we restore friendly terms with the Jews, the other nations will change their attitudes towards us, we have to endeavour to be recognised by other countries, after all."		
"Because this agreement will pave the way to worldwide relations."		
<u>Other reasons:</u>	1	1
"I don't know what great advantages we can expect from the Arabs."		
"In order to keep the Communist Arabs in check, there are many Communists among the Arabs."		
"There is no point in quarrelling, one has to act diplomatically."		
<u>No opinion / No answer</u>	* 14%	- 25%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

D4347

IV. OPPOSITION TO RESTITUTION VIS-A-VIS NEO-NAZISM AND ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES

NEO-NAZISM A LARGE FACTOR IN ANTI-RESTITUTION SENTIMENTS ..

Do current attitudes toward Jewish restitution bear any relation to Neo-Nazism? Study of the comparative figures tabulated following clearly reveals that opposition to Jewish restitution is to a significant extent bound up with pro-Nazi attitudes. Respondents who see more good than evil in National Socialism average almost 20 per cent greater incidence of opposition to restitution on the three questions, than do respondents who see more evil than good.

But it is on the second index that a Neo-Nazi influence on Jewish restitution opinion is most clearly evidenced. Respondents who indicate that they would do all in their power to prevent the return of a Nazi-type party to power are as much in agreement as they are opposed to general German responsibility for Jewish restitution and to the Israel accord. But among more pro-Nazi elements opposition climbs, until in the most distinctively pro-Nazi group it outweighs favorable opinion by margins of three to one and five to one.

It is left to the inference of the reader to estimate the precise significance of the fact that even among West Germans who claim to be most strongly anti-Nazi, support for Jewish restitution does not reliably exceed opposition, and in the framework of Arab opposition bows to opposition by a margin of almost two to one.

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES NO EXPLANATION OF ANTI-RESTITUTION SENTIMENTS ...

It is finally not without interest to note in the present connection, that despite the frequent reference to economic stringencies in justifying rejection of the restitution accord, there is no indication of an appreciably greater economic squeeze on respondents who oppose the Israel agreement than among those who approve.

"The Bundestag has yet to vote on this agreement. What would you prefer, should the Bundestag accept this agreement or should it reject it?"

	Should accept agreement	Should reject agreement	No opinion
"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the development of your economic circumstances during the past year? (If 'satisfied': Very satisfied or fairly satisfied? If 'dissatisfied': Very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"			
Very satisfied	8%	9%	7%
Fairly satisfied	58	53	60
Dissatisfied	25	29	27
Very dissatisfied	8	9	5
No opinion	1	*	1
	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent

"When you consider everything, was there more good in the ideas of National Socialism or more evil?"

"Three persons are talking about the war and everything Germany did to the Jews during the Third Reich.
With whom would you agree?"

	More good than evil	More evil than good	Don't know
"Every individual German bears a certain guilt for what Germany has done to the Jews during the Third Reich and everybody should acknowledge this guilt."	3%	8%	4%
"Not every German needs to feel guilty, but everyone should feel responsible as far as possible to right the wrongs Germany did the Jews during the Third Reich."	27	36	19
"The Germans in general need not feel guilty nor responsible for righting any wrongs to the Jews. Only those who really committed something are guilty as well as responsible."	66	52	55
No opinion	4	4	22
	100%	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(527)	(470)	(199)

"The Bundestag has yet to vote on this agreement. What would you prefer, should the Bundestag accept this agreement or should it reject it?"

Accept it	20%
Reject it	61
No opinion	19
	100%

"What is, in your opinion, more important for West Germany, the agreement with Israel or the continuation of trade relations with the Arab League?"

Agreement with Israel	8%
Trade relations with the Arab League	66
No opinion	26
	100%

D4349

"Suppose a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - tries to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude to this?"

A - I would do everything in my power to prevent it
B - I would not like to see it happen but I would not do anything against it
C - I would not care
D - I would like to see that happen but I would not do anything for it
E - I would welcome it and do everything in my power to support it
X - No opinion

"Three persons are talking about the war and everything Germany did to the Jews during the Third Reich.
With whom would you agree?"

	A	B	C	D	E	No opinion
Guilt	11%	5%	3%	3%	-%	7%
No guilt but responsiblity	40	34	19	30	22	14
Neither guilt nor responsibility	47	58	69	65	76	45
No opinion	2	3	9	2	2	34
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(279)	(330)	(312)	(124)	(49)	(102)

"The Bundestag has yet to vote on this agreement. What would you prefer, should the Bundestag accept this agreement or should it reject it?"

Accept it	43%	29%	18%	25%	14%	7%
Reject it	44	52	48	58	82	23
No opinion	13	19	34	17	4	70
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"What is, in your opinion more important for West Germany, the agreement with Israel or the continuation of relations with the Arab League?

Agreement with Israel	26%	10%	6%	10%	12%	4%
Arab trade relations	49	58	48	69	76	23
No opinion	25	32	46	21	12	73
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

V. PRESENT EXTENT OF ANTI-JEWISH SENTIMENTS

INDICATIONS OF WIDESPREAD ANTAGONISM ...

The considerable tieup of anti-restitution opinions with pro-Nazism carries a strong suggestion, of course, that behind anti-restitution lies anti-Semitism. But more conclusive, though essentially incomplete, evidence of a large reservoir of anti-Jewish sentiments among West Germans emanates from respondents' own comments. The incompleteness of these indications lies in the fact that the net catches only those willing to expose adverse orientations toward the Jews. Since anti-Semitism is publicly frowned upon in West Germany today - whatever may be the case in private - one must assume the existence of many who are unwilling to reveal their feelings to an unknown interviewer.

In the light of such a deflationary factor it is a matter of no little significance that on a generalized open inquiry clearly antagonistic replies were received from almost four in ten of the West Germans sampled.

"Apart from their religion, in what way are most Jews different from other people? (How else?)"*

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Clearly adverse	38%	35%	40%	42%	32%
Indeterminate to favorable answer	39	42	37	37	57
No opinion/No answer	23	23	23	21	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Moreover, study of the tabulated comments (see pages following) will reveal that a considerable proportion of those conservatively classified as indeterminate, are more than a little suggestive of adverse orientations toward the Jews.

All in all, if such returns can be obtained via the relatively crude and open method of public opinion surveying, it would appear distinctly unsafe to conclude that anti-Jewish orientations characterize less than a majority of the West German population. It will remain for further research to bring more evidence to bear on this point. How this situation may compare with that obtaining in other countries is a question beyond the scope of this study.

* The question was deliberately put in this mildly suggestive form to help counterweigh inclinations to cover-up. It might be explained also that group breakdowns are not shown for the present question as they may be misleading since differences obtained may reflect not so much variations in attitude toward the Jews as variations in inclination or ability to conceal adverse attitude.

COMMENTS VOICED ON JEWISH CHARACTERISTICS ...

Respondents' commentaries are listed in some detail below to document the type and intensity of anti-Jewish antagonisms that West Germans currently express.

"Apart from their religion, in what way are most Jews different from other people? (How else?)"

CLEARLY ADVERSE ANSWERS

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
They are unscrupulous businessmen with deceitful business methods:	15%	16%

"Jews are cunning businessmen, they try to profit, they won't stop at anything."
"They seek nothing but their own advantage and whenever they can cheat somebody they do so."
"They all are cunning businessmen and have a wide conscience if it comes to cheating somebody."
"By their crookedness and their sly business manner."
"They want to strike a bargain but like to keep in the background, if a big fraud is found out there's always a Jew behind it."
"That they like to haggle and cheat people."
"We all don't like them because they always did such bad business with us."
"Because they are very business minded and mostly come close to fraud."
"This haggling when they buy something - no decent businessmen."
"They are born crooks."
"Traders - dishonest."
"Jews like to cheat people."
"Try to cheat, insincere."
"Those are trade-people and known as cheaters."
"They are traders from the moment they are born - a Jew is a Jew even if he lies in bed wearing tails and a top-hat."
"I can't stand the garlic-eaters, they haggle and don't agree with me."

They do not want to work:	13	8

"The Jews shirk work."
"They shirk manual work."
"They let other people work for them."
"I don't know of any Jew who did manual work - they all just bargained."
"I haven't seen yet any heavy workers among them."
"They bargain and don't want to work."
"The Jews want to live comfortably and don't want to do much work."
"They are too clever in business and don't like to earn their money by working."

They are greedy for money and egoistic:	8	3

"Money comes first of all for them."
"They are mad about money."
"Greedy for money."
"Because of their eagerness to gain and their profiteering."
"Try to profit from all and everything."
"Too keen on money."
"They are an unscrupulous kind of people, greedy for money, they have corrupted every stable economy."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
<u>They differ in outward appearance - crooked nose, smell of garlic, flat feet, etc.:</u>	6%	3%
"They are dirtier and they look it."		
"Because you know a Jew even from a distance of 100 meters."		
"By their noses, the expression on their faces, the smell of garlic."		
"Mostly by their noses, flat feet, bad smell of garlic."		
"They are all dark-haired, have a long, crooked nose and black eyes."		
"They are of another race - the Jews are just Jews."		
"By their crooked noses, their doings."		
"By their faces, smell of garlic."		
"By their noses, sometimes they rub their hands."		
<u>They are insincere, wily, dishonest, obtrusive, etc.:</u>	5	5
"They are not as sincere as we are, they don't have such honesty, they are more cunning than we are."		
"A Jew never tells you something straight into your face - they are friendly as cats - they work behind the scene."		
"They are not quite sincere."		
"Virtues like faithfulness and honesty they don't possess."		
"Their insincerity - their false friendliness."		
"They are wily."		
"Seldom honest."		
"By their character - they have such an air of uncleanness."		
"They are very submissive."		
"They have a certain obtrusiveness."		
"There were many wily Jews."		
"Their behavior, you can throw out a Jew by your front-door and by the back-door he will enter again."		
<u>They are conceited, arrogant - believe themselves to be chosen people:</u>	3	5
"Because they think they are more than other people."		
"Above all, by their attitude and their unpleasant presumption."		
"They believe themselves to be chosen for higher purposes."		
"By their whole attitude, their way of over-emphasising their personality."		
"Their behavior is different - more arrogant."		
"They are very conceited."		
<u>They are parasites, without a native country, restless, wandering:</u>	1	2
"They are always of a restless behavior and pretend they are only tolerated by the others - seem to be parasites among the nations."		
"They give the impression of being always restless."		
"Their conception of life, restless, wandering, their native country is where money is best to be made."		
"In practice they haven't any national feelings."		
"Their race is wandering and therefore unrooted."		
"Soulless, restless."		
"Most of them are not in their own country."		
<u>Other adverse answers:</u>	1	1
"Certainly they are no soldiers."		
"They are so uncivilised - those from the East."		
"The characteristic qualities have been made known sufficiently during the Third Reich, I can't explain them by words."		
	32%	43%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

INDETERMINATE TO FAVORABLE ANSWERS

	WEST GERMAN	WEST BERLIN
Clever businessmen and merchants:	13%	27%
"By their commercial skill."		
"With regard to commerce the Jews are more efficient."		
"They are the cleverest businessmen."		
"That they sell cheaper than our merchants."		
"They are especially gifted for trade and finance."		
"They are superior businessmen."		
"Compared with us they are commercially more efficient."		
"They are good businessmen."		
"They are born for business."		
"They are very good in business."		
"They are very clever businessmen."		
They differ in outward appearance:	9	7
"The shape of the forehead."		
"The long nose."		
"They are mostly small of stature."		
"They have aquiline noses."		
"Because they are of another type, a different expression of countenance, nose, complexion, are different."		
"By their outward appearance."		
"By their noses, their whole bearing."		
"By their features."		
"Jews are dark-haired and have a long nose."		
"Racial."		
They have other customs and habits, education, rites, character:	5	2
"They have a different faith."		
"The Jews live according to the laws of the Talmud."		
"Because of the different rites of such races."		
"In respect of their character, the different race."		
"By their character."		
"Because they are circumsised."		
"Because they are not baptized."		
"By their customs, their funerals are different."		
"They have other customs and habits."		
"They don't eat pork."		
They have a feeling of solidarity:	3	9
"By their solidarity."		
"The Jews are a people who always stick together."		
"Among themselves the Jews stick together, against Christians they are very skeptical and try to fight the prejudices other people have against their race."		
"They are different by birth, too firmly rooted in their own tradition so that they cannot agree with other people."		
"They really stick together."		
"They have more solidarity than Christians."		
"They keep away from Christians and concern themselves only with their like."		
"As a race they have more solidarity."		
"They won't let one of their own race down."		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	WEST BERLIN
<u>They have different characteristics (intelligence, industry, etc.):</u>	3%	12%
"By their predominating intellect."		
"The Jews are mostly inclined to take up professional careers."		
"As a whole, the Jews are tougher, more industrious, more easily content and more economical than the Aryans - I think they are more idealistically-minded than the Aryans."		
"They are much more adaptable, tougher."		
"Very energetic."		
"Methodical, whatever they undertake they carry out."		
<u>They keep their race pure:</u>	1	1
"The majority of them keep their race pure."		
"That they keep their people clean."		
"They seldom mingled with other people."		
<u>Other answers:</u>	2	1
"They are not so very sociable."		
"They have a keener flair for politics."		
"With those from Eastern Galicia we have no contact whatever, we're different in physical as well as spiritual respect."		
"They obey the rules of their religion more faithfully than do the Christians, they are more casual about things like that."		
"I used to work for Jews, they always were very kind to me, often more kind than Christians."		
<u>They are no different - people like you and me:</u>	17	22
"No, they are the same kind of people as we are."		
"I haven't noticed that Jews are different from Christians, there are good and bad people on either side."		
"For me, there are no differences, all people are alike before God."		
"I don't see a difference, all people are human beings in my eyes."		
"I don't see any difference, they are people like you and me."		
"They, too, are human beings."		
"We all have our faults and our good sides, so we are all alike."		
"They are not different."		
"As for me they're not different from other people."		
"I don't see any difference."		
	53%	81%
<u>NO OPINION AND NO ANSWER</u>	23%	11%
TOTAL:	120%@	135%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04365

APPENDIX

"Have you perhaps heard something about an agreement between our Federal Government and the State of Israel?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, heard something	55%	59%	50%	55%	66%
No, heard nothing	45	41	50	45	34
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Yes, heard something	No, heard nothing	No. of cases:
Sex:			
Men	75%	25%	618
Women	35	65	578
Education:			
Elementary school	49	51	968
Beyond elementary	84	16	226
Income (per month):			
0 - 149 DM	37	63	179
150 - 299 DM	51	49	451
300 - 399 DM	60	40	289
400 DM and more	72	28	243
Age:			
18 - 24 years	49	51	149
25 - 34 years	55	45	254
35 - 44 years	59	41	254
45 - 54 years	56	44	265
55 years and over	55	45	271
Party Preference:			
SPD	59	41	292
CDU/CSU	56	44	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	74	26	118
BHE	57	43	54
Other parties	50	50	40
No party	50	50	84
Don't know	46	54	323
Occupation:			
Professionals	80	20	56
Businessmen	64	36	127
White-collar workers	72	28	138
Skilled laborers	60	40	236
Semi-skilled laborers	49	51	175
Farmers	43	57	138
Housewives	31	69	32
Unemployed	48	52	44
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	46	54	214
Religion:			
Catholics	53	47	539
Protestants	55	45	594
Origin:			
Natives	56	44	958
Expellees, Refugees	54	46	238

"Do you happen to know whether any other foreign states protested against this agreement between West Germany and Israel? (Which ones?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	Berlin
Yes, right, Arab League	37%	40%	33%	35%	42%
Yes, others	2	1	2	1	4
No opinion	61	59	65	64	54
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Yes, right, Arab League	Yes, others	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	55%	2%	43% ...100%	618
Women	17	2	81	578
Education:				
Elementary school	30	1	69	968
Beyond elementary	68	3	29	226
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	23	1	76	179
150 - 299 DM	31	2	67	451
300 - 399 DM	42	1	57	289
400 DM and more	52	2	46	243
Age:				
18 - 24 years	23	1	76	149
25 - 34 years	40	2	58	254
35 - 44 years	39	2	59	254
45 - 54 years	38	2	60	265
55 years and over	39	1	60	279
Party Preference:				
SPD	39	2	59	292
CDU/CSU	34	1	65	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	62	2	36	118
BHE	41	2	57	54
Other parties	37	-	63	48
No party	34	-	66	84
Don't know	29	2	69	323
Occupation:				
Professionals	70	-	30	56
Businessmen	41	2	57	127
White-collar workers	54	2	44	138
Skilled laborers	40	1	59	236
Semi-skilled laborers	26	1	73	175
Farmers	25	4	71	138
Housewives	19	-	81	38
Unemployed	43	-	57	44
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	30	1	69	214
Religion:				
Catholics	30	2	68	539
Protestants	40	2	58	594
Origin:				
Natives	37	1	62	958
Expellees, Refugees	36	2	62	238

04357

III. SOME SIDELIGHTS ON NATIONALISM

There has been no intention in the present study to attempt a detailed treatment of nationalism. The term is in fact very elusive to define. All that is being alluded to in the present connection are some indications which may be reasonably characterised as nationalistic, and which, it will be demonstrated, bear more than a little relationship to Neo-Nazism.

NATIONALIST ORIENTATIONS ON THE RISE ...

Using nationalism in the sense of the opposite of internationalism, the results of the present study suggest that over the past year and a half there has been a significant rise in nationalism among the West German public. On a question cast in a realistic argumentative setting attitudes have shifted from preponderantly internationalist in mid '51, to preponderantly nationalist in late 1952.

"Mr. Braun and Mr. Schulze are discussing what Germany's policy should be when East and West Germany are re-united and the four occupation powers have left Germany."

Mr. Schulze says: "I am of the opinion that Germany should try to form a common government together with the other European nations. That would not only contribute to the welfare of the Germans but to that of the other West European nations as well."

Mr. Braun says: "I am of the opinion that Germany should rather remain by herself - as she has been in the past - because the Germans know best what is good for themselves; only then the common welfare of all Germans will receive the necessary attention."

"Which of these two opinions comes closest to your own?"

WEST GERMAN TREND

	August 51	Oct/Nov 51	Nov/Dec 52
Mr. Schulze	46%	39%	40%
Mr. Braun	34	46	49
Qualified answer	1	2	1
No opinion	19	13	10
	100%	100%	100%

	WEST GERMANY (1196)	British Zone (622)	US Zone (433)	French Zone (141)
Mr. Schulze	40%	39%	40%	46%
Mr. Braun	49	51	49	41
Qualified answer	1	1	2	1
No opinion	10	9	9	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%

04359

NATIONALISM MOST WIDESPREAD AMONG NEO-NAZIS ...

Though nationalist attitudes are not lacking among others as well, they manifest most frequent expression, in the present connection, among individuals of Neo-Nazi bent.

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"

	Would do everything to prevent it	Dislike but would do nothing against it	Would like to see it happen	Wouldn't care	No opinion
	(280)	(331)	(175)	(313)	(97)
"Which of these two opinions comes closest to your own?"					
Mr. Schulze (Common government)	56%	46%	34%	30%	23%
Mr. Braun (Remain by itself)	40	49	64	53	35
Qualified answers	*	1	-	2	3
No opinion/No answer	4	4	2	15	39
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

The drop in internationalist support, with a corresponding rise in nationalism, becomes all the more significant when it is observed where among population groups it most distinctively occurs (see page following). Again, it is the youth and the FDP, who figured so prominently in Neo-Nazi trends (see Part I in paper), who are at the fore. The tabulations make it evident that currently not only are youth as a group no more widely internationalist than other age levels, but indeed are now preponderantly nationalist in orientation on the index employed.

The FDP adherents for their part exhibit the sharpest rise in nationalism since the preceding survey, of any of the population groups examined.

Beyond these more specific indications nationalism appears to have risen at least in some degree in all important population groups, thus suggesting there are general as well as specific factors at work.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

04360

Mr. Braun and Mr. Schulze are discussing what Germany's policy should be when East and West Germany are reunited and the four occupation powers have left Germany.

"Which of these two opinions comes closest to your own?"

	Should try to form a common government (Mr. Schulze)			Should rather remain by herself (Mr. Braun)			Qualified answers			No opinion			No. of cases
	Aug 51	Oct 51	Dec 52	Aug 51	Oct 51	Dec 52	Aug 51	Oct 51	Dec 52	Aug 51	Oct 51	Dec 52	
Sex:													
Men	59%	49%	45%	33%	43%	50%	2%	2%	1%	6%	6%	4%	618
Women	35	30	35	34	48	48	1	2	1	30	20	16	578
Education:													
Elementary school	41	34	36	36	48	52	1	2	1	22	16	11	968
Beyond elementary	65	60	58	24	33	36	2	5	2	9	2	4	226
Income (per month):													
0 - 299 DM	40	33	36	34	47	51	1	2	1	25	18	12	630
300 - 399 DM	55	42	34	35	50	58	-	3	1	10	5	7	289
400 DM and more	64	58	57	26	34	37	3	3	2	7	5	4	243
Age:													
18 - 24 years	51	37	39	35	53	51	1	1	1	13	9	9	149
25 - 34 years	51	40	42	35	48	49	2	3	1	12	9	8	254
35 - 44 years	50	44	42	28	40	49	1	3	2	21	13	7	254
45 - 54 years	45	38	39	37	46	49	*	2	2	18	14	10	265
55 years and over	32	36	39	34	43	48	1	1	1	33	20	12	271
Party Preference:													
SPD	58	42	44	36	53	51	1	2	1	5	3	4	292
CDU/CSU	53	45	48	32	44	46	2	2	*	13	9	6	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	68	66	43	30	30	52	2	3	2	*	1	3	118
Other parties	45	37	43	44	57	48	3	-	-	8	6	9	102
No party	40	39	29	36	42	53	-	4	4	24	15	14	84
Don't know	27	25	32	26	42	49	1	2	1	46	31	18	323
Occupation:													
Professionals	66	65	55	21	24	32	3	9	4	10	2	9	56
Businessmen	60	43	45	32	49	44	1	1	4	7	7	7	127
White-collar workers	59	50	49	26	39	44	2	3	1	13	8	6	138
Skilled laborers	47	40	43	35	49	51	1	1	1	17	10	5	236
Semi-skilled laborers	46	35	36	34	53	54	1	3	1	19	9	9	175
Farmers	32	37	31	41	40	54	1	1	-	26	22	15	138
Unemployed	-	37	43	-	55	50	-	2	-	-	6	7	44
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	32	30	32	36	44	53	-	1	-	32	25	15	214
Trade Union Membership:													
Yes, member	60	49	-	33	44	-	-	3	-	7	4	-	187
No	43	38	-	33	45	-	1	2	-	23	15	-	1004
Religion:													
Catholics	47	36	42	30	46	48	1	2	1	22	16	9	539
Protestants	43	41	38	37	45	51	1	2	1	19	12	10	594
Origin:													
Natives	47	39	39	32	46	50	1	2	1	20	13	10	958
Expellees, Refugees	40	38	43	37	45	49	2	2	*	21	15	8	238
Veteran Status:													
Yes	65	53	-	30	40	-	2	3	-	3	4	-	339
No	48	44	-	38	46	-	1	1	-	13	9	-	244

* Less than one half of one per cent.

NATIONAL ARMY NOW TWO TO ONE PREFERENCE OVER EDC ...

On a second test of nationalism versus internationalist orientations - this time in the context of the military - the trend has not been considerable, but it has all been in the direction of strengthening an earlier indication that a German national army definitely outweighs in popular appeal the internationalist conception of the European defense Community. Currently nationalist preferences lead by a margin of two to one.

"Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe - which way would you consider preferable?"

"A West German national army should be established which would participate in the defense of West Europe."

"German divisions should be integrated in a general European Army."

	WEST GERMAN TREND	
	Feb 52	Nov/Dec 52
National army	43%	47%
Integrated army	25	22
No opinion (including insistences on neither)	32	31
	100%	100%

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
National army	47%	46%	49%	40%
Integrated army	22	24	20	21
No opinion	31	30	31	49
	100%	100%	100%	100%

As might be expected it is the national type army that garners most of the Neo-Nazi vote.

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"

"Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in a defense of West Europe. In case West Germany participated in the defense of West Europe, which way would you consider preferable?"	Would do everything to prevent it	Dislike but would do nothing against it	Would like to see it happen	Wouldn't care	No opinion
A West German national army should be established.	44%	51%	60%	45%	23%
German troop contingents should be integrated into a general West European army.	35	22	23	14	9
Qualified answers					
No opinion/No answer	21	27	17	41	68
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

04362

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

Though the number of cases is not enough in every instance to be entirely reliable, the gains in nationalism in the military area are most in evidence in important population sectors, among which are youth, the better educated, and individuals of professional occupations.

"Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe - which way would you consider preferable?"

	National army		Integrated army		No opinion		No. of cases:
	Feb 52	Dec 52	Feb 52	Dec 52	Feb 52	Dec 52	
Sex:							
Men	55%	58%	28%	25%	17%	17%	100% 618
Women	33	35	21	18	46	47	578
Education:							
Elementary school	43	46	22	19	35	35	968
Beyond elementary	41	50	36	36	23	14	226
Income (per month):							
0 - 299 DM	41	44	22	20	37	36	630
300 - 399 DM	48	54	25	18	27	28	289
400 DM and more	51	47	35	32	14	21	243
Age.							
18 - 24 years	44	52	24	21	32	27	149
25 - 34 years	51	49	24	23	25	28	254
35 - 44 years	39	44	23	24	32	32	254
45 - 54 years	46	46	25	22	29	32	265
55 years and over	36	45	26	20	38	35	271
Party Preference:							
SPD	47	54	30	21	23	25	292
CDU/CSU	42	47	34	28	24	25	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	55	58	35	29	10	13	118
Other parties	55	48	28	20	17	32	102
No party	47	46	19	17	34	37	84
Don't know	26	36	13	18	61	46	323
Occupation:							
Professionals	36	50	33	38	31	12	56
Businessmen	48	50	32	25	20	25	127
White-collar workers	43	51	27	29	30	20	138
Skilled laborers	52	55	22	17	26	28	236
Semi-skilled laborers	41	40	24	22	35	38	175
Farmers	39	48	15	15	46	37	138
Housewives	-	28	-	31	-	41	32
Unemployed	59	55	9	20	32	25	44
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	34	37	31	21	35	42	214
Religion:							
Catholics	39	46	27	24	34	30	539
Protestants	46	46	22	21	32	33	594
Origin:							
Natives	44	46	24	24	32	30	958
Expellees, Refugees	40	49	25	16	35	35	238

REASONS EXPRESSED FOR OPPOSING INTEGRATED ARMY ...

The extent of non-German control with consequent possibilities of exploitation and misuse is the most frequent type of objection to the integrated European army concept. Less frequently mentioned are alleged inefficiency, confusion and disharmony.

"Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe - which way would you consider preferable?"

"What do you have to criticize about solution B (integrated army)?"

	WEST GERMANY
<u>In an integrated army German troops would be under the command of foreign powers:</u>	18%
"In such case we'd be mercenaries for foreign interest groups."	
"Our men would have to serve as ordinary soldiers, while others would provide the officers."	
"I can't accept it that our people should become colonial troops."	
"Because we'd be under the command of foreigners."	
"We'd be degraded to mere auxiliary troops of the others."	
"There'd be no equality."	
"We don't want any foreign commanders, we'd only play second fiddle, that's it."	
"We'd just be a pawn in the hands of the others."	
"Because we'd always be subalterns in the eyes of those foreigners, all they'd do would be to order our boys around."	
"We should not let the others give orders to us, German officers are capable."	
"We'd only be exploited and would play a subordinate role."	
"So that we won't be suppressed by the others."	
"We'd probably be at a disadvantage and would not have any say in matters."	
"We'd have only very limited rights, the others would overrule us on any matter that might come up."	
"The German divisions would not be independent."	
"Because they'd just push us in some corner, we wouldn't have any say in matters any more."	
"If solution B would be realised, we'd have to accept orders from other nations and their commanders."	
"Because they would not be fully equal to the others."	
"Because we would not be able to make any decisions."	
<u>An integrated army would expose German troops to exploitation and misuse:</u>	11
"Because in that case the others would use us just as cannon fodder."	
"I fear we'd just serve as slaves for the others."	
"All they'd do would be to use our soldiers as tools, they'd exploit them as if they were slaves."	
"We would only have to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for others."	
"They can do what they please with German troops serving in a European army, there's a danger that they will be sent to the toughest spots."	

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMAN

"That German divisions will be sent into action according to strategic plans with which a German commander might not agree."
"We know pretty well what the others are worth as soldiers, we're not a welfare organisation after all, that we should face the music for others."
"Because in that case Germans might have to fight also if there'd be a war in Britain or France."

<u>An integrated army would create inefficiency and confusion</u>: 9%

"If German soldiers are thrown together with others the Germans wouldn't be such efficient soldiers in combat any more."
"Because it's a foolish idea, an international army is of no use, only a national army will stand the test, the other thing will be just a motley crowd that would run away."
"There won't be a successful co-operation because of the different characteristics, I mean in military respects only."
"The supreme command will probably never agree."
"There will be a lot of squabbles, people usually don't hold the same view, if the soldiers were thrown together, a lot of quarrelling would be the result, the European army could never be placed under a single command, as it would be too difficult to come to an understanding, and to consider all the angles."
"You could well compare the European army with conditions existing under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, nobody serving in such a motley outfit would know what to fight for."
"Mutual understanding isn't good enough yet to ensure a supreme command that judges things in an impartial way, a French commander would think differently from a Dutch commander."
"These many nations cannot be united under a joint command, different languages."
"Because you can rely more on your own people if things get critical, in the last war already, troops were mixed, so when the Italians beat it, our boys had to retreat, too."

<u>The Germans should keep to themselves - a national army is preferable</u>: 5

"We are Germans and have to find a way by ourselves to get things under control."
"German soldiers should keep to themselves."
"To be master in one's own house, we would manage better by ourselves."
"Everybody should mind his own business."
"I think it'd be better if we'd be on our own."
"Maybe it's better if we serve in an army of our own."
"A national army would be preferable to making up a unit in a joint army."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMAN

In an integrated army especially the French and the Germans would not get along: 1%

"It would never be possible for us to serve with the French in the same outfit and to fight together."
"Because Germans will never feel respect for the French, and cannot accept orders from them."
"If Frenchmen, Belgians and Germans are thrown together, trouble will brew, and the Germans would be the losers."
"That maybe we would be the losers, we never get along with the French."
"The French are envious of us."
"The French could, for instance, send German troops to whatever place they wanted to, and we couldn't do anything about it."

They can't condemn German soldiers or retain them as prisoners of war on the one hand - and raise an army together with the Germans on the other: 1

"You can't condemn German soldiers in Nuremberg when you expect us, on the other hand, to sacrifice our men serving in armies of other nations, that's out."
"We can't fight shoulder to shoulder with the others, as they still detain former German soldiers."
"Because the POW's aren't back yet, thus Germans would be the hench-men of fellow Germans."

Time has not yet come for setting up a European army: 1

"Europe hasn't yet got so far as to be able to raise a European army."
"I wouldn't object if there'd be such a thing as a United Europe, but if a few countries belong to it only, it can't last."

Other reasons: 2

"Because the others lack dash, you can't rely on them as you can on our men."
"Why should we slug it out with all of Europe?"
"Nobody will do any harm to us Germans, but if we side with one party, we'll have to suffer with them."
"The Germans would be the suckers later on, they'd put the blame on them."

No opinion / No answer: 2 / 50%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS EXPRESSED FOR OPPOSING NATIONAL ARMY ...

The minority opposing a German national army argues in the following vein.

"Aside from whether you are for or against West Germany's participation in the defense of West Europe - which way would you consider preferable?"

"What do you have to criticize about solution A (German national army)?"

	WEST GERMANY
A European army means more strength:	%
"We are more powerful with a joint army."	
"As things are developing in Europe, there will be no other choice, we on our own aren't efficient enough."	
"We depend on the support of the Allies in any case, we alone won't achieve anything."	
"It would probably be disadvantageous if we would set up an own army, each nation must contribute its share to the defense."	
"In case we are attacked a German army wouldn't do."	
"We are too weak to set up an army of our own."	
A national army handicaps European integration:	4
"I'm not so much for emphasizing national thinking but would rather see the European idea come to life."	
"It would hamper our efforts to settle the European problem."	
"The plan of a United Europe can't be promoted if each country manages its affairs on its own."	
"There would be too much nationalism among the Germans, they tend to go their own way."	
"I give preference to a united Europe, that would put an end to a national army."	
"Solution B helps to establish friendly terms between nations, and these may lead to a union."	
"In order to prevent a future war in Europe."	
A national army involves the risk of reviving militarism, and misusing military power:	4
"That bloody German army, this useless drill."	
"Because we would get nothing but the old Prussian drill."	
"Because a German army would soon start another war."	
"In that case we could again start military actions on our own."	
"I'm very much against Prussian militarism which has caused most of the past wars."	
"Because I'm still fed up with the last army."	
"I never liked the Prussian training methods, and these would be a prominent feature in a national army."	
A national army would arouse fear of new German aggression among the Western nations:	2
"Means a danger to every neighbor and requires counter - actions."	
"France would never feel safe."	
"That would put us in opposition with France."	
"A German national army would frighten the French to death."	
"They hate Germany all over the world, and a national army would increase Germany's isolation, if there are other countries participating they'll realize that we play the game straight."	

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMANY

A national army involves the risk of Germans having to fight in the most dangerous places - it might produce inequities and quarrelling: 2%

"We Germans would only serve as cannon fodder for the others, we would be sent to the front line, that means we would have to risk our necks first."
"Because we would be used as a buffer, this could be prevented if the other nations participate in an army."
"Because only the Germans would have to go to the front-line."
"They are sure to bully our soldiers in a national army."

We cannot afford a national army, we need the aid of other countries: 2

"It would cost a lot and the equipment itself would not be as good as if it came from America."
"Solution B provides more support, especially in the financial field."
"Because we are not sufficiently equipped for a defense."
"We are too poor to set up an army of our own."

Other reasons: 3

"We haven't got capable officers any more."
"It would mean provoking Russia."
"The danger of war would be increased."

No opinion / No answer: 1

2%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MANY STILL THINKING IN TERMS OF GERMAN HEGEMONY ...

Part of the idea of European integration is doing away with the nationalist seeking after top dog position that has so long disturbed the peace of Europe. It comes as an additional suggestion of nationalist strains in current German thinking that despite the consequences attaching to earlier expression of the same orientation, a majority still state that they would like to see West Germany the "strongest country" in Western Europe, and a preponderance hold that in fact West Germany is entitled to play the leading role in the Europe of the future.

"Considering what place West Germany may take in a future Western Europe, would you like seeing West Germany become the strongest country in Western Europe or would you not like it?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Would like it	57%	54%	61%	56%
Would not like it	27	28	26	25
No opinion	16	18	13	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Are you of the view that after all we Germans are entitled to play the leading role in Europe in the future, or do you not think so?"

Yes, entitled to it	41%	38%	42%	50%
No, not entitled to it	32	35	32	24
No opinion	27	27	26	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%

It is not without note, however, that on both queries above there is more than a negligible minority who express dissent.

Neo-Nazis particularly yearn to see West Germany on top again, though fewer feel that her circumstances are such as to entitle her to play the leading role."

"Supposing a new party - that is similar to the NSDAP - would try to come to power in West Germany, what would be your attitude toward it?"

"Considering what place West Germany may take in a future Western Europe, would you like seeing West Germany become the strongest country in Western Europe or would you not like it?"	Would do everything to prevent it	Dislike but would do nothing against it	Would like to see it happen	Wouldn't care	No opinion
Would like it	47%	58%	75%	59%	39%
Would not like it	44	30	20	18	9
No opinion	9	12	5	23	52
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
"Are you of the view that after all we Germans are entitled to play the leading role in Europe in the future, or do you not think so?"					
Yes, entitled to it	44%	35%	58%	39%	32%
No, not entitled to it	43	41	26	22	12
No opinion	13	24	16	39	56
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* The cross tabulations below and the group breaks following behave a little erratically in terms of prior indicated characteristics of the various groupings. This leads to a suspicion, evidence for which is apparent in the accompanying comments, that a cross cutting ambiguity entered the present query, i.e. that some respondents answered the questions more in terms of whether they believed Germans could obtain leadership status, rather than whether they believed German qualities and achievements entitled them to such a role.

04369

GROUP VARIATIONS ...

Liking for the idea of West Germany once again the strongest country in West Europe outweighs dissenting inclinations among all population groups. On the more interesting question of whether Germans deserve to play the leading role or not (see page following) it is notable that German youth are in the van of nationalistically oriented opinion.

"Considering what place West Germany may take in a future Western Europe, would you like seeing West Germany become the strongest country in Western Europe or would you not like it?"

	Would like it	Would not like it	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	62%	30%	8% ...100%	618
Women	51	24	25	578
Education:				
Elementary school	57	25	18	968
Beyond elementary	54	38	8	226
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	56	24	20	630
300 - 399 DM	55	32	13	289
400 DM and more	59	31	10	243
Age:				
18 - 24 years	59	26	15	149
25 - 34 years	59	27	14	254
35 - 44 years	56	28	16	254
45 - 54 years	52	29	19	265
55 years and over	59	25	16	271
Party Preference:				
SPD	56	33	11	292
CDU/CSU	55	33	12	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	68	25	7	118
Other parties	65	22	13	102
No party	53	27	20	84
Don't know	53	19	28	323
Occupation:				
Professionals	54	32	14	56
Businessmen	54	31	15	127
White-collar workers	51	35	14	138
Skilled laborers	55	34	11	236
Semi-skilled laborers	60	21	19	175
Farmers	59	22	19	138
Housewives	59	16	25	32
Unemployed	55	25	20	44
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	60	20	20	214
Religion:				
Catholics	56	30	14	539
Protestants	59	23	18	594
Origin:				
Natives	56	28	16	958
Expellees, Refugees	59	25	16	258

"Are you of the view that after all we Germans are entitled to play the leading role in Europe in the future, or do you not think so?"

	Yes, entitled to it	No, not entitled to it	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	47%	36%	17% ...100%	619
Women	34	29	37	578
Education:				
Elementary school	41	29	30	968
Beyond elementary	42	45	13	226
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	41	28	31	630
300 - 399 DM	40	35	25	289
400 DM and more	44	40	16	243
Age:				
18 - 24 years	46	29	25	149
25 - 34 years	40	39	21	254
35 - 44 years	42	32	26	254
45 - 54 years	43	29	28	265
55 years and over	38	31	31	271
Party Preference:				
SPD	41	41	18	297
CDU/CSU	46	31	23	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	43	40	17	118
Other parties	49	24	27	102
No party	38	30	32	84
Don't know	35	25	40	323
Occupation:				
Professionals	34	54	12	56
Businessmen	42	35	23	127
White-collar workers	40	41	19	138
Skilled laborers	44	37	19	236
Semi-skilled laborers	48	26	26	175
Farmers	34	20	46	138
Housewives	41	28	31	37
Unemployed	43	27	30	44
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	41	25	34	214
Religion:				
Catholics	42	31	27	539
Protestants	41	32	27	594
Origin:				
Natives	42	32	26	958
Expellees, Refugees	40	31	29	230

REASONS JUSTIFYING GERMAN LEADERSHIP ...

Reasons advanced in justification of the position that Germans are entitled to play the leading role in Europe consist in the main of unhesitant statements of alleged German superiority in qualities and achievements.

"Are you of the view that after all we Germans are entitled to play the leading role in Europe in the future, or do you not think so?"

IF "Yes, entitled to it":

"For what reasons do you think are we entitled to play the leading role?"

	WEST GERMANY
<u>Because Germans are outstandingly industrious, ambitious and efficient:</u>	17%
"We're tougher, more industrious, more persevering, more ambitious, to put it shortly."	
"Because we are a very capable people, within a short time we'd become the most powerful nation of them all without any outside help."	
"Because we're the most ambitious in all of Europe."	
"The Germans strive for a leading role in Europe, because in many respects the Germans are way ahead."	
"As to intelligence and industry, a leading role in a future Europe would be due to us, no doubt."	
"Because the German nation is made up of diligent people, we are more set on getting ahead than are the French."	
"Because I think the German workers are the most intelligent and industrious of them all."	
"Because the others are pretty lazy."	
"I think we're more capable than the others."	
"Because our people are hard working and aspiring, and only those nations that possess these qualities will guarantee a promising future for Europe."	
"I think we Germans are the most intelligent nation."	
<u>Because Germans are in the van culturally, technically and scientifically:</u>	14
"Because our culture is the greatest and the most ancient, and our scholars are the most able of them all."	
"Because there are so many bright people in Germany, our engineers are the most efficient there are."	
"If nobody hampers us, we'll produce the most wonderful things out of nothing, we're the most intelligent people in Europe, that's it."	
"Because we are a top-rank people, inventions of all kinds, brain work."	
"In economic and agrarian respect German products are the best throughout the world, in technical sciences Germany is the most progressive of them all."	
"Because we're leading in economic respect, and that's why we're entitled to playing a leading role, we're at the top in arts and sciences, too."	
"I've knocked about in the world quite a bit, I saw that in other countries people aren't as advanced in economic and social respect as are the Germans."	
"Because we may well believe that the way we go at things in the fields of technics, sciences and economy, will get us somewhere."	
"Germany produced great men in the fields of arts and sciences, great inventions were made by Germans, too."	
"They've always had useful ideas for Europe and a solid knowledge."	

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMANY

Because of Germany's central location: 7%

"We're located in the heart of Europe and must, therefore, hold a leading position."
"Considering our geographical location."
"Germany makes up the centre of Europe."
"Considering our location within Europe alone."
"Because Germany is centrally located, and has the abilities to play a leading part, too."
"Because our nation lives in the centre of Europe."
"Because our country is located right in the centre and we managed things in political as well as economic respect capably."
"Because of that country's central position, through its location it's got all prerequisites needed."
"We're located right in the middle."

Because a leading role is traditionally due to Germany: 5

"Because we've always been ahead of the other nations in all field."
"Because, take any field you may, we're more advanced, and we played a leading role in the past."
"Because we've always been the greatest nation (in Europe)."
"Because Germany constitutes a factor in Europe that can't be discounted, the other nations are decadent people."
"Because Germany has been the most powerful nation in the past."
"We had a leading position in earlier times."
"Because we've always been leading politically."
"Because we've got the statesmen to realise such an aim, I think we're powerful enough to be the leading nation in Europe."

Because Germany is a large, densely populated country: 4

"Because of all the nations in Europe, Germany has the greatest number of inhabitants."
"Because, apart from Russia, we're the biggest nation in Europe."
"Numerically, we're the largest nation."
"Considering the number of inhabitants in our country alone."

Because Germany is a bulwark against the East: 1

"Because our country is close to Russia and thus we have to be well prepared in every respect for any possible attacks."
"We are the only bulwark against Communism there is."
"All that is connected with the defense of Germany and Western Europe, after all, we would be the first to be affected by Bolshevist aggression."
"We are an outpost facing Asia."

Other reasons: 5

"We're the best soldiers there are."
"During the world war, 70 per cent of our patents were stolen, this was meant to injure us."
"We were wronged, therefore things have to take a turn some day."
"Because people have been crowded into a small area, they can't live without the Eastern territories."

No opinion / No answer: 2
5%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHY GERMANS NOT ENTITLED TO LEADERSHIP ROLE ...

A ringing emphasis on an equal status - no more and no less - for all, was a frequent theme advanced by respondents disapproving of Germans donning the mantle of leadership in the Europe of the future. Others hold that Germans' past errors disqualify them for such a role. Not a few of the comments, however, are less clear in disclaiming that Germans deserve the leadership role, than they are that Germans would have difficulties in obtaining it.

"Are you of the view that after all we Germans are entitled to play the leading role in Europe in the future, or do you not think so?"

IF "No, not entitled to it":

"For what reasons do you think we are not entitled to play the leading role?"

	WEST GERMANY
<u>All nations should have equal rights, none is entitled to play a leading role:</u>	9%
"There should be no dominant position for any nation in Europe, they all should have the same rights and the same responsibilities."	
"There should be solidarity between them, none of them should try to rule the other."	
"We are for equality of rights, after all, that leaves no room for a dominant position for any one power."	
"Because we want to be equal with the other European countries."	
"We have no means, we can't embark in any venture, we want equality of rights, after all."	
"Because I believe no nation is inferior to another."	
"Because people on the other side of the fence have exactly the same rights we have, nobody is entitled to consider himself superior to others."	
"It's not necessary for anybody to play a leading role, what we need is equality of rights."	
"Because people of one nation are not intellectually superior to people of another nationality, in Europe we all have the same intellectual background."	
"We're all equal and have to co-operate with each other."	
"If one party is presumptuous, nothing but disturbances will ensue."	
"We don't have the right to decide things for another country."	
"People should manage things jointly, otherwise there will be another war."	
"I'm all out for equality of rights, and no leading position, our country is not the biggest and greatest country, after all, and besides I'm for a European Union, I'm afraid there won't be any unification as the other nations aren't any too fond of this idea."	
"What we want is a free Europe in which every country is equally respected, if the Germans get to the top once more, there will be another war with France."	
<u>After we lost two wars, we can't take over a leading position:</u>	5
"Because we are too dependent on the others, Germany lost the war and has to show its good will to maintain friendly relations with the other nations first."	
"Because we aren't powerful any longer, and have lost so many wars."	
"As it is, we have lost the second war already, the others proved to be stronger."	
"Because we were defeated."	
"Because we have to bear heavy burdens because of the last war, we wouldn't pull it anyway, we have enough problems of our own on our hands."	
"We are the defeated, after all."	
"After two lost wars we can't play a leading role any longer."	
"Because we lost the war, for the time being we have to struggle even to exist."	

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

We made so many mistakes we are not fit to play such a role: 4

"Because too many mistakes were made during the past few years, we have to start at the bottom of the ladder once more."
"Because it wouldn't be good for us, it's never been a blessing for us when we played a leading role."
"We spoiled our chances, a certain time has to pass yet."
"The leading role is due to the country that has the best record, and you can't say that of us Germans, to be sure."
"Because we made too many political blunders in the past year, we are politically not yet mature enough to claim a leading role."
"Well, we have to work and learn a lot before we can claim a leading position."
"Because the others think pretty little of us."
"Because we got to be pretty unpopular through Hitler."

Germany is too small and weak a country: 4

"Because we're too small and weak a nation."
"Because the Germans aren't the most powerful nation, in Europe France always has been the leading power, and things should remain the way they are."
"Because we are located in the centre (of Europe) and are too small, we have few capable men."
"Because there's no unified Germany yet."
"Because there's no unity among Germans, as there should be."
"Because there are more powerful countries than Germany."
"Because we aren't a big power any more."
"The Germans are too divided among themselves."

The Germans would fall into the same errors again: 4

"They'd lose all sense of proportion just the way the Nazis did."
"If we should play a leading role, there would be another dictatorship."
"In my opinion the German people isn't mature enough yet, they might fall into the same error again, I mean arroganee."
"If we are in a leading position, we'll lose our heads again."
"They'll never get wiser, they'll commit the same old blunders once more.
"In that case the German government again will treat us Germans in a high-handed manner, it would be the same old story over again."

It would bring on another war: 4

"This leading role we played led to world wars, back in 1914 and in 1939."
"Because they'd get crazy notions once more, and there'd be another war."
"Another war might be brought on if we'd get too big and powerful."
"That would end in another catastrophe, there would be a new war"
"The Germans were never trained for to form their own opinions on political issues, as soon as one nation will be dominant in Europe, peace would be lost."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMANY

If Germany would play a leading role this would soon evoke envy, hatred, and strife: 3%

"It can't be, the envy the others would feel would be so bad as to make them prevent it."
"Because this would only serve to make the others envious of us."
"That would make for ill-feeling."
"It would rekindle the hatred the others feel for us."
"If we'd play a leading role, there'd be envy and hatred and in the end another war."
"If we play a leading role, the others will soon crush us once more."
"The other big powers would never let it come to that, the French will prevent it out of fear."
"We could play a leading role, but Britain and France wouldn't like it and would try to prevent it."

We are not yet entitled to play the leading role - we should sit back: 1

"We should wait and see what happens." ©
"We won't manage to take over a leading position, at present, anyway."
"Because we wouldn't pull it off, anyway."
"We spoiled our chances, we should sit back and wait until everything is forgotten."

Other reasons: 1

"Because we'd be the scape-goat once more."
"Because the others aren't any dumber."
"Because we would have to be afraid once more."

No opinion / No answer: * 35%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04376

THE YEAR'S TRENDS IN WEST GERMAN THINKING ON THE PEACE CONTRACT AND POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCES

Report No. 168
Series No. 2

January 15, 1953

RESTRICTED
OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04377

INTRODUCTION

This report bringing up to date the trends in West German thinking on some of the more important current political issues is based on surveys made throughout 1952 by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. The two most recent surveys reported were made in December 1952, the first from Dec. 2-10, with a sample of approximately 1200 cases, and the second from Dec. 12-20, with a sample of approximately 800 cases. All of the samples used are of the probability type and representative of the populations in the British, U.S. and French zones of West Germany. Interviewing in all the surveys was done by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE REPORT

I. Trends in Reactions Toward the Contractual Agreement

THE PEACE CONTRACT ... which has yet to face its third and final reading in the German Federal parliament does not appear to have gained extensive popular support since its initialing on May 27, 1952.

... Currently, as in June 1952, when attitudes toward the pact were first charted, about a third of the West German public declare in favor of Bundestag ratification. Opposition continues to be registered by about two out of ten, with the remaining half of the people either undecided or entirely unaware of the pact.

Support for ratification is highest among the more influential segments of the population - the better educated, upper income groups and the men. Adherents of the coalition parties also preponderantly favor acceptance; Socialist voters are two to one against ratification

... Personal preferences aside, the preponderant anticipation is that the contract <u>will</u> be ratified, largely, it is thought, because the Adenauer forces will be able to push it through.

DEFENSE PARTICIPATION ... in contrast, has gained steadily in popular appeal throughout the period under review. In February 1952, a preponderance was against West German participation in the defense of Europe. By June, the balance began to shift toward approval, until it now appears to be firmed up at 50 per cent pro participation and 40 per cent against.

... Blurring this favorable picture somewhat is the finding that youth (18-24), the group from which most recruits for a German army will come, continue to be less than enthusiastic about defense participation. At present, fully half (53%) are opposed. Of the 38 per cent in favor, the larger share is only lukewarm.

THE BUNDESTAG DEBATES ... on the contractuals, as broadcast or reported on by press and radio, gained a wide audience among the West German public. Especially as concerns the peace contract, however, they largely appear to have failed to influence opinions one way or another.

II. Trends in Evaluation of the Bonn Government

On the surface, at least, the general internal political situation in West Germany as the New Year begins is one of healthy confidence and satisfaction. This of course refers to the current political scene and not to the more basic political orientations. (See Report # 167.)

THE ADENAUER REGIME ... has gained prestige among West Germans during the past year and a half, to a point where a majority of 60 per cent now express satisfaction with the present government's conduct of affairs.

R E S T R I C T E D

... All groups, except SPD voters, preponderantly approve of the government and even among the Socialists pro and con opinions divide evenly.

ECONOMIC SATISFACTION ... also predominates. As 1952 drew to a close, almost two thirds declare their economic status had improved during the year.

... A preponderance of SPD voters, as well as the lower income and the labor groups, agree with other Germans that they are better off now than a year ago.

... Despite the generally favorable reaction to the economic situation, the chief criticism levelled against the Adenauer regime by the minority dissatisfied with it is its handling of economic problems.

III. Trends in Political Preferences

POSTPONEMENT OF BUNDESTAG ELECTIONS ... until next fall when the constitution requires them, continues to be the majority recommendation among the German people.

... Even SPD voters are preponderantly against immediate parliamentary elections, though the proposal finds more favor among them than among any other population group.

AS TO POLITICAL PREFERENCES, NO MARKED TREND TOWARD SPD ... is apparent at present. Now as throughout the past year, the two major parties, CDU and SPD, vie on almost equal terms through West Germany as a whole.

... Further indication that there is no "band wagon" trend toward SPD is that, personal preferences aside, opinions continue to divide fairly evenly between SPD and CDU as a likely victor if Bundestag elections were held now.

... Those who predict a Socialist victory, base their arguments largely on the socio-economic program of SPD; few mention the contractuals as working to the advantage of SPD. Similarly, the clerical influence rather than CDU's championship of the contractuals is the most frequently given reason for forecasting a CDU triumph at the polls.

REACTIONS TO SPECIFIC POLITICAL ISSUES ... are related to a certain extent to party preferences, but other components, e.g. clericalism, tradition and various basic urges also play an important role in the voter's choice.

... On five issues -- German reunification, the recovery of the lost Eastern territories, the Saar, German security, and West Germany's economic problems -- the present government is selected over a Socialist government by wide margins as more capable of arriving at solutions.

... Though on these issues, the position of CDU and SPD is sharply differentiated, as many as three in 10 SPD voters do not rate a Socialist government more capable on any of the five issues. Only two in 10 SPD voters name the party of their choice as the more capable on all five issues.

... A somewhat similar range occurs among CDU adherents, though they are more inclined than SPD voters to grant their government's superior competence on all of the problems under consideration.

... Thus, while the Adenauer government has clearly built up a reservoir of confidence and has acquired considerable prestige for its conduct of affairs, the fact that preferences for SPD and CDU continue to divide almost equally among potential voters suggests that elections may not necessarily be won or lost on records of accomplishment.

R E S T R I C T E D

I. TRENDS IN REACTIONS TOWARD THE PEACE CONTRACT

CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENT CONTINUES WEAK ON POPULAR SUPPORT ...

As of mid-December, approximately three in ten (32%) West Germans declared in favor of Bundestag ratification of the peace contract. Somewhat less than two in ten (18%) were against it, and about as many (17%) were undecided. The remaining third of the population were unaware there was contractual agreement.

Scrutiny of the trend figures discloses also that there has been no substantial change in pro and con opinions on Bundestag ratification since they were first charted following initialing of the agreement late in May 1952. Throughout the period under review, public approval of ratification has outweighed disapproval by almost two to one. While this is all to the good, the fact that the proponents of ratification have failed to rally mass support must be regarded seriously in view of the political controversy the contract has aroused.

Regional figures for the most recent survey of attitudes on the issue, followed by trend figures for West Germany are given below.

"Have you ever heard or read about the Germany treaty or the contractual agreement?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes	67%	72%	65%	55%
No	33	28	35	45
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept it or reject it?" (Asked of all indicating awareness of contractual agreement after being told - "The Bundestag has yet to vote on the contractual agreement.")

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Accept it	32%	35%	32%	25%
Reject it	18	20	16	16
No opinion	17	17	17	14
	67%	72%	65%	55%

	June '52 (786)	Aug '52 (398)	Oct '52 (391)	Dec '52 (1196)	Dec '52 (772)
Accept it	33%	40%	38%	31%	32%
Reject it	19	17	18	22	18
No opinion	21	14	22	20	17
Unaware	27	29	22	27	33
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Not only have proponents of ratification of the peace contract failed to increase, but those who do favor such a step can marshall up somewhat fewer arguments on the average to defend their viewpoints than was the case last June. This suggests that information efforts in behalf of ratification have not had the effect of reinforcing the views of those already in favor and much less to win converts. The summary trend table follows.Q

REASONS GIVEN FOR FAVORING RATIFICATION

	June '52	Dec '52
Security would be increased	13%	9%
Independence and equality could be achieved	7	5
Germany has no choice, would be a lesser evil	4	8
Progress and improvement in general would result	5	3
Alliance and cooperation with Western Europe is necessary	4	4
Improve chances for reunification	1	1
Economic conditions would improve	-	3
Others	6	1
No reasons given	1	*
	41%**	34%**

On the other hand there is some slight but not conclusive evidence that opponents of ratification have added new arguments for their case. In December a scattered few declared that a general peace treaty be first concluded, that the stain on the German soldiers' honor should go prior to ratification, and that a plebescite should precede ratification. These points were not brought up in the June survey, but have come up in the Bundestag debates as well as in the press during the treaty discussions.

REASONS GIVEN FOR OPPOSING RATIFICATION

	June '52	Dec '52
Rearmament is opposed	8%	5%
Increases danger of war	7	3
No equality, only exploitation	4	5
Would diminish possibility of reunification	3	1
Conclude general peace treaty first	-	1
Germany cannot affor it	1	*
Remove stain of German soldiers' honor first	-	1
Plebescite should precede ratification	-	1
Others	3	4
	26%**	21%**

Q See appendix for detailed pro and con comments for the December survey. See RAS Report # 144 "German Views on the Contractual Agreement Following Initialing and Publication," for arguments advanced in June 1952.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some people gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

04381

PREPONDERANCE EXPECTS RATIFICATION ...

Personal preferences aside, the preponderant anticipation of those aware of the contractual agreement in December is that the Bundestag will ratify it.

"Apart from whether you are for or against the Germany treaty, do you think that the Bundestag will accept it or reject it?" (Asked of those respondents who said they have heard or read about the Germany treaty.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Accept it	47%	47%	48%	43%
Reject it	2	3	2	1
Still doubtful	11	13	10	6
No opinion	7	9	5	5
	67%	72%	65%	55%

BECAUSE ADENAUER WILL PUSH IT THROUGH ...

By far the most frequently given reason (27%) for expecting Bundestag ratification is that the Adenauer government controls the necessary votes. A fraction (7%) argues that the parliament is faced with a choice of "ratify or else," with particular reference to the American position on the issue. Others, probably the pro-ratification group, appear to reason that the Bundestag will in the end recognize the benefits and advantages of the agreement to West Germany and vote accordingly.

"Why do you believe that the Bundestag will accept the Germany treaty?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "accept it" in previous question.)

WEST GERMANY

The governmental parties have the majority of votes:
Because the governmental parties have the majority of votes; because the majority is for it, the CDU is in favor of it; for the reason that the majority, without any doubt, will vote for it; because Adenauer is too strong a personality to let himself be overrun; well, the bigger part of the Bundestag is convinced by the reasons given by Adenauer that it's all to the benefit of the people; Adenauer won two readings, so it is to be feared that he will also win the third one; it was shown by the last voting; because he commands the majority and - he has no choice; the majority of the Bundestag will vote for it, there isn't any other way out; because the CDU members of the Bundestag are for closer relations with other nations; etc. 27%

Otherwise the Western powers (particularly America) would let us down:
Because the Bundestag knows that otherwise the West also would let us down; they can't but agree, that's ordered by the Yanks - if we are not willing to accept we'll be worse off for it; Adenauer must do it because he has to listen to the Americans; because he must do it, because of America; he must do it or America will put us on short rations again; because he acts under pressure of "international capitalism"; etc. 7

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

[redacted]

By the contract Germany cannot but gain and become independent:

Because we, as the former losers, cannot but gain by it; because he is also for a cessation of the occupation status and prefers to be master in his own house; because the Bundestag wants at last to achieve equality of rights and a peace treaty by this; because there is no other way to improve and clarify our position; because they are in the same boat with us, they don't see any other way out; because it would be better; etc. 5%

Security would be increased:

Because they fear the Eastern menace; because it goes without saying that you have to fortify yourself against the East; they regard this as the last chance to protect themselves against Russian aggression; because the majority of the Bundestag is of the opinion that then Russia and Bolshevism would be kept at a distance; the Bundestag is afraid that Russia would start a war, therefore it will accept; that we could maintain our freedom, the Russians must be curbed or they will get still more cheeky; because he (Adenauer) is glad that he received such an offer at all, if that hadn't been so, the Russians perhaps would have already overrun us; etc. 3

There would be a chance to improve economic conditions:

There will be an economic boom; because this is the best solution for fighting unemployment; because the Germany treaty is vitally important, especially to maintain the living standard of the working-classes; that imports and exports may be raised, we depend on the other countries to a great extent; etc. 1

Alliance and cooperation between the nations of Europe is necessary:

He also thinks that it's better for Germany to be integrated into the European community; most people want Germany's integration into the European community, therefore I believe that the treaty will be accepted; etc. 1

Other reasons:

Because a very small majority will be the deciding factor - it'll be a stiff fight; etc. 4

No opinion/No answer: 1

49%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CONTRACTUAL ...

Since no important changes in attitudes toward the contractual have occurred within population groups during recent months, only breakdowns for the latest December survey are shown.

As may be seen in the following tables awareness of the contract as well as approval of its ratification continue to be most frequent among the higher status groups - the better educated and well-to-do, and the men. Also now as formerly, opposition to the treaty is more frequent among Social Democrats than any other group.

"Have you ever heard or read about the Germany treaty or the contractual agreement?"

	Yes	No	No. of cases:
Sex:			
Men	83%	17% ...100%	374
Women	53	47	395
Education:			
Elementary school	62	38	616
Beyond elementary	85	15	156
Income (per month):			
- 299 DM	56	44	412
300 - 399 DM	81	19	201
400 DM and more	80	20	148
Age:			
18 to 24 years	62	38	86
25 - 34 years	72	28	184
35 - 44 years	66	34	163
45 - 54 years	67	33	156
55 years and over	66	34	183
Party Preference:			
SPD	68	32	206
CDU/CSU	68	32	198
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	92	8	63
Other parties	66	34	47
No party	61	39	67
Don't know	60	40	190
Occupation:			
Professionals	96	4	25
Businessmen	75	25	79
White-collar workers	82	18	107
Skilled laborers	73	27	180
Semi-skilled laborers	59	41	90
Farmers	56	44	82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	54	46	145
Religion:			
Catholics	61	39	341
Protestants	71	29	390
Origin:			
Natives	67	33	616
Expellees, Refugees	71	29	149

RESTRICTED

"(The Bundestag has yet to give a final vote on the Germany treaty.) What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept it or reject it?" (Asked of those respondents who had heard or read about the Germany treaty or the contractual agreement.)

	Accept it	Reject it	No opinion	Not asked		No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	42%	27%	14%	17%	...100%	374
Women	23	10	20	47		395
Education:						
Elementary school	27	19	17	37		616
Beyond elementary	54	14	17	15		156
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	24	15	17	44		412
300 - 399 DM	38	23	20	19		201
400 DM and more	46	22	12	20		148
Age:						
18 to 24 years	26	21	15	38		86
25 - 34 years	37	20	15	28		184
35 - 44 years	31	21	14	34		163
45 - 54 years	27	21	19	33		156
55 years and over	35	12	19	34		183
Party Preference:						
SPD	17	36	15	32		206
CDU/CSU	52	5	11	32		198
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	63	13	16	8		63
Other parties	26	25	15	34		47
No party	18	19	24	39		67
Don't know	24	13	23	40		190
Occupation:						
Professionals	48	36	12	4		25
Businessmen	46	14	15	25		79
White-collar workers	46	18	18	18		107
Skilled laborers	27	27	19	27		180
Semi-skilled laborers	25	21	13	41		90
Farmers	32	6	18	44		82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	28	12	14	46		145
Religion:						
Catholics	31	15	15	39		341
Protestants	31	22	18	29		390
Origin:						
Natives	32	19	16	33		616
Expellees, Refugees	35	17	19	29		149

RESTRICTED

04385

"Apart from whether you are for or against the Germany treaty, do you think that the Bundestag will accept it or reject it?"

	Accept it	Reject it	Still doubtful	No opinion	Not asked		No. of cases:
Sex:							
Men	64%	4%	12%	3%	17%	...100%	374
Women	31	1	10	11	47		395
Education:							
Elementary school	42	3	12	6	37		616
Beyond elementary	67	-	8	10	15		156
Income (per month):							
- 299 DM	35	2	10	9	44		412
300 - 399 DM	58	3	14	6	19		201
400 DM and more	64	3	9	4	20		148
Age:							
18 to 24 years	36	1	21	3	39		86
25 - 34 years	54	3	7	8	28		184
35 - 44 years	48	2	10	6	34		163
45 - 54 years	50	4	7	6	33		156
55 years and over	41	1	13	11	34		183
Party Preference:							
SPD	43	6	13	6	32		206
CDU/CSU	51	1	10	6	32		198
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	80	-	6	6	8		63
Other parties	56	-	4	6	34		47
No party	38	3	10	10	39		67
Don't know	37	2	12	9	40		190
Occupation:							
Professionals	72	-	12	12	4		25
Businessmen	52	4	9	10	25		79
White-collar workers	61	-	13	8	18		107
Skilled laborers	51	6	12	4	27		180
Semi-skilled laborers	38	2	13	6	41		90
Farmers	41	-	9	6	44		82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	36	1	8	9	46		145
Religion:							
Catholics	44	2	10	5	39		341
Protestants	47	3	12	9	29		390
Origin:							
Natives	47	3	11	6	33		616
Expellees, Refugees	51	1	9	10	29		149

[redacted]

TREND IS TOWARD PARTICIPATION IN EUROPEAN DEFENSE ...

On the issue of German defense participation, the climate of West German opinion is in balance more favorable than vis-a-vis the peace contract. The trend of thinking during the year has been steadily toward approval of Germany's playing a role in West European defense with a corresponding decline in opposition. At the latest reading, the division of opinion was 50 per cent for participation and 40 per cent against. The fact that in recent months the division of pro and con views has been so stable is a good indication that opinions on the issue are fairly well firmed up, with the balance in favor of participation.

"Are you, in general, for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)"

Dec 1 - 10, 1952

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Very much for it	19%	23%	12%	23%
Somewhat for it	29	30	28	27
Very much against it	26	22	30	31
Somewhat against it	15	15	19	8
No opinion	11	10	11	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Dec 12 - 20, 1952

Very much for it	21%	27%	14%	17%
Somewhat for it	29	28	31	28
Very much against it	26	22	30	33
Somewhat against it	14	12	16	10
No opinion	10	11	9	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%

WEST GERMANY

	Feb '52		May '52		June '52		Aug '52		Oct '52		Dec '52		Dec '52	
Very much for it	16%	43%	18%	44%	18%	47%	17%	45%	20%	47%	19%	48%	21%	50%
Somewhat for it	27		26		29		28		27		29		29	
Very much against it	34	48%	31	46%	24	42%	31	44%	27	41%	26	41%	26	40%
Somewhat against it	14		15		18		13		14		15		14	
No opinion	9		10		11		11		12		11		10	
	100%		100%		100%		100%		100%		100%		100%	

BUT YOUTH CONTINUE PREPONDERANTLY OPPOSED ...

This favorable picture is, however, blurred by the finding that the group from which most recruits for a German army will have to come - those under 25 years of age - continue to be less than enthusiastic about defense participation. At the latest reading, fully half (53%) say they are opposed. Only 38 per cent in contrast favor the idea, the larger proportion of which are "only somewhat in favor." The figures are presented along with other group breakdowns on the next page.

RESTRICTED

04387

HIGHER STATUS GROUPS MORE FAVORABLE TO PARTICIPATION ...

The gains in pro-participation sentiments or the converse, decline in opposition, are more frequently apparent in certain population groups than in others. Among adherents of the coalition parties, CDU and FDP etc. the trend has been toward increased approval, whereas Socialist voters remain preponderantly opposed. Similarly, among higher status groups - the better educated, those in the upper income bracket, and in the professions - have tended to become more favorable to participation than have their counterparts. Farmers, it is to be noted, have also swung toward approval during the past year.

"Are you, in general, for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)"

	Very much for it			Somewhat for it			Very much against it			Somewhat against it			No opinion			No. of cases:
	Feb 52	Oct 52	Dec 52	Feb 52	Oct 52	Dec 52	Feb 52	Oct 52	Dec 52	Feb 52	Oct 52	Dec 52	Feb 52	Oct 52	Dec 52	
Sex:																
Men	22%	25%	27%	29%	28%	28%	34%	27%	28%	13%	14%	11%	2%	6%	6%	374
Women	10	16	15	26	26	30	33	26	25	16	14	15	15	18	15	395
Education:																
Elementary school	14	15	18	26	28	29	36	28	29	15	15	14	9	14	10	616
Beyond elementary	25	36	32	34	25	30	23	21	17	10	11	11	10	7	10	156
Income(per month):																
- 299 DM	14	17	17	27	26	31	34	25	26	14	16	14	11	16	12	412
300 - 399 DM	20	21	22	27	29	28	35	29	30	13	13	11	5	8	9	201
400 DM and more	17	28	30	32	29	24	32	27	22	15	10	15	4	6	9	148
Age:																
18 to 24 years	16	14	17	25	23	21	34	35	33	15	17	20	10	11	9	86
25 - 34 years	12	19	18	24	31	29	41	27	33	17	14	14	6	9	6	184
35 - 44 "	15	20	19	26	27	32	35	26	26	18	15	13	6	12	10	163
45 - 54 "	12	18	17	28	27	32	35	26	26	17	17	12	8	12	13	156
55 years and over	23	27	31	30	25	28	26	21	17	6	9	10	15	18	14	183
Party Preference:																
SPD	11	17	10	26	29	22	44	33	40	16	17	21	3	4	7	206
CDU/CSU	26	29	34	39	35	38	18	17	12	12	11	9	5	8	7	198
FDP/LDP/DVP/ BDV	35	39	41	35	33	34	20	15	11	8	10	8	2	3	6	63
Other parties	21	24	19	29	27	34	31	24	32	17	18	9	2	7	6	47
No party	12	16	18	23	24	20	44	35	34	14	12	10	7	13	18	67
Don't know	8	12	14	19	19	27	30	22	27	15	17	14	28	30	18	190
Occupation:																
Professionals	17	32	28	33	26	36	31	25	20	14	8	8	5	9	8	25
Businessmen	22	22	22	31	29	38	25	29	16	13	12	10	9	8	14	79
White-collar workers	16	27	28	35	27	29	27	27	23	13	13	12	9	6	8	107
Skilled laborers	10	17	17	23	29	23	46	27	35	17	18	14	4	9	11	180
Semi-skilled laborers	9	15	12	29	26	24	38	29	35	19	17	20	5	13	9	90
Farmers	6	16	26	24	25	30	39	27	18	15	16	17	16	16	9	82
Not employed: pens.;students; retired;etc.	26	19	23	27	25	31	27	23	25	9	11	8	11	22	13	145
Religion:																
Catholics	15	19	21	31	28	32	32	26	25	13	13	12	9	14	10	341
Protestants	16	20	19	25	28	27	34	26	28	15	15	15	10	11	11	390
Origin:																
Natives	13	18	20	28	27	29	36	28	27	14	14	14	9	13	10	616
Expellees, Refugees	26	26	25	23	27	29	27	20	22	15	15	13	9	12	11	149

RESTRICTED

[redacted]

MANY HEARD PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES ...

The Bundestag debates on the contract and its military contribution corollary gained a fairly wide hearing among the West German public. In fact 40 per cent declare that they tuned in on the actual broadcasts of the speeches, which would constitute a very high "Hooper rating" for broadcasts of this sort.

"Have you heard or read about the Bundestag debate on the Germany treaty and our military participation in the defense of the West? (Where, over the radio or in the newspaper?)" (Asked of those who knew of the contract.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, over the radio	46%	49%	42%	44%
Yes, in the newspaper	20	20	21	14
Yes, through other means	2	2	2	2
No, not at all	10	10	11	4
	78%**	81%**	76%**	64%**

"Have you heard the broadcast of the speeches, or news on them, or commentaries on them?" (Asked of radio listeners in above question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Speeches	40%	41%	36%	40%
News	12	17	9	4
Commentaries	7	10	4	3
	59%**	68%**	49%**	47%**

BUT DEBATES HAD LITTLE IMPACT ON OPINIONS ...

However, bearing out the lack of a change in attitudes as recorded in the trend figures, the net effect of the Bundestag debate on opinions appears to have been nil. The preponderance of those who heard or read about them, assert that the debates did not affect their views at all. Moreover, proportionately as many found their disapproval confirmed as were won over by the debates.

"Would you say that now, after this Bundestag debate, you are more for or more against the Germany treaty, or did the Bundestag debate make you uncertain?" (Asked of those who heard or read about the Bundestag debate.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Now more for it	5%	5%	5%	7%
Now more against it	4	6	1	5
Now uncertain	4	3	6	3
Now same as before	40	41	39	34
No opinion	4	6	3	2
	57%	61%	54%	51%

** Some people gave more than one answer.

BUNDESTAG DEBATES HAD WIDE AUDIENCE IN MANY POPULATION SEGMENTS ...

Relatively very large proportions of the upper status, politically more influential groups declare that they listened to broadcasts of the Bundestag debates. By far the smallest radio audience was among youth - where 71 per cent listened to no radio programs about the debates.

"Have you heard the breadcast of the speeches, or news about them, or commentaries on them?" (Asked of those respondents who said they have heard over the radio the Bundestag debate on the Germany treaty and our military participation in the defense of the West.)

	Speeches	News	Commen-taries	Not asked		No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	52%	16%	11%	41%	...120%	374
Women	29	9	3	66	107	395
Education:						
Elementary school	36	11	5	58	110	616
Beyond elementary	54	19	13	36	122	156
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	30	10	6	65	111	412
300 - 399 DM	47	16	7	44	114	201
400 DM and more	58	14	9	38	119	148
Age:						
18 to 24 years	21	9	7	71	108	86
25 - 34 years	45	15	7	48	115	184
35 - 44 years	44	13	5	51	113	163
45 - 54 years	38	16	11	53	118	156
55 years and over	41	8	4	56	109	183
Party Preference:						
SPD	45	10	6	52	113	206
CDU/CSU	39	15	7	54	115	198
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	65	24	16	30	135	63
Other parties	36	17	15	53	121	47
No party	25	11	7	66	109	67
Don't know	32	8	2	61	103	190
Occupation:						
Professionals	64	16	16	36	132	25
Businessmen	47	13	5	49	114	78
White-collar workers	49	18	15	42	124	107
Skilled laborers	42	17	7	47	113	180
Semi-skilled laborers	32	11	3	60	106	90
Farmers	36	5	5	62	108	82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	32	10	4	66	112	145
Religion:						
Catholics	38	9	6	57	110	341
Protestants	41	15	7	53	116	390
Origin:						
Natives	40	12	5	54	111	616
Expellees, Refugees	42	16	12	53	123	149

RESTRICTED

04390

II. TRENDS IN EVALUATION OF BONN GOVERNMENT

The year-end picture of the internal West German situation, particularly as regards the position of the Adenauer government, is on the surface much brighter than the trends on foreign relationships. (The phrase "on the surface" is advisedly used, since analysis of what may be called the underlying, basic orientations of the German people pose serious problems. See RAS Report # 167.)

PAST YEAR SATISFACTORY FROM ECONOMIC POINT OF VIEW ...

A firm majority (64%) of the West German people now declare their satisfaction with the way their economic circumstances have developed during the past year, an indication that the general industrial and economic upsurge, so notable recently, has filtered down to large segments of the population. It is also apparent from the regional figures, that these feelings of satisfaction are general to the country as a whole and not confined to any particular area.

As may be noted in the three point trend, within somewhat more than a year's time, expressions of dissatisfaction over economic developments have declined from 51 per cent in October 1951, to 35 per cent in December 1952, with a corresponding rise in satisfaction.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the development of your economic circumstances during the past year?
(IF satisfied: very satisfied or fairly satisfied?)
(IF dissatisfied: very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Very satisfied	8%	10%	7%	7%
Fairly satisfied	56	54	57	61
Dissatisfied	28	28	28	23
Very dissatisfied	7	7	8	8
No opinion	1	1	-	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	WEST GERMANY		
	Oct '51 (1193)	Aug '52 (1195)	Dec '52 (1196)
Very satisfied	4%	8%	8%
Fairly satisfied	44	51	56
Dissatisfied	39	30	28
Very dissatisfied	12	10	7
No opinion	1	1	1
	100%	100%	100%

04391

SATISFACTION WITH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS STRESSED IN ALL GROUPS ...

Satisfaction with the year's economic development predominates in all population groups, though as would be expected, more of lower socio - economic status than of higher say they are dissatisfied.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the development of your economic circumstances during the past year?
(IF satisfied: very satisfied or fairly satisfied?)
(IF dissatisfied: very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"

	Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	8%	54%	28%	9%	1% ...100%	618
Women	8	58	27	6		578
Education:						
Elementary school	6	56	29	8	1	968
Beyond elementary	16	56	21	6	1	226
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	6	52	32	10	*	630
300 - 399 DM	7	62	26	4	1	289
400 DM and more	18	60	17	4	1	243
Age:						
18 to 24 years	7	63	26	3	1	149
25 - 34 years	9	54	29	8	-	254
35 - 44 years	8	54	28	9	1	254
45 - 54 years	10	58	24	7	1	265
55 years and over	7	54	30	9	-	271
Party Preference:						
SPD	5	55	30	9	1	292
CDU/CSU	11	61	21	6	1	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	15	62	19	3	1	118
Other parties	10	43	35	12	-	102
No party	9	48	30	12	-	84
Don't know	6	57	30	6	1	323
Occupation:						
Professionals	21	47	21	9	2	56
Businessmen	10	62	21	6	1	127
White-collar workers	11	62	20	6	1	138
Skilled laborers	6	57	28	9	-	236
Semi-skilled laborers	8	60	24	7	1	175
Farmers	4	62	29	4	1	138
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	8	49	31	11	1	214
Religion:						
Catholics	7	57	27	8	1	539
Protestants	9	56	27	7	1	594
Origin:						
Natives	8	57	27	7	1	958
Expellees, Refugees	9	51	30	9	1	238

04382

PREPONDERANCE SATISFIED WITH ADENAUER GOVERNMENT ...

Approval of the West German government's conduct of affairs is also the predominant point of view among West Germans as of December 1952, with about six in ten stating they are satisfied with the activities of the Federal government.

"Are you, in general, satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West German Federal government up to now?
(IF satisfied: very satisfied or satisfied?)
(IF dissatisfied: very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Very satisfied	4%	4%	3%	7%
Satisfied	54	56	53	49
Dissatisfied	24	24	24	18
Very dissatisfied	/	4	5	3
No opinion	14	12	15	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%

TREND HAS BEEN UPWARD ...

The trend toward satisfaction with the present regime has been upward during the past year and a half. Moreover, indications are that since last summer approval has stabilized at a fairly high point.

	May '51	Aug '51	Sept 2 '51	Sept 28 '51	June '52	Aug '52	Dec '52
Satisfied	44%	39%	49%	52%	56%	58%	58%
Dissatisfied	44	42	37	37	30	23	28
No opinion	12	19	14	11	14	19	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

04393

The disgruntled minority largely takes issue with the Bonn government's management of economic affairs either specifically because of the high prices and taxes (or low wages), or because of the alleged economic benefits given to one group or class to the disregard of others. A quarter of the complaints are of this nature - a figure corresponding quite closely with the proportion expressing dissatisfaction with the current state of their economic well-being.

It is to be noted in the comments below that only small fractions express dissatisfaction with the Adenauer government's conduct of foreign affairs in general, or more specifically of the military or contractual issues.

"What are you dissatisfied with?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied" in initial question.)

WEST GERMANY

Particular economic complaints (taxes, prices, wages, unemployment):

With the increase in taxes which become unbearable for the working class; taxes are too high, you pay a tax on everything you eat; that we have to pay the "Notopfer Berlin" (tax for the benefit of Berlin), they deduct much too much for it; we are pinched by the high costs of living; wages no longer keep pace with today's prices - one can't keep them under control - particularly food prices, prices should be fixed; everything is too expensive and we can't buy anything - we are refugees and there is so much we need to buy but we can't because it's too dear; that taxes get higher and higher and wages get lower and lower; that the small business is overtaxed; they don't do enough against unemployment; I'm a released POW and despite great efforts I can't find work; etc. 13%

Complaints regarding economic favoritism to or disregard of certain groups or problems:

Because the man in the street has to put up with all and everything; this government is too capitalistic for me - they don't do enough for the minor employees and workers; laborers are regarded as second class people, money is only available for public servants and big industrialists, it is high time this government resigns; pensions are too small, there are too many public servants and no money for social purposes; ministers' salaries are too high, per diems etc., they should show us how to make go with a small sum, I get 62 DM a month - I think they should set a better example in this respect; about public welfare, the excessive and partly unjustified grants of pensions and benefits from public funds cause people to rely on the state to provide for them; I am extremely dissatisfied with the present social conditions - I belong to the group of people whom Law 131 applies to and up to this day my office as a civil servant hasn't been restored to me; that ex-regular soldiers aren't taken care of with regard to employment as was promised them; because there is so much delay in affairs, for instance the equalization of burdens, relief money is insufficient; etc. 11

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

Remilitarisation:
Only about the defense contribution - I don't want soldiers and I don't want war and just that would be the result of it; the Federal government is too much of a war-monger; German soldiers are discriminated against and still kept prisoners - on the other hand they want German soldiers back again; that they want an army, at first we were regarded as war-criminals and now they want us to join up once more; under no circumstances do I want my husband to become a soldier; etc. 4%

Foreign affairs:
The attitude towards the Western powers is too friendly, the East is neglected; that they let the Yanks have too much influence on them - if it hadn't been for the conflict between the Yanks and Russia it would have been the Yanks' part to fleece us; about foreign politics, regarding France, they flatter the French, above all because of the restitution for Israel; foremost regarding the separation of the Saar, they enter into negotiations which they carry on without the people's approval; etc. 3

Internal political affairs:
For instance home affairs -- all this party stuff -- the ban of the Remer-party; every resolution takes too much time, the opposition is against all and everything; this everlasting squabbeling, they don't get anything done; the whole thing is based on too many parties, this quarrelling is an unpleasant show - all the twaddling and then the high-and-mighty way to spend our money; etc. 1

Contractual agreement:
Our government sells us to the Western powers, the contractual agreement is proof enough for that; the Western powers should be told that, after seven years we could manage by ourselves, we don't want to become a colony; they should have negotiated a peace treaty first of all and then take care of the other things; etc. 1

Other reasons: 1

34%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04355

SATISFACTION WITH GOVERNMENT GENERAL THROUGHOUT PUBLIC ...

Except for one segment of the population - potential SPD voters who split on the issue - all segments of the population declare by large preponderances that they are satisfied with the Adenauer government's conduct of affairs. Upper status groups make this assertion more frequently than the public at large.

"Are you, in general, satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West German Federal government up to now?
(IF satisfied: very satisfied or satisfied?)
(IF dissatisfied: very dissatisfied or dissatisfied?)"

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	No opinion		No. of cases:
Sex:							
Men	4%	55%	30%	5%	6%	100%	618
Women	4	52	17	3	24		578
Education:							
Elementary school	3	52	25	4	16		968
Beyond elementary	9	62	19	3	7		226
Income (per month):							
- 299 DM	3	50	25	5	17		630
300 - 399 DM	1	56	26	4	13		289
400 DM and more	9	63	18	2	8		243
Age:							
18 to 24 years	3	53	18	4	22		149
25 - 34 years	4	52	25	7	12		254
35 - 44 "	3	53	25	3	16		254
45 - 54 "	3	62	20	3	12		265
55 years and over	7	46	28	5	14		271
Party Preference:							
SPD	1	41	40	6	12		292
CDU/CSU	14	68	8	1	9		277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	1	76	18	1	4		118
Other parties	4	52	24	9	11		102
No party	-	38	27	10	25		84
Don't know	1	49	23	4	23		323
Occupation:							
Professionals	7	75	13	-	5		56
Businessmen	5	56	23	4	12		127
White-collar workers	2	59	23	7	9		138
Skilled laborers	3	48	31	6	12		236
Semi-skilled laborers	3	56	22	3	16		175
Farmers	4	59	14	4	19		138
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	6	48	24	4	18		214
Religion:							
Catholics	6	57	20	4	13		539
Protestants	2	52	26	3	17		594
Origin:							
Natives	4	53	25	4	14		958
Expellees, Refugees	5	55	21	4	15		238

RESTRICTED

III. TRENDS IN POLITICAL PREFERENCES

TREND AGAINST IMMEDIATE BUNDESTAG ELECTIONS CONTINUES ...

The idea of holding new parliamentary elections now rather than waiting until the autumn of 1953 when they are due, holds as little appeal at present as it did in August 1952. Even a larger preponderance now turns thumbs down on the proposal, further corroborating the general mood of satisfaction with the incumbent government.

"Do you consider new elections for the Bundestag desirable now, or should one wait until the regular elections for the Bundestag are due in the fall of next year?"

	Aug 1952				Dec 1952			
	WEST GERMANY	Br. Zone	US Zone	Fr. Zone	WEST GERMANY	Br. Zone	US Zone	Fr. Zone
Desirable now	15%	14%	15%	19%	17%	19%	14%	14%
Wait	56	60	54	51	58	56	62	62
No opinion	29	26	31	30	25	25	24	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(1196)	(622)	(435)	(138)	(772)	(397)	(284)	(91)

REASONS ADVANCED FOR NEW ELECTIONS NOW ...

About half of the small minority advocating new elections base their arguments on issues related to the peace contract or the EDC agreement. Half are in more general terms with a "time for a change" argument prominent among them.

"Why do you consider new elections desirable now?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "desirable now" in previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY
<u>Because another government would improve social and economic conditions:</u>	
Perhaps it might be better, there would be new laws so that we would have to pay lower taxes; perhaps prices would drop then, price ceilings; war widows and war orphans aren't cared for, there's nothing but much talk; the people desires the election, a better living standard must be achieved; the present government is really unsocial, they don't care at all about the needy condition of the working classes; that there will be another, better government, one that cares for the small people who are short of so many things; the present government has, up to now, not done much to help the working classes, rents and prices are much too high; that, at last, conditions will change, things can't go on as they are now, money doesn't last for more than just food; etc.	4%

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Because of the Germany treaty (contractual agreement):
Because of the treaties, no, the treaties are so important to us that a new Bundestag should decide; because now they negotiate about the EDC treaties - public opinion would already be known; the moment has come, the German people should be given the opportunity to name their representatives to decide on such a step prior to the ratification; so that the contractual agreement will be rejected; because the CDU would accept the contractual agreement without more ado, whereas the SPD doesn't agree to it; so that the treaty and remilitarization will be rejected; as far as I know the contractual agreement didn't exist at the time of the last election, so the present government is not authorized to decide on it; etc. 3%

Because of the defense contribution:
Because I hope that would prevent remilitarization; the Bundestag does no longer represent people's opinion, its structure after new elections would be entirely different, the decision on the remilitarization issue must be made by a newly-elected Bundestag; if it comes to the rearmament issue the people must be asked; so that the defense contribution won't be carried; new brooms sweep clean, because the present Bundestag is too much in favor of remilitarization and war; I'm opposed to the idea of a defense contribution and the majority of the people will decide against it; the sooner, the better, there must be a change, I mean, above all, with regard to remilitarization; etc. 3

Because the SPD may then prove its abilities:
Because I hope that the SPD might perhaps raise our old-age pensions; perhaps Herr Ollenhauer would do better, his speeches are always very nice; because of the controversy in the Bundestag, I think it would be better if the SPD had more influence, because I believe the SPD would be a better representative of the working classes; I believe the SPD will manage things, they would render more help to the workers; etc. 2

Because elections would be a means to find out about public opinion:
Because the Bundestag does no longer express the will of the people; because public opinion may have changed because of some measures recently taken by the government; etc. 2

Because a change in government might mean general improvement:
That things may turn to the better, it can't go on as it is; I believe that the general situation will change; because a great many people aren't satisfied with the present state of affairs and hope for a change; etc. 1

Because of the dilemma with the Constitutional Court (Bundesverfassungsgericht:
Because there is such a mess, if even the highest courts don't know what to make of things anymore, then it's time to get an entirely new situation in Bonn; they got completely stuck because of this stupid interfering of the legal people; to find a way out of this dead-lock in Bonn, because of the Federal Court affair; etc. 1

Other reasons:
Because the SPD wants it; the last two elections had an outcome different from what I had wished for; because now everything is stirred up; because now important political decisions are near at hand; to be able to form a government that won't say "yes" to all demands from other countries - to clarify the parliamentary situation; Remilitarization problem is more likely to be solved; etc. 2

16%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

CDU AND SPD VIE IN VOTERS' PREFERENCE ...

Should Bundestag elections be held now, there is little evidence of any marked trend toward the Social Democratic party. Now as formerly, the two main rival parties, the Christian Democrats and the SPD vie on almost equal terms with each other in West Germany as a whole. There is some indication that the Socialists are gaining favor in the British Zone, and the CDU in the French Zone, whether this is an actual trend or not must await further study.

"Supposing new elections for the Bundestag were held now in West Germany - for which party would you cast your vote?"*

	WEST GERMANY			British Zone			US Zone			French Zone		
	Aug 52 (1195)	Dec 1-10 52 (1196)	Dec 12-20 52 (772)	Aug 52	Dec 1-10 52	Dec 12-20 52	Aug 52	Dec 1-10 52	Dec 12-20 52	Aug 52	Dec 1-10 52	Dec 12-20 52
SPD	25%	24%	27%	23%	26%	30%	26%	24%	25%	27%	18%	19%
CDU/CSU	24	23	26	26	20	23	23	22	27	22	40	34
FDP	6	7	6	5	8	7	6	5	5	7	8	4
DP	1	3	2	2	5	3	*	*	*	-	-	1
NDP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BHE	3	5	3	3	6	4	4	4	3	-	-	1
SRP	1	*	-	1	*	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
KPD	1	*	1	1	*	*	1	*	1	-	-	-
Others	3	4	2	3	5	2	3	3	3	1	1	3
None(I don't vote)	13	7	9	13	5	7	14	10	10	19	10	10
I don't know yet which party	23	27	24	23	25	24	22	32	26	23	23	28
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

NO "BAND WAGON" EFFECT FOR SPD AT PRESENT ...

Further to test whether there was any evidence of a "band wagon" trend toward SPD, a question first asked in August was repeated in December. This query sought opinions on which party would probably get most votes should an election occur now. The two point trend suggests that there is no "band wagon" effect as of the present, with the two major rivals gathering substantially the same proportion of votes. It will be noted, however, that here too a shift toward SPD may be occurring in the British Zone.

"Supposing new elections for the Bundestag were held now: which party would, in your opinion, receive the most votes in all of West Germany?"

	Aug 1952				Dec 1952			
	WEST GERMANY	Br. Zone	US Zone	Fr. Zone	WEST GERMANY	Br. Zone	US Zone	Fr. Zone
CDU/CSU	37%	41%	30%	41%	32%	30%	33%	37%
SPD	33	28	42	27	37	39	37	30
Others	2	2	1	4	2	3	2	-
No opinion	28	29	27	28	29	28	28	33
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(1196)	(622)	(435)	(138)	(772)	(397)	(284)	(91)

* Only three trend points are given since this particular phrasing was used only in these surveys. However, as indicated in a previous RAS report (No. 155) comparable results are obtained when the question is phrased in terms of "which party do you like best." See appendix for the trend throughout 1952 for this line of inquiry.

Only a small fraction who guess that SPD would now win at the polls mention the contractual or the military issue as a reason for their predictions. More emphasis is placed on the socio-economic pattern and programs of the Socialists.

"Why do you think, would the SPD receive the most votes?"
(Asked of those respondents who answered "SPD" in initial question.)

WEST GERMANY

The SPD advocates the cause of the small people - it is the party of the working classes:

This party is a party of the working classes, it would best advocate our cause; workers and working class people vote for the SPD and they are the majority of the people; because it's a workers' party and because the working classes are suppressed, because we don't earn enough money; because what they advocate is right and suitable for the worker and for small people; because under the present government the people got a bad deal; because the government doesn't do anything for the small people; because it's a party for the working classes and cares most for the workers; it advocates the cause of the working classes; because the SPD is social-minded, it is just and wants to do something for the small people; their propaganda is better, their attitude as opposition party attracts the masses, they are experienced in dealing with the masses, they are an old - established workers' party; etc. 11%

The SPD had the most votes up to now, it is the strongest party:

Because the SPD holds most of the votes and will keep them, that was shown by the last elections; it is and will remain the strongest party; the SPD has gained votes in every election campaign up to the present time; because they gained ground in the municipal elections, too; because in itself it is stronger, the idea remained the same but it gained votes; I believe that people are flocking to this party; because they were the winners in the municipal elections, too; etc. 8

Because they are against remilitarization:

Because it is against a defense contribution; because it is against militarism; because the CDU talks so much about re-armament - people are against it; because the SPD is against the military, and so are most people; because the SPD is against remilitarization, just the same as the population; etc. 6

The CDU government has failed and lost the confidence of the people:

The CDU has failed, together with the FDP and DP, that's why more people will favor the SPD; because most people are fed up with the CDU; the CDU has made many mistakes - their economic program was no good; because the CDU within the coalition government was disappointing; because the present government didn't stick to its promises and many will vote for the SPD; because of the recent municipal elections, a considerable increase in SPD votes, the Federal Government (CDU) didn't stick to the program that was established in Ahlen (town in Westphalia), regarding their social program they didn't keep their promises; the Bonn government was such a poor record that the SPD stands out; etc. 6

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Because they are against the contractual agreement:
Because they are against the EDC treaties; the contractual agreement hasn't come up to what we expected and the SPD doesn't yield so easily to the demands and claims of the Americans, they aren't so easy to manage as Adenauer is; etc. 3%

People have more confidence in the SPD and its policy:
Because most people have more confidence in the SPD, because they might, perhaps, do better than the others; people hope that the SPD will do better; because the SPD has taken the right course during the last years contrary to the government's policy; people will vote for the SPD because of its foreign policy; because, in my opinion, the SPD takes the "Golden Mean"; etc. 3

Because of their opposition and propaganda:
Because of the clever way they carry on opposition against the government parties; it looks that way, the SPD makes the most promises and people are always taken in by propaganda; because of their propaganda and their everlasting "NO"; because the SPD opinion in opposition to the government policy meets with wide approval; etc. 2

Better economic policy:
The SPD will see to it that prices will be reduced; because prices and wages will probably be adjusted; etc. 1

The SPD is supported by the trade unions:
Trade unions and townsfolk are mostly in favor of the SPD; for the reason that the SPD has a very strong support through trade unions; because trade unions command the masses; etc. *

With regard to the Bundestag debate:
Because of the Bundestag debate, the majority would now vote for the SPD, the opposition gained steadily through the debate; I think so because of the debate in the Bundestag; etc. *

Other reasons:
Everybody cries out against the "black-coats"; because the CDU was in power the SPD probably wants that another party will get into office; because the other parties are disunited; for instance the CSU and the BP (Bayernpartei); because the SPD advocates the German cause, their pro-German attitude regarding the Saar issue; because they don't agree with the present Federal Government; etc. 2

No opinion / No answer: 1

43%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

REASONS WHY CDU WOULD WIN ...

A CDU victory is predicted largely because of the past record of the party, its present strength and the clerical influence in West Germany. Even a smaller fraction than in the case of SPD mentions the peace contract or the army issue.

"Why do you think, would the CDU/CSU receive the most votes?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "CDU/CSU" in initial question.)

WEST GERMANY

Because of the influence of the Church and the Christian faith of the people of West Germany:

Because the Church has a strong influence; above all, through the Church and the influence that the clergy exerts on the people; because it's the party in power, clergymen have their fingers in every pie; the majority of the people who live in the Laender that make up West Germany are Catholics who are influenced by the clergy; because conditions here are not like those in the East, I mean the life of our people is founded on Christian principles and a Christian faith; the Christian circles stick together, that's the reason why the CDU won't lose the leadership; the CDU stands up for Christian ideas and that will help it to win; because the majority of the people are Catholics, and these are all pro-CDU; because most of the members of the Bundestag favor the Church, the SPD doesn't do so; because most Germans are Catholics, and these cast their vote for the CDU; because it promotes Christian ideas, and people over here appreciate it; because the Catholics usually cast their vote for the CDU; etc. 8%

Because of its previous achievements - people are satisfied and trust the government and its policy:

Because of its achievements; because the CDU did great things; it was rather successful in its capacity as government party; on account of its past achievements the CDU will retain most of the votes, the SPD can't manage things any better; because until now the CDU handled West German affairs quite satisfactorily; because Adenauer did his duty satisfactorily; because the CDU policy proved to be good so far; the Chancellor is very efficient and a clever diplomat; the way Adenauer handles political matters he is above reproach; because up to now the CDU has represented the government, and it worked successfully; people are satisfied with the CDU; it's the government party, after all, and I think we can be satisfied with it; etc. 8

The CDU had the majority of votes until now, it is the strongest party:

Because it always got the majority of votes, it's always the same; because the CDU has always gained the majority; so far this Christian party has been the strongest one; it is the strongest party and will probably remain the strongest party, the SPD might gain some ground, but it will never get the majority; because it has the greatest number of followers and the most faithful; because the governmental coalition is stronger than the opposition; etc. 7

(cont'd on next page)

Because of its foreign policy; union with the West, EDC-treaty:
Because so far it pursued a most favorable foreign policy, it is the only party that enjoys confidence abroad; the CDU was more successful up to now than any other party would have been; the CDU preserves peace, it sides with the West; because Adenauer put his defense policy across, people trust him; etc. 2%

The CDU is the party for all social classes, the SPD is only a working class party:
Because the CDU appeals to all social classes while the SPD is only a party for workers; it's a party for the middle classes, and it attends to the interests of people in all walks of life; because it's a party for the middle classes and the workers, and the majority of us belong to one of these classes; since the middle classes dominate in Germany, a bourgeois party will always win; etc. 2

The attitudes of the SPD caused a considerable loss in influence:
Because the SPD made several faux pas, and it doesn't present a clear-cut program; the SPD members caused too much trouble; because I learned that the SPD hampers everything, it lacks unity; because the SPD lost interest in our concerns, the city council meetings proved that, the SPD stands up for higher municipal taxes; because the speeches held by Ollenhauer do not always correspond to the facts; etc. 2

Because of its achievements in the economic field:
People can be satisfied with the present economic situation, the SPD may not be so successful; they are enormously successful in respect to our economic recovery; it stabilized our economy; because its policy, especially in the economic field, turned out to be a success; etc. 1

The course of the Bundestag debate proved it:
Judging from the course of the Bundestag debate; because at the past Bundestag debate the CDU had the upper hand all the time, though the opposition was strong; it became evident during the Bundestag debate that the SPD opposes everything, but doesn't manage things more capably after all; etc. 1

Other reasons:
Because the majority of the people reject a radical policy; they certainly know how to pull a fast one, church goers are mostly easy believers and the others take advantage of that; I hope that Adenauer has his feet on the ground and is known abroad, new elections are not good for us because the other nations would frown at them; because the CDU is in office right now, and that has a certain effect on the voters; etc. 2

No opinion/No answer: 1

34%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

PREPONDERANCE IN ALL POPULATION GROUPS AGAINST ELECTIONS NOW ...

On the issue of Bundestag elections, all population groups, including SPD sympathizers, express a preponderant choice for postponement until next fall. SPD voters, however, are more eager than others for elections.

"Do you consider new elections for the Bundestag desirable now, or should one wait until the regular elections for the Bundestag are due in the fall of next year?"

	Desirable now	Wait	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	22%	65%	13% ...100%	374
Women	12	52	36	395
Education:				
Elementary school	16	57	27	616
Beyond elementary	19	67	14	156
Income (per month):				
- 299	14	55	31	412
300 - 399 DM	20	64	16	201
400 DM and more	22	62	16	148
Age:				
18 to 24 years	12	61	27	86
25 - 34 years	21	57	22	184
35 - 44 years	21	60	19	163
45 - 54 years	17	58	25	156
55 years and over	11	58	31	183
Party Preference:				
SPD	36	46	18	206
CDU/CSU	6	76	18	198
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	11	76	13	63
Other parties	15	66	19	47
No party	12	39	49	67
Don't know	12	52	36	190
Occupation:				
Professionals	28	60	12	25
Businessmen	14	61	25	79
White-collar workers	24	63	13	107
Skilled laborers	21	60	19	180
Semi-skilled laborers	18	52	30	90
Farmers	9	64	27	82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	11	54	35	145
Religion:				
Catholics	14	65	21	341
Protestants	19	54	27	390
Origin:				
Natives	16	59	25	616
Expellees, Refugees	19	59	22	149

RESTRICTED

PARTY PREFERENCES AMONG POPULATION GROUPS ...

Voting preferences follow the expected pattern among population groups. The coalition parties (CDU, the Free Democrats and the Deutsche Partei are combined in this table, since the two latter are selected by relatively so few in the sample) are preponderantly preferred by the upper status groups. And though the lesser educated and lower income segments more frequently than others select SPD, it is noteworthy that the division among them is not nearly as sharp as among the higher status groups. Younger people as well as Protestants and refugees divide almost evenly between the two political groups.

"Supposing new elections for the Bundestag were held now in West Germany - for which party would you cast your vote?"

	SPD	Coalition (CDU, FDP, DP)	KPD	Others	None No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	29%	32%	*%	9%	30% ...100%	618
Women	20	34	*	7	39	578
Education:						
Elementary school	27	29	*	9	35	968
Beyond elementary	12	50	-	7	31	226
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	28	26	*	10	36	630
300 - 399 DM	29	31	*	7	33	289
400 DM and more	14	53	-	6	27	243
Age:						
18 to 24 years	29	25	-	6	40	149
25 - 34 years	29	28	-	7	36	254
35 - 44 years	25	35	*	9	31	254
45 - 54 years	23	39	1	6	31	265
55 years and over	19	34	-	12	35	271
Occupation:						
Professionals	7	63	-	5	25	56
Businessmen	15	50	-	4	31	127
White-collar workers	25	29	1	6	39	138
Skilled laborers	39	21	*	7	33	236
Semi-skilled laborers	36	19	1	12	32	175
Farmers	1	55	-	8	36	138
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	22	29	-	12	37	214
Religion:						
Catholics	22	40	*	10	28	539
Protestants	25	29	*	6	40	594
Origin:						
Natives	24	36	*	5	35	958
Expellees, Refugees	24	22	1	23	30	238

* Less than one half of one per cent.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON POSSIBLE WINNERS IN NEW ELECTIONS ...

As to which of the two major parties would garner the most votes if an election should now occur, group differences are not markedly sharp, with two exceptions. SPD is selected as the likely winner by SPD voters; conversely, CDU is the choice of those who would vote that ticket in a new election. This, plus the general split in all other groups, suggests again that there is no "band wagon" swing as yet toward SPD, except among SPD sympathizers.

"Supposing new elections for the Bundestag were held now: which party would, in your opinion, receive the most votes in all of West Germany?"

	CDU/CSU	SPD	Others	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	37%	41%	2%	20%...100%	374
Women	28	33	3	36	395
Education:					
Elementary school	30	38	2	30	616
Beyond elementary	41	33	4	22	156
Income (per month):					
- 299 DM	29	34	2	35	412
300 - 399 DM	37	42	*	21	201
400 DM and more	37	41	3	19	148
Age:					
18 to 24 years	26	42	2	30	86
25 - 34 years	40	36	2	22	184
35 - 44 "	33	42	2	23	163
45 - 54 "	29	35	4	32	156
55 years and over	30	33	1	36	183
Party Preference:					
SPD	13	73	-	14	206
CDU/CSU	64	16	-	20	198
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	41	35	10	14	63
Other parties	40	26	13	21	47
No party	15	30	1	54	67
Don't know	22	27	2	49	190
Occupation:					
Professionals	44	40	4	12	25
Businessmen	32	34	5	29	79
White-collar workers	41	41	3	15	107
Skilled laborers	29	46	1	24	180
Semi-skilled laborers	27	35	1	37	90
Farmers	44	26	-	30	82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	31	30	2	37	145
Religion:					
Catholics	38	32	1	29	341
Protestants	27	41	3	29	390
Origin:					
Natives	33	37	2	28	616
Expellees, Refugees	28	38	2	32	149

* Less than one half of one per cent.

RESTRICTED

IV. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES AND PARTY PREFERENCE

Reviewing some of the findings of this study, it becomes apparent that the correlation between voting preferences and general satisfaction with the government in power as well as opinions on the need for immediate Bundestag elections is by no means complete. Voters' preferences for the two major parties, CDU and SPD, divide almost equally. Nevertheless, majorities of the public as a whole express general satisfaction with the Adenauer-led regime and see no need for electing a new Bundestag now. More specifically as regards SPD adherents, they split evenly on satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the present government, and are more inclined than not to recommend postponement of Bundestag elections until next fall when they are constitutionally required. From this the question arises: is it possible to isolate factors for political party choices.

ON FIVE ISSUES ADENAUER GOVERNMENT CONSIDERED MORE COMPETENT THAN A SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT ...

In an effort to do this, five issues were selected, each of which could be considered as diagnostic in terms of CDU and SPD differences in policy and approach. Four of the issues were largely political, as follows: German reunification, the recovery of the lands east of the Oder-Neisse, the Saar problem, and German security. The fifth issue is presumably even more sharply differentiating - the German economic problem. Respondents were asked to state for each issue which of two governments, the present Adenauer regime or a Socialist government if it were in power would, in their judgment, be best able to arrive at a solution.

The results as set forth below reveal that on each issue, the present coalition government wins hands down over a Socialist government as the more capable of the two. Thus, on specific issues as well as in overall appraisal, the Adenauer government appears to have built up a considerable reservoir of confidence among the German public.

"Apart from which party you personally like, which government would be better able to reach a satisfactory solution of the German reunification issue, the present government or an SPD government, if it were in power?"

Germany's reunification

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Present government	29%	31%	25%	31%
SPD government	17	19	17	11
Both the same	10	9	11	10
Neither of them	16	17	15	14
No opinion	28	24	32	34
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The recovery of the territories east of the Oder and Neisse rivers

Present government	21%	24%	16%	26%
SPD government	14	16	13	10
Both the same	10	11	9	11
Neither of them	23	22	24	20
No opinion	32	27	38	33
	100%	100%	100%	100%

(cont'd on next page)

[redacted]

Saar issue

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Present government	28%	32%	22%	31%
SPD government	16	16	17	11
Both the same	8	8	9	9
Neither of them	16	16	14	18
No opinion	32	28	38	31
	100%	100%	100%	100%

West Germany's security

Present government	35%	40%	29%	35%
SPD government	14	15	12	11
Both the same	10	9	9	13
Neither of them	9	9	10	9
No opinion	32	27	40	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"And what do you think, who could solve West Germany's economic problems better, the present government or an SPD government if it were in power?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Present government	37%	38%	32%	41%
SPD government	16	17	18	10
Both the same	13	13	12	12
Neither of them	9	9	9	9
No opinion	25	23	29	28
	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT COMPETENCE IN SOLVING ISSUES IS NOT ONLY DETERMINANT OF PARTY LOYALTY ...

It is apparent, however, that the tendency to assign relatively greater competence to the Adenauer government than to a Socialist government implies that some voters, though they rate the present regime above its SPD rivals on one or even all of these issues, nevertheless remain loyal to the Socialist party. That this is indeed the case is demonstrated by further analysis. In the table below, it will be seen that whereas two in 10 potential SPD voters name the party of their choice as more capable than the present government of solving all five issues, three in 10 do not rate it as more capable in any of the five issues. A somewhat similar range occurs among potential CDU voters, though they are more inclined to grant their government's superior competence in all of the problems under consideration. (The "average" Socialist voter names SPD more competent on 1.5 issues; the "average" CDU voter names the government on 3.8 issues.)

	SPD More Capable of Solving:					
	All 5 issues	4 out of 5	3 out of 5	2 out of 5	1 out of 5	None
If elections held now:						
Would vote for SPD	20%	12%	12%	11%	17%	28% ...100%

	CDU More Capable of Solving:					
	All 5 issues	4 out of 5	3 out of 5	2 out of 5	1 out of 5	None
Would vote for CDU	38%	11%	11%	9%	10%	21% ...100%

From the foregoing, it is clear that it would be dangerous to calculate the voters' choice simply on their views on the great political and economic issues of the day. Political preferences and decisions are more complicated. In the West German situation, the matter of clericalism and anti-clericalism, tradition and basic urges of one kind or another cannot be ignored. Thus, while the esteem the Adenauer government has earned among large segments of the German people certainly does not diminish its chances of staying in office, it does not necessarily follow that the voters would base their choice solely on the record.

The group breakdowns on each of the issues follow.

MOST POPULATION GROUPS EXPRESS GREATER CONFIDENCE IN CDU THAN IN SPD ...

Comparing SPD and CDU voters on each of the five issues separately, it is found that both tend predominantly to select a government led by the party of their choice as the more capable of solving each of the issues. SPD voters, however, select a Socialist government as the more capable by smaller margins in all cases than do CDU voters vis-a-vis the present CDU-led government. A similar pattern prevails among those population groups from whom the membership of the two political fractions is largely drawn. The better educated, upper income and higher status groups who tend to be the constituents of the CDU/FDP coalition consider the present government as more capable than an SPD government by wide margins. And while the rank and file from which the SPD largely draws its support - the lower educated, less well-to-do, and laboring groups - express less confidence in the present government than the public as a whole, they certainly do not go all out for a Socialist government.

The Protestant and refugee selection is of particular interest on two issues. On the party best able to solve the reunification problem, Protestants split between CDU and SPD, notwithstanding the fact that the Social Democratic and some Evangelical Church leaders have made common cause on the unity issue. Refugees do not differ from "native" Germans on the issue, despite the fact that unity is a preliminary step toward recovery on the East territories. On recovery of the lands east of the Oder-Neisse, Protestants again split, and refugees give a predominance to the CDU as better able to handle the problem.

On the problem of German security, some deviations also occur. Protestants here do not differ from Catholics in giving preponderant confidence to CDU as against SPD. Also, here, those with elementary education, the lower income groups, and the laboring groups - the groups from which SPD sympathizers derive - vote more frequently for CDU than for the Socialists.

R E S T R I C T E D

"Apart from which party you personally like, which government would be better able to reach a satisfactory solution of the German reunification issue: the present government or an SPD government, if it were in power?"

	Present government	SPD	Both the same	Neither of them	No opinion		No. of cases:
Sex:							
Men	28%	24%	9%	21%	18%	100%	618
Women	29	11	10	10	40		578
Education:							
Elementary school	26	20	9	15	30		968
Beyond elementary	39	9	11	22	19		226
Income (per month):							
- 299 DM	24	18	10	15	33		630
300 - 399 DM	29	21	10	17	23		289
400 DM and more	39	14	10	17	20		243
Age:							
18 - 24 years	29	17	13	11	30		149
25 - 34 "	24	15	11	22	28		254
35 - 44 "	26	19	11	14	30		254
45 - 54 "	32	19	5	14	30		265
55 years and over	31	18	10	17	24		271
Party Preference:							
SPD	8	51	8	17	16		292
CDU/CSU	60	2	10	8	20		277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	48	9	10	19	14		118
Other parties	25	10	6	25	34		102
No party	17	14	7	23	39		84
Don't know	17	8	12	16	47		323
Occupation:							
Professionals	36	4	12	30	18		56
Businessmen	39	10	5	16	30		127
White-collar workers	27	17	11	20	25		138
Skilled laborers	24	29	11	17	19		236
Semi-skilled laborers	19	26	11	15	29		175
Farmers	44	3	7	10	36		138
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	25	17	9	13	36		214
Religion:							
Catholics	33	13	13	15	26		539
Protestants	25	20	7	17	31		594
Origin:							
Natives	29	18	10	16	27		958
Expellees, Refugees	25	19	7	17	32		238

RESTRICTED

04411

"Apart from which party you personally like, which government would be better able to reach a satisfactory solution of the question of the recovery of the territories east of the Oder and Neisse rivers: the present government or an SPD government, if it were in power?"

	Present government	SPD	Both the same	Neither of them	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	25%	18%	11%	28%	18%	100% 618
Women	18	9	10	17	46	578
Education:						
Elementary school	20	16	10	21	33	968
Beyond elementary	28	6	11	32	23	226
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	18	14	11	22	35	630
300 - 399 DM	22	17	9	25	27	289
400 DM and more	30	12	9	23	26	243
Age:						
18 - 24 years	20	13	13	16	38	149
25 - 34 "	17	12	12	29	30	254
35 - 44 "	20	16	10	22	32	254
45 - 54 "	27	16	5	21	31	265
55 years and over	21	13	13	25	28	271
Party Preference:						
SPD	6	39	8	24	23	292
CDU/CSU	46	3	10	16	25	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	36	10	12	29	13	118
Other parties	21	6	13	29	31	102
No party	12	7	8	30	43	84
Don't know	11	6	11	22	50	323
Occupation:						
Professionals	23	5	11	32	29	56
Businessmen	26	12	6	24	32	127
White-collar workers	17	14	10	30	29	138
Skilled laborers	20	19	14	22	25	236
Semi-skilled laborers	16	20	13	21	30	175
Farmers	32	4	7	19	38	138
Not employed:pensioners; students;retired;etc.	21	11	8	20	40	214
Religion:						
Catholics	25	10	11	22	32	539
Protestants	19	15	9	24	33	594
Origin:						
Natives	22	14	10	23	31	958
Expellees, Refugees	20	12	12	23	33	238

RESTRICTED

"Apart from which party you personally like, which government would be better able to reach a satisfactory solution of the Saar issue: the present government or an SPD government, if it were in power?"

	Present government	SPD	Both the same	Neither of them	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	33%	20%	8%	21%	18%	100% 618
Women	23	11	9	10	47	578
Education:						
Elementary school	26	17	8	15	34	968
Beyond elementary	36	13	9	18	24	226
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	23	16	10	14	37	630
300 - 399 DM	30	19	8	18	25	289
400 DM and more	37	16	7	15	25	243
Age:						
18 - 24 years	30	15	9	8	38	149
25 - 34 "	25	13	11	19	32	254
35 - 44 "	28	17	7	15	33	254
45 - 54 "	30	16	6	16	32	265
55 years and over	28	17	10	15	30	271
Party Preference:						
SPD	12	42	7	15	24	292
CDU/CSU	55	4	8	8	25	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	39	13	11	21	16	118
Other parties	28	9	7	20	36	102
No party	18	8	6	26	42	84
Don't know	18	8	10	16	48	323
Occupation:						
Professionals	33	12	9	23	23	56
Businessmen	31	13	9	14	33	127
White-collar workers	23	21	7	17	32	138
Skilled laborers	25	23	12	16	24	236
Semi-skilled laborers	25	19	9	14	33	175
Farmers	42	2	8	14	34	138
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	24	15	5	15	41	214
Religion:						
Catholics	31	12	11	13	33	539
Protestants	27	18	7	17	31	594
Origin:						
Natives	28	17	9	15	31	958
Expellees, Refugees	28	13	7	15	37	238

RESTRICTED

"Apart from which party you personally like, which government would be better able to reach a satisfactory solution of the question of West Germany's security: the present government or an SPD government, if it were in power?"

	Present government	SPD	Both the same	Neither of them	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	40%	18%	12%	13%	17%	100% 618
Women	31	8	8	5	48	578
Education:						
Elementary school	32	15	10	9	34	968
Beyond elementary	50	7	9	13	21	226
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	30	14	10	8	38	630
300 - 399 DM	35	18	10	13	24	289
400 DM and more	50	9	9	9	23	243
Age:						
18 - 24 years	35	13	8	5	39	149
25 - 34 "	34	11	11	11	33	254
35 - 44 "	35	13	9	10	33	254
45 - 54 "	38	14	7	9	32	265
55 years and over	35	16	13	10	26	271
Party Preference:						
SPD	16	40	10	11	23	292
CDU/CSU	64	2	8	3	23	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	63	5	9	10	13	118
Other parties	35	8	9	13	35	102
No party	24	9	5	17	45	84
Don't know	22	5	12	11	50	323
Occupation:						
Professionals	43	2	9	19	27	56
Businessmen	39	6	8	12	35	127
White-collar workers	34	19	11	7	29	138
Skilled laborers	32	20	15	11	22	236
Semi-skilled laborers	25	19	12	9	35	175
Farmers	51	1	5	8	35	138
Not employed;pensioners; students;retired;etc.	30	16	6	7	41	214
Religion:						
Catholics	37	11	11	9	32	539
Protestants	35	14	8	9	34	594
Origin:						
Natives	35	14	10	10	31	958
Expellees,Refugees	36	11	9	8	36	238

04414

ONLY SPD VOTERS EXPRESS PREPONDERANT CONFIDENCE IN SOCIALIST COMPETENCE IN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS ...

On the relative ability of the present government or a new SPD government to solve West Germany's economic problems, the Socialists clearly win over CDU in only one group - those who say they would vote for SPD if new elections were held now. Laborers, skilled and semi-skilled, divide almost evenly between the two.

"And what do you think, who could solve West Germany's economic problems better, the present government or an SPD government, if it were in power?"

	Present government	SPD	Both the same	Neither of them	No opinion	No. cases
Sex:						
Men	41%	21%	14%	9%	15%	100% 618
Women	32	12	11	8	37	578
Education:						
Elementary school	32	18	14	9	27	968
Beyond elementary	56	8	9	7	20	226
Income (per month):						
- 299 DM	28	19	14	9	30	630
300 - 399 DM	38	18	15	9	20	289
400 DM and more	57	12	8	7	16	243
Age:						
18 - 24 years	40	16	9	7	28	149
25 - 34 "	34	18	16	9	23	254
35 - 44 "	36	17	12	8	27	254
45 - 54 "	37	16	11	9	27	265
55 years and over	37	15	15	8	25	271
Party Preference:						
SPD	15	51	16	6	12	292
CDU/CSU	70	1	8	3	18	277
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	65	7	10	7	11	118
Other parties	28	8	13	15	36	102
No party	23	8	13	19	37	84
Don't know	24	7	14	12	43	323
Occupation:						
Professionals	50	7	11	5	27	56
Businessmen	52	12	4	8	24	127
White-collar workers	39	16	13	11	21	138
Skilled laborers	32	27	17	9	15	236
Semi-skilled laborers	22	27	16	11	24	175
Farmers	53	2	7	7	31	134
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	32	12	12	8	36	214
Religion:						
Catholics	40	13	14	9	24	539
Protestants	34	18	12	8	28	594
Origin:						
Natives	37	17	12	9	25	956
Expellees, Refugees	35	12	16	8	29	234

"Why should the Bundestag accept it?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "accept the Germany treaty" in preceding question.)

WEST GERMANY

Because security would be increased:
West Germany's security would be guaranteed then; this treaty will protect us against the East and the yellow peril; to strengthen the Western nations against Eastern Communism; because we need military forces to prevent a Russian attack; we can't reject the treaty because of the Eastern peril; in order to prevent that West Europe will be at the mercy of the Russians, the fate of West Europe is the fate of Germany, too; because we then will be as strong as the Russians, and they won't dare to attack us; otherwise Germany, situated in the middle of Europe, will be overrun by the Russians; to preserve peace, to remain free; that uneasiness and fear of the Russians will end, at last; etc. 9%

Because Germany has no choice - would be the lesser evil:
If we reject this treaty, ill feelings between the Western powers and us will increase, we can't afford this because we aren't able to stand on our own feet; because there is no other chance for us to go on living; because it's advantageous for us, we depend on America in any case; we have no choice - we have to; otherwise the others will let us down, besides this, it also offers advantages; there is no other possibility, in case we reject it, we'll fare badly economically and politically; because, after all, we depend entirely on the Western powers, and it's all right the way it is; because otherwise America would walk out on us; because it's the desire of the Western powers, and we depend on them; etc. 8

Because independence and equality for West Germany could be achieved:
We'll then have a say in every field, and we can put in a veto on vital decisions; because it's better for us without occupation troops; we must at last become free again; the occupation status would be annulled, our sovereignty re-established; so that Germany will be recognised again, and be granted more freedom; in order to get more rights; without this treaty Germany won't achieve full equality; etc. 5

(cont'd on next page)

Because there would be a chance to improve economic conditions:

It would mean a boost to our economy; because we then could expect to get the permission to produce arms in our own country and to find employment, otherwise all we would have to do would be just to pay; the Bundestag must accept it because the European economy is endangered; all Adenauer says is to the purpose, our economic situation shows that, though we lost the war, we are better off than some of the victorious nations, a proof of Adenauer's clever policy; to improve economic conditions, we'll get financial support, and unemployment will decrease through the placing of orders; etc. 3%

Because alliance and cooperation of the nations of Europe is necessary:

In case the Bundestag rejects this treaty the pan-European idea can never be realized; the coal and steel pool would no longer be of any use; my opinion is that if we join forces, general conditions will improve; West Germany's integration into all-Europe would turn out advantageously; etc. 3

General answers, expressing belief in progress and improvement:

Because this treaty means a great chance for us; because Adenauer wants it, and I trust him absolutely; because, in my opinion, we'll be better off then; only this way leads to a better life, things can't go on as they are now; there is no other chance to improve our living standard, it will be good for political developments, too; because it's the best solution, I don't think that the victorious nations will start new negotiations under more favorable conditions in case we reject this treaty; I think that there is no other chance for Germany to get on its feet again; etc. 3

Other reasons:

Because there would be a better chance of unification and recovery of the Eastern territories; because through a rejection the work on the other treaties would be hampered; because otherwise peace and order couldn't be restored; etc. 2

No opinion: 1

34%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Why should the Bundestag reject it?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "reject the Germany treaty" in preceding question.)

WEST GERMANY

I am against rearmament:
Because I've been fed up with the army for a long time, if this came to pass we could have to risk our necks and the others would beat it; nothing good would come of it, because if we had soldiers again they just would have to pull the chest-nuts out of the fire; then we would be obliged to furnish troops for a European army and I'm against that, for soldiers mean war; because of the defense contribution; etc. 5%

No equality of rights - dependence upon the West:
Because we are not regarded as an equal partner; because provisions for Germany's equality of rights have not yet been made; etc. 5

It increases the danger of war:
Because it might involve us in a war: above all, because we don't want soldiers anymore - otherwise there will again be a war; etc. 3

Partial acceptance - certain demands must be met:
We have other things to worry about, the prisoners-of-war should be home first; they should make the thing more attractive to us and offer more favorable conditions; etc. 2

To come to an agreement with the East will become more difficult:
Chiefly because these treaties will make the gap between East and West still wider; it must be rejected if we want to go on living - if we tie ourselves to the West we'll never succeed in reuniting Germany; etc. 1

The German soldier was treated too badly - dishonored:
Because of the soldiers, first they were detained and now they want them back again; etc. 1

A peace treaty must be concluded first: 1

First a plebiscite and amendment of the Basic Law:
Because the Bundestag should leave the decision entirely to the people, so that everybody could express his opinion, especially with regard to the rearmament issue; etc. 1

Other reasons:
Because we would be completely lost - not all parties want this treaty; because it's too disadvantageous for us; etc. 2

21%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

04418

APPENDIX II

TREND IN PARTY PREFERENCE JAN - AUG, 1952

WEST GERMANY

	Jan 52 (1199)	Feb 52 (796)	Apr 52 (1172)	May 52 (1188)	June 52 (786)	June 52 (1595)	July 52 (796)	Aug 52 (1195)
SPD	24%	23%	26%	21%	23%	20%	20%	25%
CDU/CSU	19	19	21	18	19	18	17	25
FDP	6	6	7	6	5	7	7	6
KPD	*	1	1	*	1	*	1	1
SRP	1	1	*	*	*	1	1	*
Others	5	6	5	6	7	5	4	7
No party	25	24	18	29	25	33	33	15
No opinion/No answer	20	20	22	20	20	16	17	21
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

04419

THE YEAR-END STATUS OF WEST GERMAN CONFIDENCE IN THE STRENGTH OF THE WESTERN POWERS

Report No. 169
Series No. 2

January 28, 1953

RESTRICTED
OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

This report continuing the series of year-end trends in West German thinking on various political issues presents the German appraisal of the status of the East-West struggle. It draws on results of studies extending from April 1951 through December 1952. The most recent survey, as all others reported here, embraced a probability sample of approximately 800 cases representative of the population of West Germany. Interviews in all surveys were conducted by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German interviewing organization working under contract to the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs.

HIGHLIGHTS

... Now, as throughout the period since April 1951, the preponderant view is that the Western powers are currently stronger than the Communists. The trend has been quite stable, with the weight of opinion favoring the West by almost three to one on the average.

... Confidence in eventual Western success in the Cold War also remains high. As the two point trend indicates, two thirds of the West German public continue to predict that the Western powers will finally win out over the Communists.

... Although West Germans appear as confident as ever of the greater strength and ultimate victory of the Western powers in the East-West conflict, another finding suggests that they are less confident that the Western powers have the upper hand as regards the tactical aspects of the struggle. At present, almost as many name the Communists as the West as having scored the greater success during the past six months. Moreover, since September 1951, the trend has been downward regarding the West and correspondingly upward vis-a-vis the Communists, though the former continues to retain a very slight lead.

... Further analysis of the data suggests that those who give the advantage to the Communists vis-a-vis the Western powers in the Cold War take a negative stand on certain specific Western policies somewhat more frequently than do those who express confidence in Western strength in the East-West struggle. Thus, more of the former disapprove a German contribution to West European defense, are against Bundestag ratification of the peace contract and are less inclined to believe that West Germany has benefitted by the American program.

R E S T R I C T E D

PREPONDERANCE SEES THE WEST AS CURRENTLY STRONGER THAN THE COMMUNIST [redacted]

In the last in a series of three trend appraisals of current political issues, West Germans were queried on the relative position of the Western powers vis-a-vis their Communist opponents in the East-West conflict.

Now, as throughout the period since April 1951, the preponderant view is that the Western powers are currently stronger than the Communists. The trend has been quite stable, with the weight of opinion favoring the West by almost three to one on the average. The most recent findings together with the trend are shown in the two following tables.

"And who appears to you, all things considered, to be stronger at the moment: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

December 1952

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Communist powers	17%	17%	17%	21%
Western powers	49	46	53	44
Both equally strong	16	19	15	13
Undecided	18	18	15	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%

WEST GERMANY

	April 1951 (791)	September 1951 (799)	May 1952 (791)	December 1952 (786)
Communist powers	19%	15%	14%	17%
Western powers	45	54	49	49
Both the same	14	**	14	16
Undecided	22	31	23	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%

** This choice was not provided for in the Sept. 51 survey.

MAJORITY EXPECTS WEST TO WIN COLD WAR ...

Confidence in eventual Western success in the Cold War also remains high. As the two point trend indicates, two thirds of the West German public continue to predict that the Western powers will finally win out over the Communists.

"According to your view, who has the better chance finally to win the upper hand in the East-West struggle, the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

December 1952

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Communist powers	7%	5%	10%	5%
Western powers	66	69	63	56
Both equal chances	7	8	6	8
Undecided	20	18	21	31
	100%	100%	100%	100%

WEST GERMANY

	April 1951 (791)	December 1952 (786)
Communist powers	8%	7%
Western powers	64	66
Both equal chances	8	7
Undecided	20	20
	100%	100%

FEWER NOW THINK WEST MORE SUCCESSFUL THAN EAST IN CONDUCT OF COLD WAR

Shifting from the issue of relative power to consideration of which of the two opponents in the East-West struggle, has scored the greater success in recent months, the Western powers now appear to have only a very slight advantage over the Communists, as may be seen from the most recent returns.

Moreover, since September 1951, when approval of the West was at its highest point thus far recorded on this issue, the trend has been downward regarding the West, and correspondingly upward vis-a-vis the Communists.

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success in the past six months: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

December 1952

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Communist powers	24%	24%	25%	24%
Western powers	28	27	30	29
Both the same	23	28	16	21
Undecided	25	21	29	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%

WEST GERMANY

	April 1951	September 1951	May 1952	December 1952
Communist powers	31%	15%	21%	24%
Western powers	37	40	32	28
Both the same	14	16	16	23
Undecided	18	29	31	25
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The foregoing findings suggest that many West Germans predict eventual victory will come to the West in the Cold War as a result of its power and predominant strength vis-a-vis the Communists rather than through superior skill and strategy. This suggestion receives some support in the results tabulated below. From them it will be noted that two thirds of those rating the Communists as temporarily more successful predict final victory for the West. As would be expected, larger proportions of those giving the current advantage to the West forecast a Western triumph in the end.

"According to your view, who has the better chance finally to win the upper hand in the East-West struggle, the Communist powers or the Western powers?"	"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success in the past six months: the Communist powers or the Western powers?" Communists	West
Communist powers	12%	4%
Western powers	64	84
Both equal chances	8	2
Undecided	16	10
	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(191)	(222)

RESTRICTED

REASONS WHY THE WEST IS CONSIDERED AS MORE SUCCESSFUL ...

The people who declare that the West has had greater success than the Communists during the last six months are able to marshall up several arguments to support their views. Though about one in 10 argue simply that the Western powers must be more successful because they are better people, others point to more concrete instances of Western success: because of the program of economic aid, living standards have been raised (5%), the West has scored diplomatic gains in the U.N. or through treaties, etc. (5%), the West checked Communist expansion in Korea (5%), the West has built up its defenses (3%). Detailed comments follow.

"Why are you of this opinion? In what respect have the Western powers had more success?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Western powers" to initial question.)

WEST GERMANY

Success through moral and ideologic superiority:

Because you can see the evil doings of Communism which will lead to nothing good, he who knows Communism will side with the Western powers; they gain more and more strength, most nations have come to understand that Communism is not the right thing; Communists lose more and more ground in elections; the democratic idea has spread nearly everywhere; because the Western powers are religious, the Russians are stubborn; because they are sincere in their actions, and believe in something, the Russians don't believe in anything, they are just like cattle, the Communists; Communists terrorize people whereas the Western powers don't do so; because this side holds freedom in high esteem and everybody can do and speak as he likes; because they respect World Judaism and the Communists persecute it; by their voluntary solidarity, that's a better link than force; the Communists don't care about anything; perhaps you could say that the Western powers treat people more humanely; they treat you more humanely, they are better people than the Russians; etc. 8%

Success by economic superiority - economic aid - raising of living standard:

Because they've done more for the needy nations than the Communist powers; they brought about a higher living standard thereby winning many nations over to their side; they helped all the world by sending food stuffs; because they trade with the whole world so that people may live more comfortably, the living standard of the Western world has risen considerably during the last years; through their money and their talent for organisation; economically; etc. 5%

RESTRICTED

Diplomatic success: extension of the treaty-system against Russia:
The Western powers protected themselves effectively against the East, for instance by treaties; America knew now to turn many nations against Communism, by those doings Russia will lose ground; they prevail in the UNO; many countries have recently taken sides with the Americans; you can see that from the fact that even Tito in Yugoslavia wants to co-operate with the West; Turkey and Greece have joined the Atlantic Pact, Yugoslavia has broken loose from the East Bloc; etc. 5%

Checking Communist expansion and the spread of the Korea conflict - maintaining peace:
They were able to check Communist expansion everywhere; because the Russians didn't make head way with their policy and peace was maintained; from Korea where they succeeded in preventing any further Communist expansion up to now; because, if the case were different the Russians would have reached the Bay of Biscay long since; they were always able to straighten things out when the Russians balked; etc. 5

Expansion of defense and armament programs - guaranteeing security:
Because they strive to protect the West and because the defense of the West has made great progress during the last years; the Yanks, they are surely more on the safe side; they have the best arms and a firmer economic position; the greater industrial capacity will be advantageous for the West as time goes by; and the Western powers really did re-arm very strongly; the Russians just looked on while Europe re-armed; etc. 3

Other reasons:
We've come nearer to a United Europe; because they treated our prisoners-of-war better; etc. 2

No opinion / No answer: 4

32%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS WHY THE COMMUNISTS ARE CONSIDERED AS MORE SUCCESSFUL ...

The leading argument (15%) of those seeing more success for the Communists is that they have expanded their influence in the Orient and are infiltrating in the Middle and Near East. Others (8%) point to the propaganda success of the Communists aided by the fanaticism of party members.

"Why are you of this opinion? In what respect have the Communist powers had more success?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Communist powers" in initial question.)

WEST GERMANY

Spreading and consolidation of Communism:

They expand everywhere and nobody stops them; merely that Russia has succeeded in controlling 400 millions Asiatics, the next overall attack will be directed against Africa, it means the encirclement of the white race; because they succeeded in bringing the mammoth land of China under their influence, their sphere of influence is rigorously extended to their satellites; they advanced as far as Berlin, nearly all of Asia has turned Communist; because they brought the whole of China under their influence; they took Persia away from the British and stirred up riots in Indochina and parts of Africa; Communism has had great success in Asia and the Balkan; Korea, Red China, their influence in India grows, Indochina, success everywhere - and America, France and England?; I think so with regard to China, Persia, Korea and Berlin, the Communist powers demonstrate their strength everywhere and America is not even able to manage Korea; the Communists have gained ground all over Asia, they'll go on making trouble, now India is in a state of unrest; the Communists have more success in Korea, Indochina, India, Tunisia, they are more successful everywhere; China is under Communist influence, there are revolts in South Korea, etc., Communism has expanded - this doesn't seem to be true for Germany but who knows what fire glows under the ashes; they control all of Asia and have Eastern Europe under their command; they have China on their side and all the East bloc countries, that's an enormous power - just have a look at the map; they won all those colonial nations which were ruled by the Western powers over to their side; etc. 15%

Success through propaganda, agitation, spreading of fear, clever strategy; strength of their idea:

The Russians were the most clever; they knew how to stir up all the world; they knew how to spread their idea and increase their power; as they had better propaganda tactics, they gained more followers in all countries; Russia gained in influence everywhere by sending secret agents to nearly all other countries; you always hear of disturbances occurring in some countries or other, it's always Russian propaganda which is behind that; because Communist elements are at work everywhere and instigate riots; successful strikes in non-Communist countries, Sovietisation of the

(con't on next page)

East Zone, provocation of the UNO; the Communists are bolder, they just take what they want without asking for it; all the allies of Russia have to obey "Dad's" orders, just as little children; you can see that here in Singen, nobody dares to speak freely, they all are afraid they will be hanged if the Russians should come, actually no one wants to have anything to do with the Communists; it is a strong idea they have in the East, that's what's lacking over here, the masses of people don't know what to begin with their freedom, but marching for an idea, that's something, that's worth while for the common people and they fight for it all over the world; they are radicals, they fight to the knife for their idea; etc. 8%

Events indicate that success is on the side of Communist powers:
Because all the crises in the world were decided in favor of the Easter powers; to this I can only answer in a negative way for the Western powers have no success at all; etc. 2

Other reasons:
And besides they have the greater man-power; etc. 1

No opinion/No answer: * 26%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

RELATIONSHIP TO ATTITUDES ON WESTERN ORIENTATION ...

Further analysis of the data suggests that those who give the advantage to the Communists vis-a-vis the Western powers in the Cold War take a negative stand on certain specific Western policies somewhat more frequently than do those who express confidence in Western strength in the East-West struggle. Thus more of the former disapprove a German contribution to West European defense, are against Bundestag ratification of the peace contract and are less inclined to believe that West Germany has benefitted by the American program. Whether or not this relationship is causal or consequential cannot be determined by the data on hand. It will also be noted in the tables showing the paired comparisons of replies that the two groups do not differ regarding the possibility of Russian aggression against West Germany. (The only instance where this appears to occur is based on a sample too small to be completely conclusive.) The tables follow.

"And who appears to you, all things considered, to be stronger at the moment: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

"Are you generally for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)"

	Communists	West
Very much for it	23%	24%
Somewhat for it	22	33
Somewhat against it	12	15
Very much against it	39	21
Undecided	4	7
	100%	100%

("The Bundestag has yet to give a final vote on the Germany Treaty.")
"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept it or reject it?"

Accept it	46%	53%
Reject it	37	24
Undecided	17	23
	100%	100%

"If you consider everything America has done in West Germany since the end of the war, has it been more to the advantage or more to the disadvantage of West Germany?"

To the advantage	66%	86%
To the disadvantage	14	4
Neither-nor	14	7
Undecided	6	3
	100%	100%

"In your opinion is the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small? (Very great or great?) (Very small or small?)"

Very great	8%	4%
Great	21	22
Small	50	52
Very small	15	15
Undecided	6	7
	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(135)	(381)

R E S T R I C T E D

"According to your view, who has [illegible] better chance finally to win the upper hand in the East/West struggle, the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

"Are you generally for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)

	Communists	West
Very much for it	13%	26%
Somewhat for it	15	33
Somewhat against it	8	13
Very much against it	60	22
Undecided	4	6
	100%	100%

("The Bundestag has yet to give a final vote on the Germany Treaty.")
"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept it or reject it?"

Accept it	28%	57%
Reject it	50	22
Undecided	22	21
	100%	100%

"If you consider everything America has done in West Germany since the end of the war, has it been more to the advantage or more to the disadvantage of West Germany?"

To the advantage	56%	85%
To the disadvantage	19	5
Neither-nor	19	7
Undecided	6	3
	100%	100%

"In your opinion is the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small? (Very great or great?) (Very small or small?)"

Very great	10%	5%
Great	15	21
Small	36	52
Very small	29	15
Undecided	10	7
	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(52)	(517)

RESTRICTED

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success in the past six months: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

"Are you generally for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)"

	Communists	West
Very much for it	26%	21%
Somewhat for it	26	34
Somewhat against it	12	18
Very much against it	30	21
Undecided	6	6
	100%	100%

("The Bundestag has yet to give a final vote on the Germany Treaty.")
"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept it or reject it?"

Accept it	52%	51%
Reject it	32	25
Undecided	16	24
	100%	100%

"If you consider everything America has done in West Germany since the end of the war, has it been more to the advantage or more to the disadvantage of West Germany?"

To the advantage	78%	85%
To the disadvantage	8	6
Neither-nor	9	7
Undecided	5	2
	100%	100%

"In your opinion is the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small? (Very great or great?) (Very small or small?)"

Very great	7%	5%
Great	18	20
Small	50	52
Very small	18	17
Undecided	7	6
	100%	100%
(No. of cases:)	(191)	(222)

RESTRICTED

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES ...

Since little or no variation appears in the trend of group differences on the issue of Western versus Communist power in the East-West struggle, only figures for the most recent (December) survey are reported.

On the issue of which of the two antagonists is momentarily the stronger, group differences are not marked. All groups give the advantage to the West.

"And who appears to you, all things considered, to be stronger at the moment: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Communist powers	Western powers	Both equally strong	Undecided	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	21%	51%	19%	9%	100% 383
Women	13	46	15	26	403
Education:					
Elementary school	16	48	16	20	633
Beyond elementary	22	50	18	10	153
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	18	44	16	22	418
300 - 399 DM	13	56	18	13	209
400 DM and more	20	54	17	9	150
Age:					
18 - 24 years	17	49	15	19	80
25 - 34 years	21	48	18	13	187
35 - 44 years	19	50	18	13	166
45 - 54 years	11	54	17	18	160
55 years and over	18	43	13	26	193
Party Preference:					
SPD	19	54	14	13	207
CDU/CSU	21	53	14	12	202
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	16	49	29	6	63
Other parties	19	55	19	7	47
No party	20	33	17	30	71
Don't know	11	42	16	31	196
Occupation:					
Professionals	46	35	8	11	26
Businessmen	20	51	13	16	80
White-collar workers	19	50	19	12	110
Skilled laborers	13	55	17	15	183
Semi-skilled laborers	17	44	23	16	93
Farmers	20	61	7	12	82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	14	39	16	31	148
Religion:					
Catholics	18	48	15	19	349
Protestants	16	49	18	17	394
Origin:					
Natives	18	48	16	18	630
Expellees, Refugees	14	50	19	17	151

RESTRICTED

Preponderances in all groups - in most instances of majority proportions - predict final victory for the West in the East-West struggle. Higher status groups - the better educated, higher income segments, and the men - are more frequently of this view than their counterparts.

"According to your view, who has the better chance finally to win the upper hand in the East-West struggle, the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Communist powers	Western powers	Both equally chances	Undecided		No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	7%	71%	9%	13%	100%	383
Women	6	61	4	29		403
Education:						
Elementary school	7	64	8	21		633
Beyond elementary	6	72	4	18		153
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	6	62	7	25		418
300 - 399 DM	9	70	9	12		209
400 DM and more	5	73	3	19		150
Age:						
18 - 24 years	11	65	8	16		80
25 - 34 years	7	69	6	18		187
35 - 44 years	10	66	7	17		166
45 - 54 years	5	68	8	19		160
55 years and over	3	61	7	29		193
Party Preference:						
SPD	9	65	9	17		207
CDU/CSU	4	79	4	13		202
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	5	78	6	11		63
Other parties	13	81	2	4		47
No party	8	47	8	37		71
Don't know	4	53	9	34		196
Occupation:						
Professionals	8	69	-	23		26
Businessmen	5	71	4	20		80
White-collar workers	5	72	6	17		110
Skilled laborers	9	69	6	16		183
Semi-skilled laborers	8	57	15	20		93
Farmers	9	74	5	12		82
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	5	58	8	29		148
Religion:						
Catholics	7	68	7	18		349
Protestants	6	66	7	21		394
Origin:						
Natives	8	65	6	21		630
Expellees, Refugees	3	71	11	15		151

RESTRICTED

On the issue of which side has won the past six months' phase of the Cold War, the higher status groups are more inclined than others to name the Communist powers. Apparently, however, they do not let their appraisal of short term success affect their views on the eventual outcome of the struggle, for as has been seen, they more frequently than other groups predict final victory for the West.

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success in the past six months: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	Communist powers	Western powers	Both the same	Undecided	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	30%	32%	27%	11%..100%	383
Women	18	25	19	38	403
Education:					
Elementary school	21	28	24	27	633
Beyond elementary	37	29	20	14	153
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	19	26	23	32	418
300 - 399 DM	28	29	27	16	209
400 DM and more	37	33	18	12	150
Age:					
18 - 24 years	19	29	27	25	80
25 - 34 years	27	31	24	18	187
35 - 44 years	27	31	18	24	166
45 - 54 years	26	28	22	24	160
55 years and over	21	23	24	32	193
Party Preference:					
SPD	28	28	23	21	207
CDU/CSU	25	31	23	21	202
FDP/LDP/DVP/BDV	29	35	24	12	63
Other parties	28	34	25	13	47
No party	25	18	23	34	71
Don't know	17	25	22	36	196
Occupation:					
Professionals	62	15	12	11	26
Businessmen	31	25	16	28	80
White-collar workers	26	34	25	15	110
Skilled laborers	24	32	23	21	183
Semi-skilled laborers	24	25	24	27	93
Farmers	16	36	26	22	82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	19	23	26	32	148
Religion:					
Catholics	26	28	23	23	349
Protestants	22	29	22	27	394
Origin:					
Natives	24	28	23	25	630
Expellees, Refugees	24	29	24	23	151

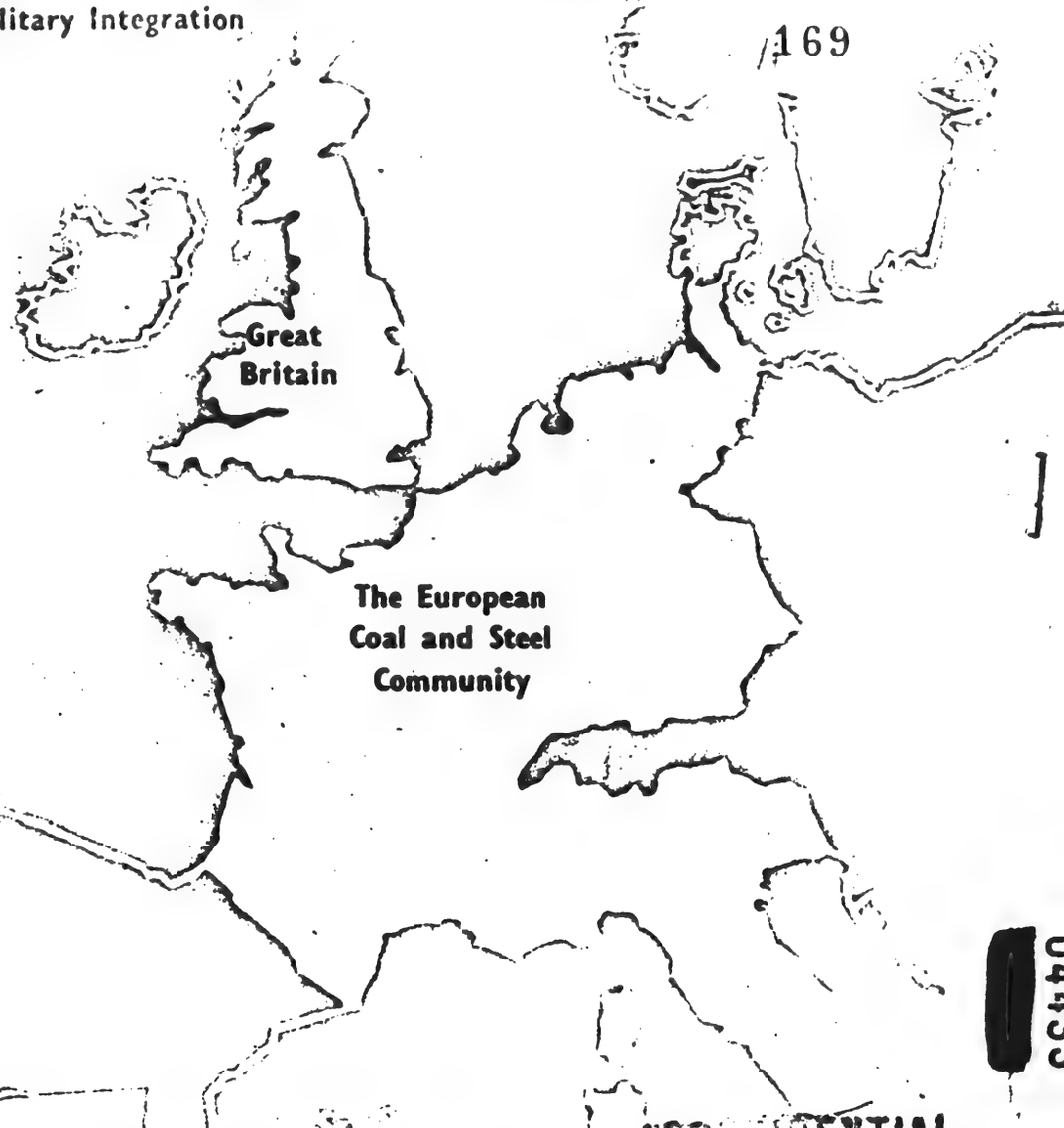
04433

CONFIDENTIAL

PUBLIC OPINION IN WESTERN EUROPE

Attitudes towards Political, Economic and Military Integration

169



PUBLIC OPINION IN WESTERN EUROPE

Prepared by Reactions Analysis Staff/HICOG for Rese- h/SRE Paris

CONFIDENTIAL

January 195

RESTRICTED

Interviews for this survey were conducted during September, 1952.

TO: All Information Staff

FROM: Director, SRE/INF

An extra word of caution on the handling of this classified document.

I do not want any information about the survey - even the fact that such a survey has been made - to leak to the public. Please do not leave copies in view of visitors or unauthorized staff members.

Frank L. Dennis

CONFIDENTIAL

[redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL
SECURITY INFORMATION

A SURVEY

of

PUBLIC OPINION IN WESTERN EUROPE

In Four Sections :

I. European Integration and the Schuman Plan
II. Anti-Americanism and Attitudes toward Russia and Communism
III. Reactions to the European Defense Community Concept
IV. Defense Morale

based on

Interviews with a Cross-Section of the
Adult Populations
in

France
Great Britain
Italy
Netherlands
Western Germany

This report was written by Dr. Hugh Parry and Dr. Leo Crespi, of RAS/HICOG. Dr. Jan Stapel, director of the International Institute of Public Opinion, Amsterdam, assisted in the construction of the questionnaire and coordinated the work of the national survey organisations which carried out the interviews.

044434

CONFIDENTIAL
SECURITY INFORMATION

INTRODUCTION

Of pivotal concern to US policy in Western Europe is the newly established Coal and Steel Community (CSC) and its projected defense parallel, the European Defense Community. The aim of this study has been to investigate popular reactions to the idea of West European unification—public misapprehensions, doubts and aspirations—during the crucial formative stages of the new institutions. As an integral part of the complex of ideas and emotions surrounding CSC and EDC, the subjects of anti-Americanism, attitudes towards Russia and Communism, and morale were also studied.

The frame of reference for the presentation and discussion of results is the CSC—the Coal and Steel Community. Along with the basic CSC returns, country figures are presented to illuminate international variations and to reflect the effects of the varied political and psychological atmospheres prevailing in the individual countries. In addition, returns for Great Britain add valuable perspective to the CSC results.

The idea of focussing centrally on the CSC did not fully mature until work was in progress on the present study. As a consequence, data were collected only for Germany, Italy, France and Holland, leaving out Belgium and Luxembourg. Reasonably adequate CSC estimates are in hand notwithstanding, since this part of Benelux embraces only 6 percent of the population of the new Community. Even if the attitudes of citizens of Belgium and Luxembourg were extremely atypical, CSC figures would be influenced only to the extent of a few percentage points.

The study was initiated and sponsored by Research Branch, Office of Information, Office of the Special Representative in Europe, Paris, and directed by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, Office of the High Commissioner for Germany. The RAS, a nucleus of State Department survey professionals, has for five years been providing analysis of German public opinion for the American government. Plans are under way to continue this pooling of HICOG and SRE resources; within the next few months a follow-up study—first, perhaps, of a series—will enlarge upon and develop trend lines for the major areas of attitude problems uncovered in the present report.

04435

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Introduction 5

Section I: European Integration and the Schuman Plan.

The Strength of General Integrationist Sentiment. 9
Current and Potential Support for the Schuman Plan 15

Section II: Anti-Americanism and Attitudes Toward Russia and Communism.

West European Attitudes Toward America. 23
West European Attitudes Toward Russia. 40
Communist Sympathizers in West Europe 51

Section III: Reactions to the European Defense Community Concept.

Support for a West European Army. 65
Trust in Allies 77

Section IV: Defense Morale.

General Morale. 109
Crisis Morale. 126

APPENDICES

Appendix A:

Sampling Techniques and Composition of National Samples 139

Facsimiles of Questionnaires Used in the Five Countries. 147

Appendices B through P:

For each question discussed in the text detailed tabulations are presented in Appendices B through P. The responses of population sub-groups are given in percentages (number of cases where appropriate) for the five individual countries, as well as for the Coal-Steel Community as a whole. 187

04436

SECTION I

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND THE SCHUMAN PLAN

CONFIDENTIAL
SECURITY INFORMATION

SECTION I

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND THE SCHUMAN PLAN

I. THE STRENGTH OF GENERAL INTEGRATIONIST SENTIMENT

SLOGAN APPEAL OF WEST EUROPEAN UNION . . .

What might be termed the slogan appeal of West European Union—that is to say the attractiveness of the integration concept considered without any complicating qualifications—is clearly of solid majority compass in the European Coal and Steel Community. Though similarity is more pronounced than difference among component CSC nations examined, the simple idea of West European Union carries a somewhat wider appeal in West Germany and the Netherlands than in France and Italy.

As to respondents' estimates of the intensity of their integrationist feelings, the single most frequent indication in the CSC is plus five, or the maximum provided for on the scale. *

> *" As you may know, there has been much talk about forming a West European Union, made up only of countries in the Western part of Europe. "*
> *" Are you in general for or against making efforts toward uniting West Europe? "*
>
> *" We would like you to show just how much you are for or against this by pointing to one of the squares on this card. "*
>
> *" The white squares mean ' for ' and the black squares mean ' against '. The higher you go on the white squares, the more you are for it; the lower you go on the black squares, the more you are against. Now will you point to the square which shows about how much you are for or against a West European Union? " **

* The so-called " Scalometer " device was suggested by the International Institute and has the virtue of measuring the intensity of an attitude without the use of qualifying adjectives, as e. g. " fairly, " " somewhat, " etc., which are not entirely equivalent in various languages. The complete set of questionnaires used in the respective countries can be found in Appendix A.

04138

CONFIDENTIAL
SECURITY INFORMATION

		Coal-Steel Community **	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Number of Cases		(6122)	(1591)	(1345)	(1505)	(1513)	(1503)
For a	+5	31 %	36 %	28 %	28 %	40 %	26 %
West	+4	9	9	8	8	9	6
European	+3	14	17	14	12	15	14
Union	+2	5	5	4	5	4	4
	+1	4	3	6	4	6	8
		+ (63 %)	+ (70 %)	+ (60 %)	+ (57 %)	+ (74 %)	+ (58 %)
Against	−1	1	1	2	1	3	3
a West	−2	1	2	1	2	1	2
European	−3	3	3	2	2	2	2
Union	−4	2	1	2	2	—	2
	−5	6	3	9	7	4	6
		− (13 %)	− (10 %)	− (16 %)	− (14 %)	− (10 %)	− (15 %)
No opinion, no answer		24	20	24	29	16	27
		100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

FOLLOW-THROUGH SUPPORT FOR A WEST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT . . .

In an attempt to supplement estimate of surface emotional appeal with assessment of more reflective and hence presumably more steadfast support, a follow-up question inquired as to approval of the idea of a West European government with the reminder that in the general interest such a government might be compelled on occasion to make decisions that were unfavorable to one's own country. Within this more realistic framework approval of West European integration falls in the CSC to the point where there is no demonstrable majority support.

The implication is evident that to an important extent the emotional appeal of European Union is mushy, that is to say does not hold up under the strain of even a moderate injection of realism.

" This is one of many suggestions made for forming a West European Union. "

" All West European countries should unite and form a common government which would decide about all questions that concern West Europe as a whole. However, each country would keep the right to decide on things that concern it alone. "

** In this table and throughout the report, the " Coal-Steel Community " (CSC) column represents a weighted average of the responses of individuals in the four CSC countries studied. For details of this weighting see Appendix A.

" Would you like to see (name of country) be a part of such a West European government, or would you be against it? "

If " Yes " to above respondent was asked:
" In the interest of West Europe as a whole, such a West European government may have to make decisions that would sometimes be unfavorable to (name of country) and sometimes to other countries. In view of this, would you be for or against (name of country) taking part in such a government? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
For, even if sometimes disadvantageous	49 %	63 %	43 %	38 %	62 %	41 %
Against, if sometimes disadvantageous	20	15	22	23	16	28
Undecided generally or under such circumstances	31	22	35	39	22	31
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

The discrepancy between slogan appeal and follow-through support for European integration is serious enough in the average. It becomes more serious when it is observed (see Chart I following) that the discrepancy is at its maximum where it hurts the most, i.e. in France and Italy. It appears that where appeal is broadest it is also most reliable.

So all in all there is no escaping the conclusion that France and Italy pose special problems in respect to attaining the US foreign policy goal of a politically unified Western Europe.

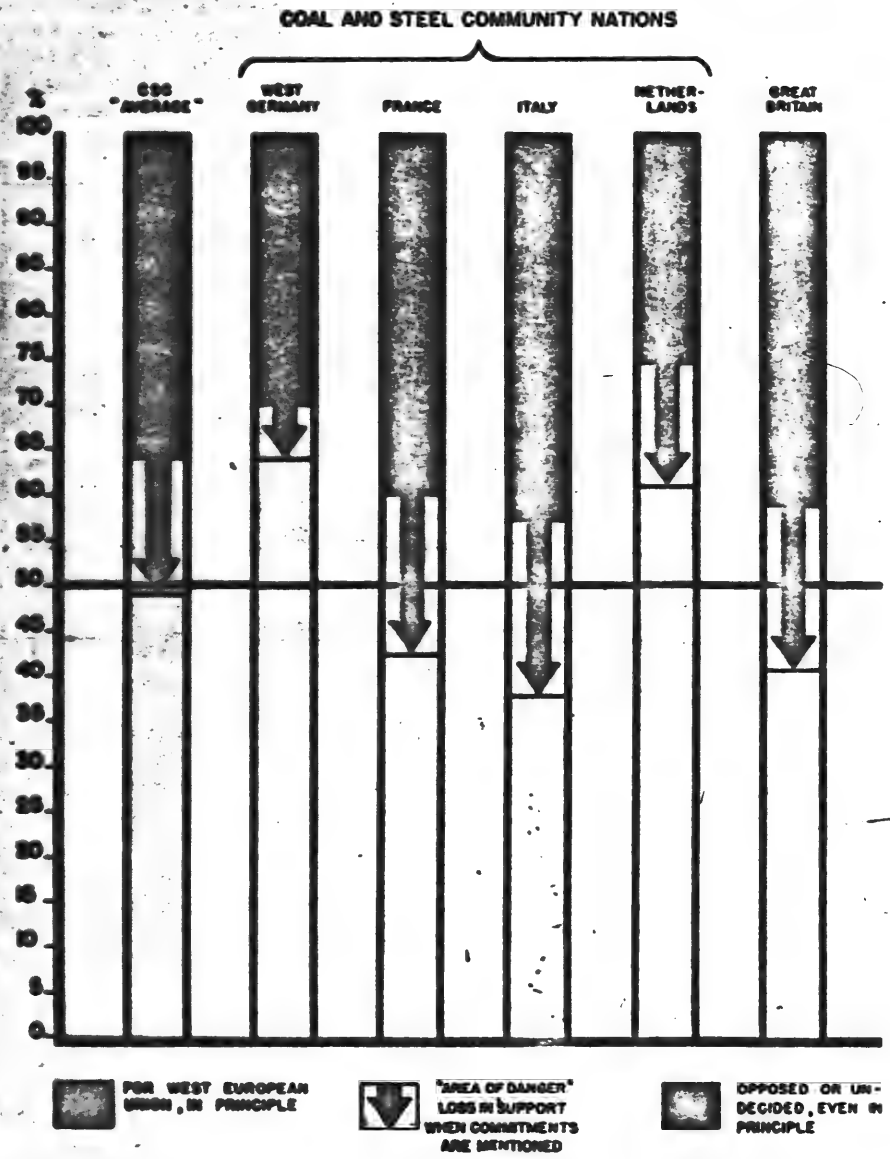
In view of Great Britain's cross-cutting Commonwealth and European considerations, it is less surprising that support of the idea of West European Union shades off markedly from its simple slogan appeal when questioning assumes a realistic cast.

GROUP VARIATIONS IN INTEGRATIONIST SENTIMENTS . . .

Consideration of population sub-group differences in respect to European integration sentiments (see Appendix B for tabulations), reveals the important fact that both in slogan appeal and in follow-through support, internationalist orientations are most widespread among the more influential opinion leading population levels—the better educated and the economically and professionally better situated. Even in the realistic framework of questioning, support for integration markedly prevails among the top level professionals and executives both in the CSC as a whole and in the constituent countries examined.

CHART I

SUPPORT OF WEST EUROPEAN UNION



The pattern of group variations in Great Britain departs somewhat from that in the Coal and Steel Community, particularly in the respect that the highest educational level do not manifest the most support for European integration, but fall off somewhat from the extent of approval to be found among British of only secondary education. In the realistic framework of questioning, integrationist support is matched in extent by opposition—as is not the case for other educational levels or indeed for any other population group examined in Great Britain.* The suggestion is compelling that in Britain the most educated level see difficulties with West European Union that make them of divided mind as to its desirability.

More specific group variations must be left to the interested reader to study in Appendix B. But one is prominent enough in importance to be worth highlighting at this point. This relates to age comparisons. The significant fact emerges from the tabulations that in none of the five countries examined is there any evidence for the common assumption that support for European Union is more widespread among the younger generation than it is among their elders.

This statement applies to youth as a whole and does not preclude high levels of interest among particular segments of youth. But in advance of further clarification it becomes clearly on the side of caution to avoid the assumption—possibly partly wishful in origin—that European youth are in the vanguard of proponents of European integration.

In respect to occupational comparisons it is of some interest that manual workers in France and Italy are markedly more negative than their counterparts in the other countries examined. Such a finding is, of course, not surprising since they are groups in which Communism has heavy sway—a point that will be developed in Section II of this report.

As to party comparisons, Socialist and Christian Democratic elements appear to be rather even on the average in the extent of support voiced for European integration. Within countries, however, Socialists, following the official policy of their party leaders, appear somewhat less internationalist than Christian Democratic groups in West Germany, and somewhat more internationalist in Italy and the Netherlands.

Communist party supporters are distinctly the least in favor of European Union whether posed as a simple idea or in a more complex setting. In the latter framework of questioning only 3 and 7 per cent among French and Italian Communists expressed approval. However, when an enlarged political category inclusive of Communist sympathizers as well as professed Communist party adherents is examined, it is evident that there is considerable appeal in West European integration

---

* With the exception of farmhands in the occupational comparisons, for which, however, there are too few cases (only 37) to attach any firm significance.

among the pro-Communist fringe elements. It is worth considering how this apparent division of opinion between card carriers and fellow travellers could be worked into some wedge-driving themes.

Separate tabulations are also presented in Appendix B for population group variations in the extent of the discrepancy between slogan appeal and follow-through support for European integration. For within-country comparisons the number of cases are often too few for reliable conclusions, but for the CSC as a whole the returns can be safely looked upon as reliable. The conclusion that seems indicated is that loss of support for European Union when a note of realism is injected into the framework of inquiry is pretty much across the board rather than tending to bulk within any particular population stratum. Even among the typically more educated and informed population elements—whose support of European integration might have been assumed to be more reflective—softness in attitude is as prevalent as on less educated levels.

Among political groupings it is notable that Communist party adherents show the least discrepancy between slogan and follow-through reactions to European Union. This may be another documentation of the firmness of party line discipline in Communist thinking. Neo-Fascists in Italy drop rather markedly in their approval of European Union when reminded of the fact that such would involve occasional unfavorable decisions to particular countries. The realistic framework of inquiry perhaps carries with it the reminder that as a dissident element in the European scene they could expect majority decisions on a European stage to go generally counter to their views. *

* The reader who has occasion to make a serious study of group variations is cautioned to first acquaint himself with the sample composition table in Appendix A in order to be aware of the varying statistical reliabilities of the group comparison figures. The number of cases in different population groupings varies widely, and in many instances is too small to be relied upon.

2. CURRENT AND POTENTIAL SUPPORT FOR THE SCHUMAN PLAN

PRESENT LEVELS OF AWARENESS AND SUPPORT . . .

Shifting attention now to a concrete embodiment of European integration—the European Coal and Steel Community—the first indication that comes to light is that though claimed awareness of the Schuman Plan is widespread within the CSC area, verified awareness has not achieved even bare majority status. Especially in Italy is verified awareness low, with only one in three showing any evidence of familiarity with the Schuman Plan.

" Have you ever heard of the Schuman Plan? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Yes	74 %	79 %	89 %	54 %	80 %	67 %
No	26	21	11	46	20	33
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

" Do you happen to know which industries the Schuman Plan concerns? " (Asked of respondents claiming awareness.)

Coal and steel, iron (ore)	45 %	39 %	65 %	32 %	43 %	29 %
Heavy industries	5	10	3	3	4	2
Only coal	2	4	3	1	4	2
Only steel, iron (ore)	—	—	1	1	3	4
	(52 %)	(53 %)	(72 %)	(37 %)	(54 %)	(37 %)
Other	2	2	2	—	3	1
Don't know	20	24	15	17	23	29
	74 %	79 %	89 %	54 %	80 %	67 %

Obviously the existence of the Coal and Steel Community will not be a major morale factor unless it is buttressed by, at the very least, majority popular support. It comes as a matter of no small moment, therefore, to discover that currently only one in three among the population of the CSC qualify as informed supporters of the new international community.

" Are you in favor of or against (name of country) taking part in the Schuman Plan? " (Asked of respondents demonstrating some awareness of plan.)

For	32 %	28 %	46 %	27 %	39 %	13 %
Against	9	15	12	4	5	13
No opinion, no answer	11	10	14	6	10	11
	52 %	53 %	72 %	37 %	54 %	37 %

POTENTIAL SUPPORT WITH WIDER INFORMATION . . .

The paucity of informed supporters of the CSC idea among people within its compass is clearly not, in light of the above returns, primarily a problem of opposition. The problem is ignorance. Obviously people cannot support something of which they have not been made aware, and approximately half in the CSC have not even the barest familiarity with the details of the Schuman Plan, though some of these people profess to have heard about it.

An important question arises at this juncture: What level of support could the Coal and Steel Community expect to obtain if people in its area were provided with information about it?

It is possible to obtain a reasonable estimate of what would be the situation under such circumstances by providing information to the respondents in the sample and generalizing the returns to the population. The results of such a test are tabulated below.

> *" Here is a short summary of the Schuman Plan. " (CARD)*
>
> *" The Schuman Plan combines the iron and coal industries of France, West Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg. These industries in these six countries are controlled by an international board made up of representatives from these countries. "*
>
> *" In view of this, are you in favor of or against (name of country) taking part in the Schuman Plan? "*

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
For	57 %	50 %	60 %	61 %	67 %	43 %
Against	15	22	17	10	7	31
No opinion, no answer	28	28	23	29	26	26
	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

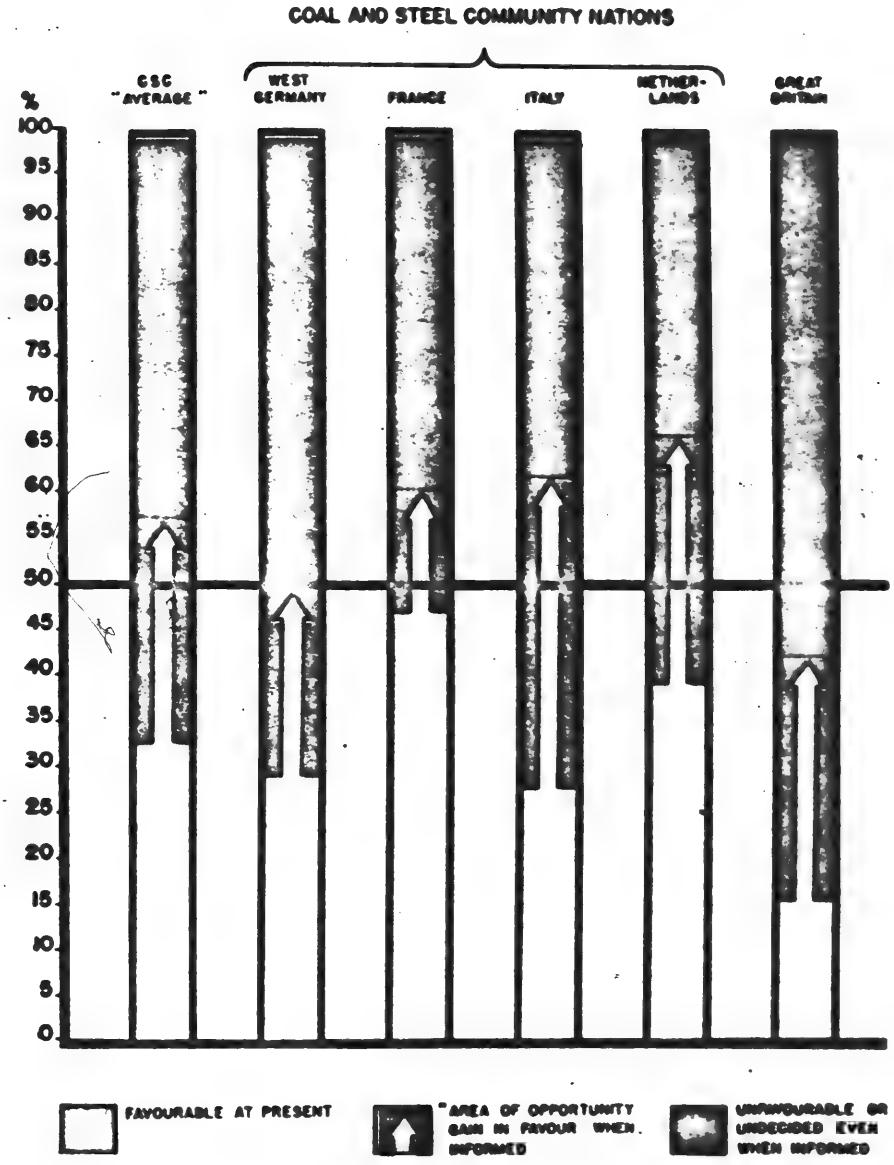
One has only to stack up the post-information figures against prior levels of support (see Chart II following) to observe the significant fact that there is potentially majority support for the Schuman Plan among the CSC population if those at present ignorant can be apprised of even the barest outline of the plan. * Country-wise within the CSC the potential gains in support are distributed in good part where

---

* This does not mean that all the potential gain could actually be achieved. Any large rise in the level of information about the Schuman Plan would probably also create vulnerability to propaganda stressing real or fancied sacrifices and disadvantages in individual countries. In other words, information at a rudimentary level is not equivalent to conviction. But until the former has been achieved we will hardly have begun to face the issue.

CHART II

SUPPORT OF SCHUMAN PLAN



CHAN 2442

they are most needed, if it is deemed desirable to have majority backing in each participating nation. Only in West Germany does the indicated gain fail to lift the level of support over the majority line.

All in all the implication is strong that even at a comparatively advanced date, with the CSC already in operation, efforts to provide even the simplest information about the Schuman Plan are very far from the level of impractically diminished returns. On the contrary, strengthened and renewed informational efforts are called for and promise much, especially in Italy and West Germany. France is a possible exception to these generalizations. Here the additional gains in support to be expected by acquainting the presently ignorant with the elements of the Schuman Plan are very much less than elsewhere, though it should be noted that they are in the critical area of having or not having majority backing.

SCHUMAN PLAN SUPPORT VERSUS GENERAL INTERNATIONALIST SENTIMENT . . .

Additional guidance implications from the present chart emerge by comparing it with the chart presented earlier. The Schuman Plan is obviously a specific expression of West European integration. Supposing all were familiar with the plan how would the levels of support compare with the level of approval evidenced for European integration in general? In what way does the specific depart from the general and what are the guidance clues to be drawn therefrom?

The most interesting fact to emerge from a comparative scrutiny of the two charts is that West German support for the Schuman Plan is appreciably below support for integration in general, a situation which obtains for none of the other CSC countries examined. The indication may therefore be that West Germany's "natural" level of support for an integrationist plan has not yet been reached. Whether this falling-short results from inadequate effort, or feelings that West Germany is being short-changed in the Schuman Plan, or whatever, one practical guidance suggestion is clear—that in selling the CSC in Germany the European integration theme should be hammered on in view of the evidence that many non-supporters of CSC are responsive to such an appeal.

In France and Italy the situation seems to be quite otherwise. In these countries it appears that with all the population made aware of the Schuman Plan, support rises for this particular embodiment of European integration as high as support for integration in principle. Hence higher levels of support are not likely to be developed with the European integration theme, and attention is better devoted to more tangible arguments.

GROUP VARIATIONS IN SCHUMAN PLAN SUPPORT . . .

Population group comparisons in reactions to the Schuman Plan (see Appendix C for tabulations) disclose that in the CSC as a whole and in its separate countries both actual and potential support is greatest among the opinion leading levels of the population—the better educated, the better paid, and the better situated professionally. In this respect the pattern follows that earlier evidenced for European integration in principle. And again in parallel with earlier indications, Great Britain departs from the CSC trend by manifesting less widespread approval of the Schuman Plan among the more educated than among less educated respondents. This means both in principle and in the concrete Britons of advanced education are inclined to react adversely to West European integration.

Following also earlier more general indications, the point emerges in age comparisons that in no country examined (with a possible slight exception in potential support in West Germany) is there any firm indication of greater support for the Schuman Plan among youth as a group than among the rest of the population.

Among occupational groups opposition to the Schuman Plan in the CSC as a whole is greatest among manual workers—the largest occupational category numerically in the population and of course a vital one in an industrial proposal like the Coal and Steel Community.

In respect to general internationalism, workers' attitudes were most adverse in Communist-prevalent France and Italy. In respect to the Schuman Plan specifically France remains a problem, but West Germany edges out Italy as West German manual workers reveal themselves to be far less sold on the Schuman Plan in particular than they are on European integration in general. This same trend has been earlier noted for West Germany as a whole.

Among the facts revealed by party comparisons is that in no party except the Communists are favorable attitudes outweighed by opposition sentiments, and only among French Communists, of all the political groupings examined, does opposition achieve majority status under the circumstances of all respondents being informed of the Schuman Plan and asked to express a judgment.

The difference in Italian and French returns both in regard to Communists and the more general category of Communist plus Communist sympathizers, suggests rather strongly that many Italian Communists are sensitive to advantages in the CSC despite party line opposition. This of course offers a gambit that might be exploited.

Actual and potential Socialist support for the Schuman Plan appears to compare well with Christian Democratic levels in the CSC except for West Germany, where the level of potential support lies below the majority line, and opposition is not appreciably less than in the Communist and Communist sympathizer category.

04443

Earlier, in Chart II, potential gains in support for the Schuman Plan with wider dissemination of information were presented for the CSC as a whole and for separate countries. It now remains in concluding the present discussion to consider population group variations in these potential gains. Among the facts disclosed by the tabulations (which may be examined at the end of Appendix C) is that though the greater portion of the potential gains in support is among conventionally harder to reach groups—women, less educated, less well paid and the like, very important increases are apparently still obtainable among the population elements which are normally accessible to even conventional information efforts, i.e. the better educated and better off.

It is particularly notable that except in West Germany important gains in support among top level professionals and executives are apparently to be had if more informational effort is forthcoming.

If youth are deemed especially important in terms of solidifying the future of the Schuman Plan the indication is that appreciable gains can be made among youth in the CSC if a special effort is made to inform this sector of the population as to what the plan is about.

The returns reveal that in the critical manual worker group where gains in Schuman Plan support are most needed in France and West Germany, practically no net gain at all (1 %) is apparently to be had in France with complete dissemination of information, but an appreciable 15 per cent net gain in West Germany. French manual workers are therefore labeled a very unpromising target for purely informational efforts in building support for the Schuman Plan.

Among political parties it is not surprising to find that few Communists are gathered into the fold simply by having the Schuman Plan briefly described to them. Potential gains appear large, however, in numerous important political groupings, especially in Italy and the Netherlands.

SECTION II

ANTI-AMERICANISM AND ATTITUDES TOWARD RUSSIA AND COMMUNISM

044444

SECTION II

ANTI-AMERICANISM AND ATTITUDES TOWARD RUSSIA AND COMMUNISM

I. WEST EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD AMERICA

'MARSHALL PLAN' AID OF PAST IS CHIEF AMERICAN GOOD WILL ASSET IN WESTERN EUROPE . . .

It is clear that the various programs popularly known as the "Marshall Plan" are still America's chief (and in some countries just about only) asset in Western Europe and Great Britain. Financial and economic support, food, clothing, reconstruction—these are the items mentioned, when respondents are asked to name American activities which have made a favorable impression on them. Three-fifths of the people of the Coal-Steel-Community mention such aid (the national percentages run from France's one-half to the Netherlands' three-fourths). Even in Great Britain, least favorable in this respect, four out of ten mention it.

In contrast, military assistance, Korea, attempts at aiding European unity, are mentioned by less than a tenth.

04445

" Has America done anything since the war that has made a favorable impression on you? (IF 'YES) What? What else? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Marshall Plan, financial, economic support, food, clothes, reconstruction	59%	64%	50%	59%	74%	40%
Military defense, protection, military aid, arms, aiding military integration, fighting in Korea	8	4	13	6	18	10
Occupation policies	2	6	—	—	—	—
Berlin air lift	1	3	—	1	1	*
Aiding European unity, integration	1	2	1	—	1	1
Its citizens, industry	1	—	4	—	—	—
Providing initiative for formation of UN	*	—	—	—	1	—
Maintaining friendly relations	—	—	—	—	—	2
Miscellaneous	9	10	1	7	9	3
NOTHING (positive)	11	*	24	12	9	40
No opinion, no answer	16	12	20	17	12	13
	108%⊙	101%⊙	113%⊙	102%⊙	125%⊙	109%⊙

* Less than one half of one per cent.
⊙ Some respondents mentioned more than one item.

LARGE PROPORTIONS CAN MENTION NOTHING FAVORABLE . . .

A third of the CSC citizens and half of the British can find nothing at all good to say about American actions since the war. In the CSC countries (except in France) the bulk of such respondents simply express their ignorance or lack of favor by saying nothing. In Great Britain, however, four out of ten adults give a positive answer of " Nothing " which is more than a suggestion of some measure of hostility.

MANY OF THOSE OTHERWISE ADVERSE SPEAK FAVORABLY OF MARSHALL PLAN . . .

The Marshall Plan still brings out favorable reaction even among those who condemn American post-war actions. ** About a fourth of those who say their " overall impression " of American policies is unfavorable nevertheless mention the Marshall Plan and economic aid as a favorable thing done by America. It is clear that even among this group of anti-Americans, the Marshall Plan still enjoys a measure of prestige.

UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICAN POST-WAR BEHAVIOR VARY WIDELY . . .

Unlike her favorable actions, America's post-war actions which have created unfavorable impressions show less of a consistent pattern. About a third in the CSC nations (nearly half in West Germany) state specifically that America has done nothing which has caused them to react unfavorably. Another sizable group can mention nothing specific as a reason for complaint. Interference within colonies is the leading cause for complaint in France and in the Netherlands. In the latter nation, usually most friendly, nearly a fourth apparently still remember American policy regarding Indonesia with bitterness.

In general, scattered unfavorable impressions add up to the belief that America is forcing rearmament, interfering in internal affairs, stationing troops within the country (France), and in general seeking economic control and aiming at world domination. This complex of related ideas, plus the colonialism issue, accounts for nearly all unfavorable reaction, except in West Germany. Very few complain that America is too unyielding with Russia or believe she is too soft.

In Germany, unfavorable reactions imply a certain pre-occupation with German affairs. War crimes, trials, treatment of prisoners, dismantling, the Potsdam agreement, the Occupation—these are what count in Germany. Relatively few mention the various issues important to other Europeans.

U4446

** The results were obtained by tabulating the " favorable impression " of those respondents who replied " unfavorable " to the question: " Taking all those things America has done since the war together, is your overall impression more favorable or more unfavorable? " The table is not printed since the bulk of it is of limited interest.

" Has America done anything since the war that has made an unfavorable impression on you? " (IF 'YES') What? What else? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
World domination sought	5%	—%	7%	7%	7%	5%
War crimes, trials, denazification	5	14	—	—	—	—
Interference in colonies	4	—	9	1	22	3
Militarism, forcing us to rearm	4	2	8	4	3	5
Occupation forces—luxurious living; bad conduct, numbers	4	11	—	—	—	—
Korea	3	2	7	5	3	7
Interference, pressure, dominance (General)	3	2	5	3	3	8
Military bases	2	—	8	—	—	—
Tries to politics	2	—	—	7	—	—
Dismantling, reparations	2	6	—	—	—	—
Potsdam agreement	2	5	—	—	—	—
Treatment of POW's	1	5	—	—	—	—
Too easy with Russia	1	1	1	2	1	1
Atom bomb	1	*	4	—	1	1
General policy in Germany	1	4	—	—	—	—
Too tough, aggressive with Russia	*	1	3	—	—	—
Cultural imperialism	*	1	—	—	—	4
Letting Germans starve after war	*	1	—	—	—	—
Economic domination	—	2	7	5	7	6
Miscellaneous	8	4	7	13	9	7
NOTHING (positive)	31	45	26	23	27	60%**
No opinion, no answer	24	11	24	37	27	
	103%©	117%©	116%©	107%©	110%©	107%©

* Less than one half of one per cent.
** In Great Britain, " Nothing " was not coded as a separate category.
© Some respondents mentioned more than one item.

COLONIAL INTERFERENCE MAIN CRITICISM BY PRO-AMERICAN GROUP . . .

Interference, past and present, in French and Netherlands colonial affairs are the actions most resented in those two nations by those who say that on balance their impressions of America's actions are favorable. * In France, over a tenth and in the Netherlands nearly a fourth of otherwise pro-American respondents mentioned such interference as an American action which had given them an unfavorable impression. In view of current difficulties in North Africa, it is probable that such partial alienation has spread more widely in France since the time of this survey. In any event, it is clear that the colonial issue provides a major opportunity to those seeking to drive a wedge between the United States and its friends in France and the Netherlands.

In Germany, dissatisfaction among pro-Americans is centered on war crimes (about a seventh), with such issues as the Potsdam agreement, treatment of prisoners, denazification, dismantling providing the balance of dissatisfaction.

In Italy and Great Britain, no pattern is observable.

EUROPE'S IMPRESSION OF AMERICA'S ACTIONS ON BALANCE, IS FAVORABLE . . .

Despite criticism, majorities of West Europeans say that their net impression of America's policies is favorable. Only in Great Britain, does such a favorable summing up fall below a majority. Those whose reactions are definitely unfavorable vary between a tenth in West Germany and the Netherlands, and a sixth in France and Great Britain. About a fifth take " neither-nor " positions.

" Taking into account all that America has done since the war, is your overall impression more favorable, or more unfavorable? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
More favorable	58%	65%	50%	58%	67%	43%
More unfavorable	13	9	16	14	11	16
Both, neither/nor, mixed	18	17	24	15	13	27
No opinion, no answer	11	9	10	13	9	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* The results were obtained by tabulating the " unfavorable impressions " of those respondents who replied " favorable " to the question: " Taking all the things America has done since the war together, is your overall impression more favorable or more unfavorable? " The table is not printed since the bulk of it is of limited interest.

04447

UPPER SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS, CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL PARTIES, GENERALLY MOST FAVORABLE TO AMERICAN POST-WAR ACTIONS . . .

The better-educated, the well-to-do, those in the prestige occupations, are generally most favorable to America's post-war actions. * However, the contrast is only sharp in France and Italy. But even in those nations no more than a third of the least favorable groups—manual workers and farm hands—are actually hostile.

Religious affiliation exercises a definite influence. Devout Catholics and all Protestants are most favorable to American policies; those with no religious affiliation are least favorable. The explanation, however, lies in the fact that most communists fall into this last category; and it is in France and Italy, where Communism is strongest, that the greatest hostility to America is found among the non-religious. In the Netherlands, for example, where nearly a fourth of the population are freethinkers but where few are Communists, most of the non-religious voice favorable reactions to American policy.

In general, the devout of both sects, and nominal Protestants also, react favorably to American policy; but nominal Catholics and the non-religious who are not Communists are more likely to be skeptical or hostile. It is clear that irregular and anti-clerical Catholics as well as the non-religious need attention, since they comprise nearly half of the CSC population. The results indicate that American policies, insofar as they are popularly supposed to support " Christian " governments, are failing to gain valuable support among those large numbers of Europeans who are both anti-Communist and anti-clerical. Among these people it is doubtful whether a reiteration of the anti-religious aspects of Communism and of America's support for organized religious groups is very effective. Special material is obviously needed here. More secular themes would presumably be considerably more effective in appealing to this non-religious group, and at the same time would not offend the devout.

The parties of the Right throughout Europe are generally most favorable to American policies. (An exception is the Italian Neo-Fascist Party.) Greatest amount of hostility is found among Communist voters and Communist sympathizers everywhere. But even these are by no means solidly anti-American. Even in France and Italy less than a majority of the sympathizers are hostile; and a fourth give favorable reactions. (The problem of the " softness " of French and Italian Communism will be discussed later in some detail.)

Of more importance is the lack of support shown by supporters of the British Labour Party. Only a third are favorable—hardly more than among French Communist sympathizers, but with the difference that the British Labourites are apt to be mixed

* See Appendix D for statistical material.

or undecided rather than actually hostile. It is clear that the belief that America is basically hostile to non-Communist Leftist governments is quite strong among British Labourites, though not among other Socialist parties of Europe.

Various national studies in the past have stressed the regional localization of anti-Americanism, particularly in France. No really important evidence to support this belief appears here. In France and Italy, no significant difference can be found. In Germany, dissatisfaction is slightly above average in Bavaria and the Palatinate. In the Netherlands, the Catholic South is most favourable. In Great Britain, the Welsh are well above the average in supporting American policy.

BUT 'FAVORABLE' TO AMERICAN ACTIONS CONCEALS SOME DEFINITE RESERVATIONS . . .

The judgment of " favorable " in respect to reaction to American actions is by no means a blank check. The two tables which follow, based on cross-analysis, show that even those who give this overall rating are by no means completely satisfied.

1. A fourth of those who report favorable impressions of American actions believe, at the same time, that America has too much influence in their countries. This is particularly so in the Netherlands and Great Britain.

2. Even more serious, a fourth of those who rate America favorably, nevertheless believe that both America and Russia are to blame for the conflict between them.

Since these two groups only overlap to a certain degree, it is clear that as many as a third of those Europeans basically favorable to America attach serious reservations to that judgment either resenting America's influence in their country or blaming America along with Russia as responsible for the present conflict, or both.

ONLY IN FRANCE, ITALY DO PRO-COMMUNISTS PREDOMINATE AMONG THOSE WHOSE IMPRESSION OF AMERICA IS UNFAVORABLE . . .

The second of the tables also indicates that pro-Communist attitudes are a major factor in anti-Americanism only in France and Italy. There, majorities of those whose impression of America is unfavorable also blame America for the conflict. In other nations those unfavorable to America tend to blame both America and Russia. But even in France and Italy, this strong anti-American bloc only accounts for a sixth of the population. Perhaps what is most interesting is that even among this group of mainly Communist voters only half have really accepted the party line on American exclusive responsibility for the conflict.

04448

" Taking all the things America has done since the war together, is your overall impression more favorable or more unfavorable? "

	MORE FAVORABLE						MORE UNFAVORABLE						BOTH/NEITHER/NOR MIXED						NO OPINION, NO ANSWER					
	CDC	W. G.	E.	S.	N.	G.	CDC	W. G.	E.	S.	N.	G.	CDC	W. G.	E.	S.	N.	G.	CDC	W. G.	E.	S.	N.	G.
" What is your opinion about America's influence in (name of country): Does America in general have too much influence about the right amount, or too little? "		%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%
Too much	21	17	24	23	30	29	77	50	91	81	88	80	46	26	57	52	53	57	73	9	19	18	21	33
Right amount/too little	66	59	58	52	46	58	10	23	3	8	7	12	24	35	18	18	28	27	11	14	10	10	14	24
No opinion, no answer	23	24	18	25	24	13	13	27	6	11	5	8	31	39	25	30	19	16	16	77	71	72	65	43
	100%																							
" In the present conflict between Russia and U.S. which country do you think is more to blame—Russia or the United States? "		%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%
Russia	59	62	63	50	63	61	13	30	7	7	15	25	25	36	21	15	34	45	17	24	13	13	30	42
U. S.	2	2	2	2	2	4	42	16	50	56	25	24	6	4	6	10	5	6	5	4	5	6	5	6
Both	25	25	22	29	25	20	37	46	37	27	52	41	53	43	58	57	51	32	26	21	35	22	24	17
No opinion, no answer	14	11	13	19	10	15	8	8	6	10	8	10	16	17	15	18	10	17	52	51	47	59	41	35
	100%																							

EUROPEANS CYNICAL ABOUT AMERICA'S WORLD AIMS . . .

Shifting now to another sort of evaluation of attitudes toward America, we note that four out of every ten Europeans are basically cynical about America's world aims. Almost identical pluralities in every nation assess America's mission in such terms as " world domination " or " economic imperialism, " with no mention of favorable items to offset the judgment. Another ten per cent or more give neutral or mixed favorable and unfavorable responses. Thus half of West Europe attributes unfavorable aims to America, and very few of these are willing to concede a few good points. In contrast, a fourth (slightly more in the Netherlands and Great Britain) stress the positive " peace " and " freedom " aims of American policy. The table below shows clearly that Europeans on balance are not impressed with America's widely-advertised idealism.

" What do you think America's aims are in world affairs? "

Statements*	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Positive only; positive and neutral	24%	25%	22%	24%	32%	32%
Negative only; negative and neutral	37	37	37	34	39	40
Neutral only; mixed positive and negative	13	9	19	11	9	11
No opinion	26	29	22	31	20	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

WORLD DOMINATION, ECONOMIC CONTROL SEEN MOST OFTEN AS AMERICAN AIMS . . .

World domination, economic or unspecified, is seen as America's aim in world affairs by the preponderance of West Europeans. Relatively few, however, mention actual war or aggression.

A large group mentions " neutral " aims — anti-Communism or simple self-interest.

---

* The percentages are based on a summary of actual statements made, with each respondent classified according to the tenor of his remarks. Thus the percentages represent types of respondents rather than types of responses. A large number of respondents simply stated, without further comment, that America's basic aim was anti-Communism. However, this was not accepted as a " Neutral " response.
All respondents who gave such responses were then classified according to their respective attitudes toward Communism as revealed in a " Scalogram " question which is presented later on in this section in the report. In the cases of those who declared themselves sympathetic to Communism, a remark that America was anti-Communist was considered as indicating hostility; where the respondents was himself anti-Communist, such a remark was considered as favorable. The remaining respondent—who stated that America's basic aim was anti-Communism and who themselves were indifferent or neutral to Communism—were considered as neutral in classification.

04449

The one-fourth who stress favorable aims generally mention world peace and freedom. Raising living standards is relatively ignored, despite a good deal of American publicity devoted to this item in the past.

"What do you think America's aims are in world affairs?"

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
NEGATIVE*						
World domination, imperialism	21%	26%	19%	18%	30%	29%
Economic domination, imperialism	17	14	23	17	12	10
War, aggression, seeking cannon-fodder	2	1	3	1	1	2
Miscellaneous	2	1	3	1	1	5
NEUTRAL						
Anti-Communism	15	13	16	16	12	6
Self-interest	12	7	23	7	9	9
Miscellaneous	1	2	1	1	1	1
POSITIVE						
World peace	7	7	10	5	12	24
Freedom, democracy	5	10	3	3	5	3
Unity, cooperation	3	4	3	1	5	4
Raising living standards	3	1	4	4	3	3
Miscellaneous	1	1	2	1	3	2
NO OPINION, NO ANSWER	27	30	22	31	20	17
	116%⊙	117%⊙	132%⊙	106%⊙	114%⊙	115%⊙

⊙ Some respondents mentioned more than one item.

BUT THOSE MENTIONING NEGATIVE AMERICAN AIMS ARE BY NO MEANS ALL UNFAVORABLE TO THE SUM TOTAL OF AMERICAN POLICIES . . .

Much of this attribution of negative aims can be put down to realism or cynicism rather than to anti-Americanism. When results on this question are cross-analyzed in terms of overall assessment of America's post-war activities, as in the table following, this interpretation is most apparent. Even among those who describe

---

* Unlike the preceding table, the percentages here are based on responses rather than individual respondents, and thus add up to more than 100 per cent, since some respondents mentioned more than one item. For this reason, the "Negative," "Positive" and "Neutral" categories here do not correspond to the percentages cited in the first table.

" What do you think America's aims are in world affairs? "

	POSITIVE AIMS						NEGATIVE AIMS						NEUTRAL AIMS					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
" Taking all the things America has done since the war together, is your overall impression more favorable or more unfavorable? "																		
More favorable	88	89%	88%	87%	86%	71%	46	58%	31%	42%	54%	22%	60	66%	58%	55%	75%	49%
More unfavorable	2	2	1	3	2	3	25	16	33	29	24	33	11	7	10	18	7	11
Both, Neither/nor, mixed	8	7	10	7	9	19	24	20	32	22	18	32	24	23	28	18	14	35
No opinion, no answer	2	2	1	3	3	7	5	6	4	7	4	13	5	4	4	9	4	5
	100%																	

• Less than half of one per cent

04450

America's aims purely in negative terms, outright criticism of American post-war policies is given by less than a third everywhere. The preponderance assess America's actions favorably. Thus, a jaundiced view of America's world aims is not incompatible with other attitudes favorable to America. It is probable that results on the question measure general distrust of diplomacy and power more than they do specific anti-Americanism.

But the results do provide a familiar warning that the best is enemy of the good. Europeans, even those basically friendly to America, have not been sold on America as the Great Idealist. It is not necessary that they should be nor likely that they will be. Any such attempt to achieve this is apt to meet with skepticism if not hostility among Europeans.

A THIRD OF WEST EUROPEANS THINK AMERICA HAS TOO MUCH INFLUENCE IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES . . .

With the exception of West Germany, the preponderance of West Europeans believe that America has too much influence in their respective nations. In England, nearly half think so. The relatively low amount of irritation at American influence in West Germany probably stems from the events of the past few years, during which direct American influence and authority there has gradually been reduced, and very large measures of German sovereignty have been restored.

"What is your opinion about America's influence in (name of country): Does America in general have too much influence, about the right amount, or too little?"

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Too much	32%	20%	42%	35%	39%	46%
Right amount	36	45	32	32	35	35
Too little	3	3	3	3	2	2
No opinion, no answer	29	32	23	30	24	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUPS BELIEVING AMERICA HAS TOO MUCH INFLUENCE DIFFER WIDELY FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY . . .

Certain sub-groups in each country are particularly likely to resent American influence. (See Appendix E.) These groups differ from country to country, and thus no simple pattern is obtainable. In general, Communists and sympathizers and those with no religious affiliations are more critical. Non-Communist leftist groups are more critical than rightist parties, city dwellers than those in small towns.

In France and Italy, manual workers and farmhands are most hostile to American influence. In the Netherlands only, the well-educated are more critical than the poorly educated.

Regional variations appear within nations. In Germany, criticism is greatest in Bavaria; in France, only the Northwest (where few American troops are located) is low in criticism; in Italy, the North is least resentful of American influence. In Great Britain, it is the Welsh and Scottish people, who see relatively few Americans, who are less critical than average.

EXAMPLES OF 'TOO MUCH' AMERICAN INFLUENCE INDICATE STRONG EMOTION RATHER THAN LOGICAL BILL OF PARTICULARS . . .

The most commonly mentioned example of undue American influence is the broad statement "in everything". This seems to indicate an emotional reaction, a feeling of helplessness rather than ability to make specific charges. The three specified fields of interference mentioned most often are economics, rearmament, and politics; but in general the specific instances vary from country to country and show no clear pattern.

(IF 'TOO MUCH') "In what things does America exert too much influence on (name of country)? (Anything more that you can think of?)"

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Netherlands	Great Britain
In everything, has taken away our independence	11%	11%	17%	8%	6%	11%
In politics (in Germany, this in terms of Occupation)	9	2	9	17	3	3
In trade, industry, economics	8	5	9	9	14	10
In military rearmament	4	2	4	5	18	7
Cultural imperialism	2	3	3	—	1	5
Interference in colonies	2	—	2	3	6	4
Financial domination	1	—	3	—	—	—
Marshall Plan	•	—	—	—	1	—
Military interference	—	—	—	—	—	5
Lining us up against Russia	•	•	2	—	—	—
Miscellaneous	1	1	—	2	3	3
No opinion, no answer	2	1	2	2	3	6
	40%⊙	25%⊙	51%⊙	46%⊙	55%⊙	54%⊙

• Less than one half of one per cent.
⊙ Some respondents mentioned more than one item.

04451

BELIEF IN AMERICAN OVER-INFLUENCE HAS DIFFERENT CONNOTATION IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES . . .

The three cross-analysis tables opposite indicate that a feeling of too great influence on the part of America does not have the same implications in all European countries. In West Germany, France and Italy, those holding this belief are predominantly neutralists who wish to join neither the East nor the West. In the Netherlands and Great Britain, the preponderance is committed to the West, despite irritation. Everywhere, close to four out of ten, including those who think America has too much influence, favor joining a European Army.

However, when it comes to blame for the present conflict, about half of the group which thinks America has too much influence blames America equally with Russia, or even more than Russia. The great difference is that in West Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain a large proportion, whatever their views about ultimate guilt, have committed themselves to the West, grudgingly perhaps but definitely. In France and Italy, greater consistency is shown.

The implication here and elsewhere in this report is that it is possible to win persons to the side of the West and to formation of a European Army even though they may resent American influence, consider America almost as guilty as Russia in the past, and (as shown earlier) have considerable cynicism about America's world aims. In three nations this has already been accomplished to some extent; in France and Italy it remains to be done.

FEAR OF WAR DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH RESENTMENT OF AMERICAN INFLUENCE . . .

It might be expected that one motivation behind a dislike of American influence would be fear of war (with the implication that America's influence is in this direction). In actuality, no such association of feelings can be found. As the first table on p. 38 indicates, those who believe America has too much influence in their country worry about war no more or no less than those who believe America's influence is not too great.

BUT THOSE RESENTING AMERICAN INFLUENCE ARE PARTICULARLY LIKELY TO BE PESSIMISTS ABOUT THE CHANCE OF STOPPING RUSSIA IF WAR COMES . . .

Those resentful of American influence worry about war no more than those who are non-resentful; but they have a much lower estimate of the chances of stopping Russia if war should come, as the second table on p. 38 indicates. Only in the Netherlands and Great Britain is there little variation: in the former few expect the

" *What is your opinion about America's influence in (name of country): Does America in general have too much influence, about the right amount, or too little?* "

	TOO MUCH						RIGHT AMOUNT/TOO LITTLE						NO OPINION, NO ANSWER					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
" Are you for or against (name of country) taking part in a common West European army?"																		
For	40	44%	35%	37%	62%	43%	65	62%	67%	67%	76%	51%	28	29%	30%	20%	48%	22%
Against	45	49	46	47	27	30	19	28	12	13	7	20	23	41	13	13	6	11
No opinion, no answer	15	7	19	16	11	27	16	10	21	20	17	29	49	30	57	67	46	67
	100%																	
" Do you personally think that (name of country) should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East, or not be on either side? "																		
West	35	52%	28%	28%	62%	52%	68	70%	67%	65%	86%	71%	34	44%	28%	24%	67%	39%
East	7	1	9	8	1	1	—	•	•	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	•	•
Neither side	53	44	57	58	32	37	25	24	27	28	9	18	37	32	43	40	11	23
No opinion, no answer	5	3	6	6	5	10	7	6	6	6	5	11	29	24	28	35	22	38
	100%																	
" In the present conflict between Russia and U.S. which country do you think is more to blame—Russia or the United States?"																		
Russia	29	44%	25%	23%	39%	38%	61	61%	63%	57%	66%	63%	38	41%	27%	19%	48%	43%
U.S.	21	10	23	26	10	13	3	3	2	3	2	5	3	3	3	4	3	2
Both	41	40	42	43	42	36	26	27	26	27	24	19	27	24	34	25	23	13
No opinion, no answer	9	6	10	8	9	13	10	9	9	13	8	13	40	32	36	52	26	42
	100%																	

• Less than half of one per cent.

04452

" What is your opinion about America's influence in (name of country): Does America in general have too much influence, about the right amount, or too little? "

	TOO MUCH						RIGHT AMOUNT/TOO LITTLE						NO OPINION, NO ANSWER					
	OC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	OC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	OC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
" Are you personally worried about the possibility of a war breaking out, or not? Do you worry much, somewhat, or only a little?																		
Worry much	32	31%	31%	39%	15%	19%	29	29%	29%	33%	10%	10%	31	29%	26%	41%	8%	15%
Somewhat	26	21	30	25	21	16	29	26	33	29	28	17	24	23	28	20	27	16
Only a little	17	15	19	14	25	19	17	14	20	17	24	22	16	14	18	14	21	20
Don't worry	25	33	19	22	39	46	25	31	16	21	37	51	27	33	18	24	39	48
No opinion, no answer	—	—	1	—	*	—	—	*	2	—	1	—	2	1	10	1	5	1
	100%																	
" Suppose this country got into a war with Russia within the next twelve (12) months, do you think West Europe and America would be able to stop Russia from occupying (name of country), or wouldn't they be able to? "																		
Could stop them	18	20%	12%	22%	18%	59%	35	33%	37%	36%	24%	64%	17	18%	16%	18%	14%	42%
Couldn't stop them	58	71	60	48	64	16	41	51	36	28	54	10	27	34	31	14	41	8
No opinion, no answer	24	9	28	30	18	25	24	16	27	36	22	26	56	48	53	68	45	50
	100%																	

* Less than half of one per cent.

Russians could be held back in any event; in the latter, few think the Russians could successfully invade them. But in the bulk of the CSC nations, it is those who have hope who do not resent American influence. Those who do not have hope of stopping Russia not unnaturally resent American influence, since they believe they cannot be protected in time of war. Thus to some degree, a judgment as to American influence is really an evaluation of America's and Western Europe's ability to resist successfully.

04453

2. WEST EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD RUSSIA

OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF EUROPEANS UNABLE TO NAME ANYTHING FAVORABLE RUSSIA HAS DONE SINCE THE WAR . . .

Whatever anti-Americanism has been cited earlier is dwarfed by the amount of hostility shown toward Russia. Even in France and Italy, less than a fifth can mention anything Russia has done since the war which has made a favorable impression on them. Since this level of support is rather definitely below the Communist vote in these two nations, it is clear that even Communist voters are by no means enchanted with Russia-in-action. In the CSC nations, two-thirds display hostility by saying "Nothing".

Among a tenth at most (in France) Russia still has a reservoir of goodwill for its social measures and is believed to have raised living standards of the workingman. A twentieth praise Russia's "Peace Offensive". But when this has been said, there is nothing else, as the table following shows:

"Has Russia done anything since the war that has made a favorable impression on you?" (IF YES) What? What else?"

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Social measures, raising living standards of workers	5%	1%	9%	5%	1%	2%
"Peace Offensive", foreign policy of peace	4	1	6	5	1	3
Abolishing capitalism, class differences	1	*	1	1	1	—
Help during Po floods	1	—	—	3	—	—
Moderation in Korea, Berlin	1	—	1	1	—	*
Advances in science, industry, reconstruction in Russia	*	—	—	1	1	2
Attempts to reunify Germany	*	1	—	—	—	—
Improved treatment of POW's	*	1	—	—	—	—
Miscellaneous	2	3	2	3	5	3
NOTHING (Positive)	62	85	50	51	66	80
No opinion, no answer	25	9	32	33	25	14
	101%⊙	101%⊙	101%⊙	103%⊙	100%	104%⊙

* Less than one half of one per cent.
⊙ Some respondents mentioned more than one item.

BUT MAJORITY ABLE TO MENTION UNFAVORABLE RUSSIAN ACTIONS. . .

Large majorities everywhere (nine out of ten in West Germany) are quite able to mention Russian actions which have made an unfavorable impression on them. In France, the Netherlands and Great Britain the unfavorable reactions are mainly to Russian imperialism, aggression and threats to peace. In Germany and Italy, the major source of annoyance is Russia's failure to release POW's. In Germany, also, Russian occupation and annexation in the East is a major irritant.

Relatively few (at most less than a fifth) state definitely that Russia has done nothing unfavorable. In most nations (except Great Britain) this can be taken as a rather accurate measure of Communist sympathy, corresponding fairly well to those who mentioned favorable Russian actions in the preceding questions, as the comparison below indicates:

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Mentioned favorable Russian action	13%	6%	18%	16%	9%	6%
Said Russia had done "Nothing" unfavorable	11	5	17	12	6	16

04454

The table following shows the specific unfavorable actions charged against Russia.

" Has Russia done anything since the war that has made an unfavorable impression on you? What? What else? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Keeping Axis POW's	28%	48%	3%	35%	6%	2%
Imperialism, occupation and exploitation of iron curtain countries, East Zone of Germany, brutality there	25	43	21	8	20	7
Lack of personal freedom under Russia	17	34	7	4	31	4
Sabotaging peace, non-cooperation	9	5	16	4	17	26
Specific incidents—shooting down planes, arresting foreigners; refusal to allow Russian wives of foreigners to emigrate, keeping Italy out of UN (in Italy only)	5	6	5	4	8	10
Actual threat to peace	5	4	7	3	6	8
Stirring up revolution, disorder, spreading Communism by agitation	4	*	11	2	10	10
" The Iron Curtain "	4	3	5	4	5	9
EVERYTHING (Positive)	1	4	—	—	—	—
Actual armed aggression—Korea, etc.	5	1	10	3	11	10
Miscellaneous	6	4	3	10	9	9
NOTHING (Positive)	11	5	17	12	6	16
No opinion, no answer	15	*	20	26	16	11
	135%⊙	159%⊙	125%⊙	115%⊙	145%⊙	122%⊙

* Less than one half of one per cent.
⊙ Some respondents mentioned more than one item.

BALANCE OF EUROPEAN OPINION STRONGLY UNFAVORABLE TO RUSSIA . . .

A majority of Europeans everywhere (strongest in Germany) say that Russia's post-war actions have impressed them unfavorably. Only a little more than a tenth (most in Italy and France) report a favorable impression; and somewhat more report either mixed feeling, or are undecided. Again Communist support seems to be at about the one-seventh level in France and Italy, and one-twentieth elsewhere.

" Taking into account all that Russia has done since the war, is your overall impression more favorable, or more unfavorable? "

	ESC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
More favorable	9%	3%	12%	14%	3%	3%
More unfavorable	68	85	57	57	77	69
Both, neither/nor	9	4	16	10	7	13
No opinion, no answer	14	8	15	19	13	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

VERY FEW ANYWHERE HAVE FAVORABLE REACTIONS TO RUSSIAN BEHAVIOR . . .

Russian post-war behavior has alienated almost every group in Europe. With few exceptions, every sub-group in the European population show a majority (often as high as eight or nine out of ten) reporting unfavorable reaction to Russian activities (see Appendix F).

One exception is manual laborers and farmhands in France and Italy. But even among these, the predominant reaction is unfavorable. Those with no religious affiliation in France and Italy are more favorable than unfavorable.

Even specific Communists and Communist sympathizers were by no means unanimous in admiration of Russia-in-action. In France and Italy, barely half reported favorable reactions; and in other countries the balance was strongly unfavorable.

It is clear that even among pro-Communist groups, the Russian record is a heavy weight to carry. And again there is evidence that in France and Italy, Communist sympathizers are by no means a solid body of opinion.

04455

" *Taking all the things Russia has done since the war together is your overall impression more favorable or more unfavorable?* "

"Do you personally think that (name of country) should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East, or not be on either side? "	MORE FAVORABLE						MORE UNFAVORABLE						BOTH/NEITHER/NOR MIXED						NO OPINION, NO ANSWER					
	|COC| |W.G.| |Fr.| |It.| |N.L.| |G.B.| |COC| |W.G.| |Fr.| |It.| |N.L.| |G.B.| |COC| |W.G.| |Fr.| |It.| |N.L.| |G.B.| |COC| |W.G.| |Fr.| |It.| |N.L.| |G.B.|
		%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%		%	%	%	%	%	
West	16	48	10	14	37	27	63	64	64	59	82	66	18	30	13	21	40	44	14	12	12	12	39	31
East	23	4	33	21	11	6	—	•	•	•	•	•	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
Neither side	53	41	50	57	44	59	30	29	30	33	13	23	70	58	76	64	51	45	45	38	53	46	26	28
No opinion, no answer	8	7	7	8	8	8	7	7	6	8	5	11	12	12	11	14	9	10	41	50	35	41	35	41
	100%																							

• Less than half of one per cent.

FAVORABLE IMPRESSION OF RUSSIAN ACTIONS DOES NOT MEAN DESIRE TO JOIN WITH RUSSIA IN CONFLICT . . .

Even the hard-core Communists who report favorable impressions of Russia are by no means anxious to see their countries lined up with the East. In France and Italy, only minorities of Communist sympathizers wish this, while majorities prefer neutralism. In the other three nations, large proportions say they favor lining up with the West.

But this discrepancy has its reverse face, less favorable to American interests: large proportions of those unfavorable to Russia's action nevertheless still prefer neutralism. The Netherlands excepted, this group ranges from a fourth to a third of those unfavorable to Russian actions. Again, among those with mixed feelings or undecided toward Russian behavior, neutralism is dominant. The table opposite indicates the differences.

MOST EUROPEANS TAKE NEGATIVE VIEW OF RUSSIA'S AIMS . . .

In an earlier question, it was seen that a third or more of West Europeans took an exclusively negative view of America's aims in world affairs. Twice as many make the same charge against Russia.

" What do you think Russia's aims are in world affairs? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Positive only; positive and neutral	8%	3%	9%	12%	4%	5%
Negative only; negative and neutral	66	78	60	57	81	71
Neutral only; mixed positive and negative *	5	3	6	6	2	8
No opinion, no answer	21	16	25	25	13	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

WORLD DOMINATION, IMPERIALISM, SEEN AS CHIEF RUSSIAN AIM . . .

Russia is no longer seen basically as an agitating, revolutionary power but more as a military oppressor and an imperialist. Internal subversion seems to be much

* This small neutral category includes some who simply say that Russia's aim is to spread Communism everywhere, and who in response to a question asking for a rating of Communism give neutral reactions.

04456

lost in people's minds than " conventional " conquest when it comes to assessing Russia's aims.

The table below gives a more detailed picture of European impressions of Russian aims in world affairs.

" What do you think Russia's aims are in world affairs? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
NEGATIVE						
World domination, imperialism, conquering other nations, oppressing	42%	47%	39%	37%	57%	47%
Economic domination	3	3	4	3	2	3
War, aggression	3	3	6	1	4	6
Dictatorship, suppressing freedom	2	1	2	1	5	2
Miscellaneous	2	3	1	2	3	7
NEUTRAL						
Spreading Communism everywhere, ideological expansion, revolution	24	30	19	23	19	14
Fighting, abolishing capitalism	3	1	5	3	3	1
Looking after own interests	1	—	2	—	1	—
Miscellaneous	1	1	2	1	1	2
POSITIVE						
Peace	2	*	4	3	1	3
Equality, equal living standards in Russia and elsewhere	3	1	4	5	2	2
Miscellaneous	*	*	*	*	1	1
No opinion, no answer	21	16	25	25	12	15
	107%⊙	106%⊙	113%⊙	104%⊙	111%⊙	103%⊙

* Less than one half of one per cent.
⊙ Some respondents mentioned more than one item.

A PREPONDERANCE OF EUROPEAN OPINION BLAMES RUSSIA IN THE PRESENT CONFLICT; BUT A THIRD BLAME BOTH RUSSIA AND AMERICA . . .

Outside of the hard-core Communist support mentioned earlier (a maximum of a tenth in France and Italy), there is little tendency among West Europeans to assign the greatest blame to America for the conflict. However, in no country does more than a bare half assign the chief blame to Russia. About a third, everywhere, say that both nations are to blame; and since the question is phrased in terms of " more to blame " and not " solely " to blame, it is probable that most of this group blame both nations rather equally.

" In the present conflict between Russia and U.S. which country do you think is more to blame—Russia or the United States? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Russia	43%	51%	39%	34%	51%	48%
U. S.	7	4	11	11	5	8
Both	33	29	35	32	31	26
No opinion, no answer	17	16	15	23	13	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

EVEN AMONG PRO-COMMUNISTS, LESS THAN HALF BLAME AMERICA EXCLUSIVELY . . .

As might be expected from their opinions of Russia's post-war behavior, even Communist sympathizers are by no means unanimous in blaming America for the conflict. In France and Italy, a plurality only fall into this class, while in other countries, the balance blames Russia, or both nations. (See Appendix G.)

In general, the groups mentioned earlier—manual workers and farmhands and the non-religious in France and Italy—are less likely than average to blame Russia and more likely to blame America. But here also the group blaming America is far short of a majority.

BUT ' BLAME ' IS NOT THE SAME THING AS TAKING SIDES IN THE CONFLICT . . .

Assigning blame in the conflict is by no means always followed by the next step of being willing to take sides. Most of those who blame Russia favor taking side with the West; but even here a fourth or more (most in Great Britain and West

044457

" In the present conflict between Russia and U.S. which country do you think is more to blame—Russia or the United States? "

"Do you personally think that (name of country) should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East, or not be on either side? "	RUSSIA						U. S.						BOTH						NO OPINION, NO ANSWER					
	ICDC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	ICDC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	ICDC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	ICDC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
West	77	75	78	73	88	69	12	39	5	6	36	29	36	45	23	33	61	53	23	31	20	17	49	38
East	*	—	*	*	*	*	27	5	37	28	7	2	*	*	*	*	*	1	*	—	—	1	—	—
Neither side	19	19	17	22	8	21	57	56	54	61	49	59	56	48	68	58	32	36	38	32	44	40	14	20
No opinion, no answer	4	6	5	5	4	10	4	—	4	5	8	10	8	7	9	9	7	10	39	37	36	42	37	42
	100%																							

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Germany) favor neutralism. (But to an even greater extent those who blame America most are also neutral.)

Most favorable to American interests is the fact that in the various nations anywhere from a fourth (France) to two-thirds (Netherlands) of those who blame both America and Russia nevertheless line up with the West. Neutralism is still dominant in this group; but it is almost matched by those with pro-Western orientation. Thus there is strong indication that criticism of America's past policies is almost as much a safety valve as it is a determinant of neutralism. It indicates that for many Europeans it is possible to take the side of the West without accepting the wisdom of American past policies. America is a source of irritation to many Europeans, but the Soviet Union is a source of real apprehension.

MOST EUROPEANS SEE COMMUNISTS AS TRAITORS . . .

About half of the West Europeans believe that most of their domestic Communists are potential traitors, that they would side with Russia against their own nations if war were to come. In the Netherlands, eight out of ten believe this. A few believe that the Communists in their own countries will simply help neither side, and about a fourth are undecided. Only about a tenth believe that most of the Communists in their countries are actually misguided patriots who will defend their countries against even Russian aggression.

" If your country were at war with Russia what do you think most of the (name of country) Communists would do: try to help Russia or help defend our country? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Russia	54%	59%	48%	47%	80%	56%
Our country	12	16	10	13	3	16
Help neither side *	6	—	11	11	7	9
No opinion, no answer	28	25	31	29	10	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Not coded for West Germany.

BUT THEY MAY BE MISTAKEN . . .

Whether the majority is right in its opinion is another question. Even among hard-core Communists, as we have seen, a majority seem to prefer " neutralism " to active siding with Russia; and among less devoted Communists who sympathize vaguely or merely vote Communist, quite a few tend to Western orientation, or say they will fight. Naturally, such statements cannot be taken at face value. Even

0458

In an anonymous survey, all respondents contemplating treason are not going to announce it. But this warning should not extend to the assumption that all Communist sympathizers who say they will defend their country against Russia are lying. Communist sympathizers themselves are least certain of all groups that local Communists will aid Russia. (See Appendix H.) About a fifth of them believe that Communists will fight for their country; and there is evidence in the following section that many French and Italian "soft" Communists may do so.

Other group variations indicate that opinion leaders everywhere—the well educated, the higher income groups, those in prestige occupations—are most convinced that local Communists will generally help Russia in time of war. But majorities of all groups share this view. Nowhere does any sizeable group believe that local Communists would help defend their countries.

3. COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS IN WEST EUROPE

EUROPEANS NO MORE FRIENDLY TO COMMUNISM THAN THEY ARE TO RUSSIA'S POST-WAR BEHAVIOR AND WORLD AIMS . . .

Just as much hostility is shown toward Communism as towards Russian behavior and Russian aims. It is clear that to the greater part of West Europeans, Russian behavior and plans and world Communism are one and the same. As the scale below indicates, favorable feeling toward Communism is at its highest in France and Italy; but even there only about a sixth are sympathetic.

" Will you indicate how you feel about Communism by once more pointing to one of the ten squares on this card? "

		CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Sympathetic	+5	5%	2%	7%	7%	2%	2%
to	+4	1	—	1	2	1	—
Communism	+3	2	1	2	3	2	1
	+2	2	1	2	2	1	1
	+1	2+(12%)	1+(5%)	4+(16%)	4+(18%)	3+(9%)	2+(6%)
Hostile	−1	4	1	6	6	5	6
to	−2	2	1	3	3	3	4
Communism	−3	6	5	7	7	5	5
	−4	5	4	8	7	5	4
	−5	55−(72%)	69−(80%)	42−(66%)	42−(65%)	67−(85%)	66−(85%)
No opinion, no answer		16	15	18	17	6	9
		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

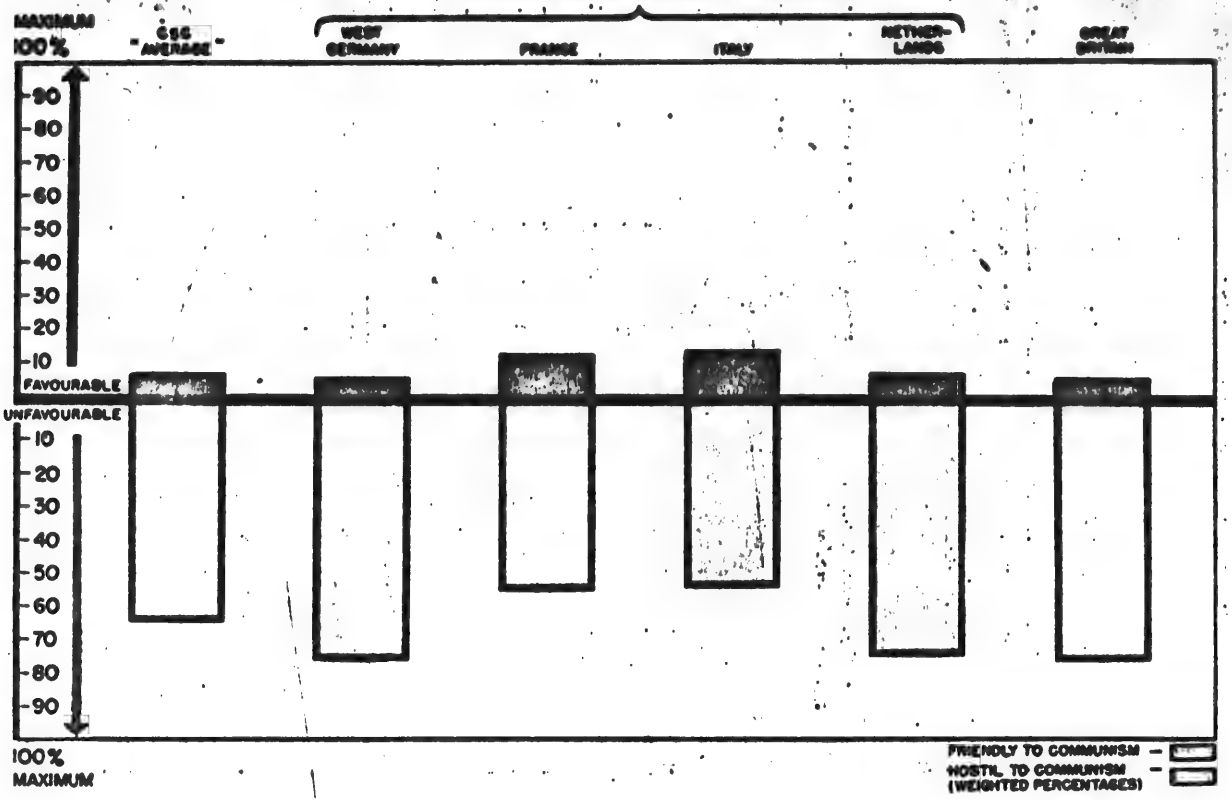
GRAPHIC PRESENTATION . . .

The figures above can be simplified by turning percentages into numbers. Thus the most favorable response would be rated at plus 5; the most unfavorable at minus five. When the percentages are thus simplified, Chart III, following, reminds the reader that the strength of internal Communism in Western Europe must be kept in proper perspective, that Communism creates a negative reaction everywhere, and that the " strength " of Communism in France and Italy is really only a case of the two nations being slightly less hostile to it than other nations.

044459

CHART 2

WEST EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TO COMMUNISM



(Note : The chart should be interpreted as follows: the red line represents the maximum possible support for Communism, that is, if 100 % of the people took the most favorable position on the scale; similarly the blue line indicates maximum possible opposition. For example, the CSC " average " shows that pro-Communism is at about a twentieth of its maximum; while anti-Communism is at about two-thirds of its maximum. It can be seen that the net position of Communism everywhere (the red column minus the blue) is strongly negative.)

FRENCH, ITALIAN MANUAL WORKERS AND FARM-HANDS MOST SYMPATHETIC TO COMMUNISM . . .

A breakdown of group attitudes toward Communism in the five nations (see Appendix I) indicates that sympathy for Communism is highest among those groups which earlier were found to display high levels of anti-American feeling. In particular, about a third each of French and Italian manual workers and farm-hands report favorable attitudes, though even among these groups, a plurality is anti-Communist.

There is a tendency for the " average " Western European Communist sympathizer to be French or Italian, male, poorly educated and of low socio-economic status. In Italy, Communism is most popular among those under 30; but in France age appears to make little difference.

In France and Italy, about half the religiously freethinkers are sympathetic to Communism; but in other nations this group is strongly anti-Communist. Thus, the simplification that lack of religious affiliation is connected with Communist sympathies only holds for two of the nations studied—and even in these two nations, this group was evenly divided as to the merits of Communism.

Despite past theorizing to the contrary, no important geographical variations can be found. Support for Communism in France is very slightly above average in the Midi, lowest in the Northeast. In Italy, it is highest in the Central area.

Outside of Communist voters, and their allies, the greatest support for Communism is among French Socialists. However, this is strictly a minority support, and, as will be shown later, this sympathy tends to be more for Communism in theory, or national Communism than it does for the Russian variety. Even among those in France and Italy who openly back the local Communist or pro-Communist Socialist parties, there is not complete solidity: as many as a fifth do not give positive support to Communism.

U4460

IS THERE 'HIDDEN' COMMUNIST SUPPORT? . . .

The percentages in France and Italy reporting favorable attitudes toward Communism (16 and 18 per cent, respectively) are considerably lower than the percentage of the popular vote received by the Communist parties of the two nations in the most recent general elections. In France, in 1951, Communist votes amounted to 27 per cent of the ballots, 11 percentage points higher than those who say in 1952 they are favorable to Communism. In Italy, the Communist and pro-Communist Socialist vote of 31 per cent in 1948 is 13 points higher than the proportion reporting favorable attitudes to Communism.

Much of the variation can be accounted for by fairly obvious factors: the proportion of pro-Communists who voted may have been higher than the general average; there may have been a loss of Communist support since the last elections; those who vote Communist often do so as a protest against economic conditions, because of a dislike of America, because of a desire for neutrality, without any liking for Communism as such or of Russia. All of these factors can easily account for the variation.

But there is another possibility—one that strikes at the validity of the techniques used in this survey: many Communist sympathizers in France and Italy may deliberately refuse to answer or say "no opinion" when asked how they feel about Communism. Thus fear of reprisal or just non-cooperativeness may lose us from a third to a half of actual pro-Communists in those two countries. If this were so, conclusions drawn from this question would be at fault.

To measure this possibility, the groups that reported "no opinion" on Communism were analyzed in terms of their responses to other questions, as reported below:

1. **Party preference:** over half of these groups in Italy and three-fourths in France say they have no party preference. In Italy, less than a tenth and in France 2 per cent say they prefer Communist parties. The rest tend to scatter: in France predominantly to the Socialists; in Italy to the Christian Democrats.

2. **Attitude to Russia:** less than a tenth in either country report favorable attitudes toward Russia's post-war actions. Three times as many are unfavorable. A third in France and half in Italy have no opinion.

3. **Attitude to America:** four out of ten in Italy, and a fourth in France report favorable reactions to America's post-war behavior. Less than a fifth are critical. The bulk are mixed or have no opinion.

4. **American influence:** two-thirds in Italy and a third in France have no opinion on this issue. In France, the balance believes America has too much influence; in Italy, it is split.

5. **Blame for conflict:** eight out of ten in both countries either blame both Russia and America or have no opinion.

6. **Taking side of West:** eight out of ten either favor neutralism or have no opinion.

7. **Fighting for own country:** a third would resist a Russian invasion of their own nations; but half are undecided.

On each one of these issues the proportion of people with no opinion is two or three times as high as for the country as a whole. Additionally, no excessive pro-Russian sentiment can be noted, while there is a certain amount of pro-American feeling. But the basic reaction appears to be ambivalent—" both, " " neither, " " yes-and-no "—and undecided. Thus there is acceptable evidence that the two groups in question are not crypto-Communists, but a basically ambivalent or undecided group. The proportions of favorable responses to the question dealing with Communism can be taken as a generous measure of Communist support rather than an incomplete measure.

HOW 'SOLID' IS WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNISM?. . .

We have seen earlier how often large segments of Communist sympathizers veer from the Party Line on specific issues. Two important deviations can be recapitulated as follows:

1. Less than half of the Communist sympathizers are willing to go along with the Party Line and say that America's post-war actions have made a basically unfavorable impression on them. Indeed, the preponderance of German and Netherlands Communist sympathizers say that their reaction is favorable. Even in France and Italy, a fourth report favorable impressions of American post-war policies.

2. About a third of the Communist sympathizers in France and Italy do not actually think America has too much influence in their countries.

But perhaps the most important area of alienation is in the field of reaction to Russian behavior. Here is the issue of subservience of local parties versus " National Communism, " the issue on which Tito broke with Moscow, the issue behind purges on both sides of the Iron Curtain. In France, as this is written, two local Communist " heroes " are being disciplined, with some consequent strain on the Party apparatus. If this flaw in the unity of Communist sympathizers is widespread, it can be exploited.

04461

MANY COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS UNFRIENDLY TO RUSSIAN POLICIES . . .

Not only are Communist sympathizers (as measured by the rating scale) negligible in West Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain, but they are by no means devoted to Russian policy. Only about a fifth of the admitted Communist sympathizers in these nations say that Russia's post-war actions have given them a favorable impression. Conversely, two-thirds in Germany, and a third in the two other nations mentioned, say Russia's actions have created an unfavorable impression on them. The balance report mixed feelings or are undecided as the table below indicates. This is hardly the picture of devoted followers of a disciplined party.

REACTIONS OF COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS TO RUSSIA'S POST-WAR ACTIONS

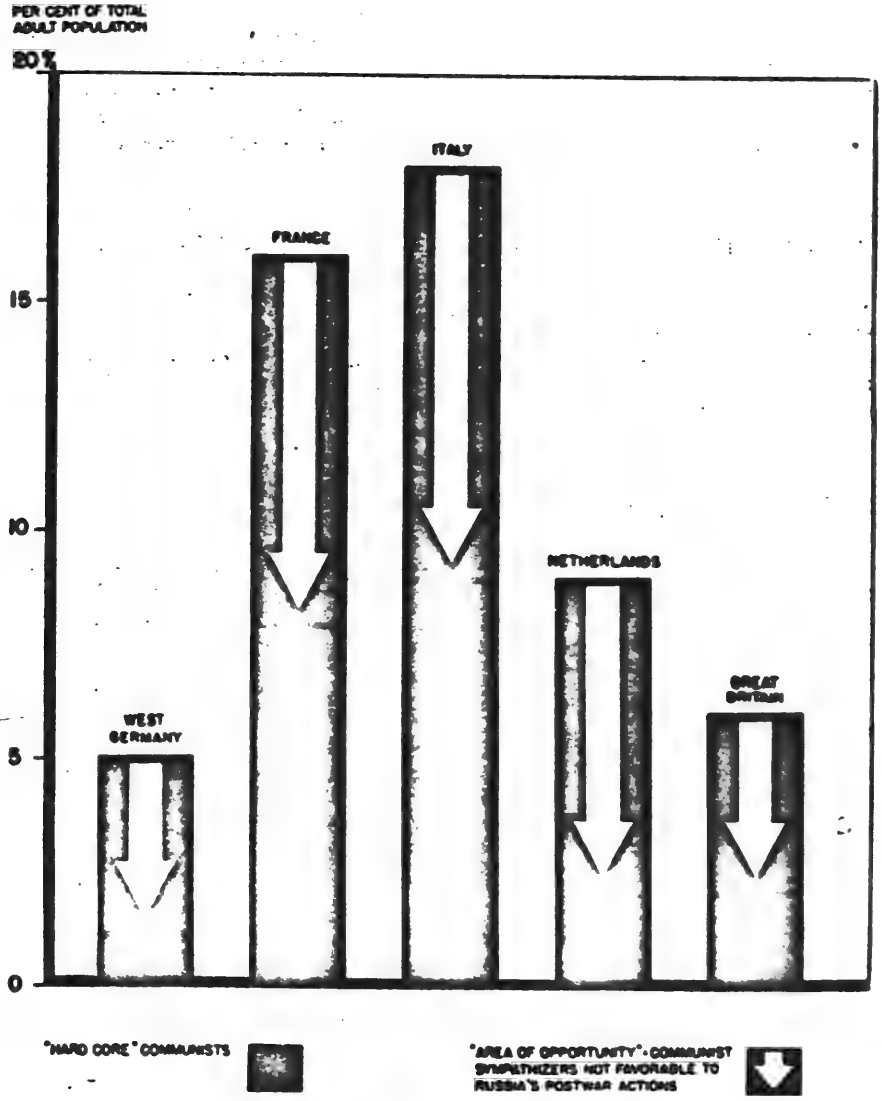
	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Communist sympathizers with favorable reactions to Russia's post-war actions	35%	14%	50%	52%	21%	22%
Communist sympathizers with unfavorable reactions to Russia's post-war actions	36	67	23	14	32	39
Communist sympathizers with mixed reactions to Russia's post-war actions, or undecided on the question	28	19	27	34	47	39
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Per cent of total adult population	12%	5%	16%	18%	9%	6%

LARGE 'AREAS OF OPPORTUNITY' IN FRANCE AND ITALY . . .

This major flaw in the structure of European Communism is shown graphically opposite (Chart IV). In West Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain, sympathy for Communism is small, and real "hard core" Russian-oriented supporters are scarce. Even in France and Italy, where the problem of pro-Communism is greatest, a bare half of the Communist sympathizers are "hard core." The balance, amounting to a tenth of the adult population are either definitely critical toward Russian

CHART II

THE STRUCTURE OF WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNISM



04462

policies, or mixed or undecided. The " solid " core of Communism can be penetrated notably by the right sort of psychological warfare.

It would seem that propaganda based on the behavior of Russia rather than attacks on Communism per se would have a valuable effect here. This is the potential area of Titoism, of French and Italian " National " Communism. If we take the round numbers of French Communist sympathizers (as measured by the Communism Scale) at somewhere around 4,500,000, and of the Italian at about 5,250,000, the potential gain appears to be notable. About 1,000,000 French and 750,000 Italian sympathizers give definite evidence of rather complete alienation from Russian actions; and another group of 1,250,000 in France and 1,800,000 in Italy are wavering or undecided. Even a portion of these groups are prizes well worth having.

WHO ARE THE COMMUNISTS HOSTILE TO RUSSIAN BEHAVIOR? . . .

We have seen that half of the French and Italian Communist sympathizers have still kept a considerable amount of independence. In particular, this group is either hostile to Russian post-war behavior or at least ambivalent or undecided. The members of this group would seem to be an ideal propaganda target, and therefore some description of the two groups is useful.

IN FRANCE, THEY ARE VILLAGERS . . .

In France, they are spread evenly thoughout the geographical areas, but wherever they are located they tend to live in small towns or villages of less than 2000 population. Fully half of this dissident group lives in such communities. To reach them, the local poor man's cafes and the local newspapers would be indicated—but not the local priest, since the bulk of them are either non-religious or anticlerical or merely nominal Catholics. In Italy, half are from the North, and again very few are devout Catholics.

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS DIFFER . . .

In France the bulk of this dissident group are manual workers, white collar workers or farmers. The first group is well represented in French Communism and is generally more anti-American than average; but the latter two groups are atypical. The white collar group (by stressing the status and living-standards of their Russian counterparts) and the farmer (by stressing the fate of even small land-owners in Russia) might well be won over. In Italy, no such concentration of occupations, except that of manual laborers, can be noted.

THESE DISSIDENT COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS TEND TO FAVOR WESTERN ORIENTATION . . .

To a large degree, this group of dissident Communist sympathizers still retain Western orientation. In particular, a majority both in France and Italy back the Schuman Plan, once they have been informed about it. The table below shows the proportions now backing the Schuman Plan, and the proportions who swing over in favor of it once they have been told what it is.

	France	Italy
Favor Schuman Plan at present	54%	23%
Favor Schuman Plan after being informed	59	52
Net gain	5%	29%

In Italy, over a fourth could be won over to support the Schuman Plan if they were informed about it. It is clear that one way to make contact with these dissident Communist sympathizers is through a non-controversial information program about the Schuman Plan.

THEY FAVOR THE CONCEPT OF WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION . . .

Outright majorities favor union of Western European nations in principle. Even when they are reminded of a possible loss of sovereignty, nearly half of the French Communist sympathizers and a third of the Italian still back the idea.

	France	Italy
Favor Western European union in principle	60%	50%
Favor Western European union even when reminded of possible loss of national sovereignty	43	32

THEY PREDOMINANTLY HAVE A FAVORABLE IMPRESSION OF AMERICAN ACTION . . .

The predominance of both groups—four out of ten—express favorable reactions to American post-war policies.

	France	Italy
Say that their overall reaction to American actions is favorable	43%	40%

U4463

BUT THEY TEND TO RESENT AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN THEIR COUNTRIES . . .

Nevertheless, a majority in each country feels that American influence is too great. Thus the inference is clear that any attempts to win over these dissident Communist sympathizers should appear to derive from local sources rather than American sponsorship.

RUSSIAN TREATMENT OF ITALIAN PRISONERS A SORE POINT . . .

A fourth of this group in Italy mention Russian treatment of Italian prisoners as a Russian action which has given them an unfavorable impression. Thus, in Italy, the propaganda theme of Italian POW's should be highly effective. In France, no such concentration of unfavorable reactions to Russian policies can be noted. However, the complaints most often made—that Russia is spoiling the possibilities of a real peace, and creating disorder and confusion within France—add up to a picture of Russia as troublemaker preventing the individual from enjoying a peaceful and orderly existence. Such a theme might well be effective in France.

DISSIDENT COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS NOT CONVINCED OF RUSSIA'S SOLE GUILT . . .

Although partly alienated from the Russian cause, French and Italian dissidents are by no means ready to accept Russia's sole guilt. Most blame Russia and America equally for the present situation. Of those who assign definite blame, somewhat more in France blame Russia. However, the indications are that any attempt to convince this group that Russia is solely to blame for the present conflict would backfire.

	France	Italy
Blame Russia for present conflict	27%	14%
Blame America for present conflict	13	15
Blame both	51	42
No opinion, no answer	9	29
	100%	100%

THEY FAVOR NEUTRALISM, BUT A LARGE BLOC WANTS TO SIDE WITH THE WEST . . .

Most of the dissident Communist sympathizers are for neutralism; but over a third in France and a fifth in Italy want to take their stand with the West. Almost none swing to Russia. The indication here is that a large proportion can be swung over to the West in practice, provided that appropriate themes are used and that

this pro-Western orientation does not mean that every facet of American policy since 1945 must be accepted.

	France	Italy
Favor taking side of West	37%	20%
Favor taking side of East	1	4
Favor taking side of neither	53	57
No opinion, no answer	9	19
	100%	100%

SUPPORT FOR A WEST EUROPEAN ARMY IS STRONG, AND THE BULK OF THIS DISSIDENT GROUP WILL FIGHT FOR THEIR COUNTRIES . . .

Four out of ten in France and a third in Italy favor a West European army. Almost as many in France are willing to fight to protect West Germany. (In Italy, about a tenth will do so but Italians in general are reluctant to fight for Germany.) The diagnosis of this dissident group as potential Titoists is strengthened by the fact that a majority in France and a plurality in Italy say they will fight for their countries against Russian invasion.

	France	Italy
Support West European army	39%	29%
Willing to fight Russia to protect West Germany	38	14
Willing to fight Russia to protect own country	50	40

MOST ARE SOURED ON LOCAL COMMUNIST PARTIES . . .

Whatever their feelings about Communism and however they voted in the preceding election, most of these dissidents have lost faith that the Communist Party is " best for people like myself. " In Italy, a sixth say so, while a fifth mention the pro-Communist Italian socialists—a less obviously Stalinist-dominated group.

What parties do they now favor? The largest proportion in both countries say " No party, " have relapsed into apathy. However, in France the bulk of those naming an actual party mention the Socialists. If the " No party " group eventually splits in the same proportions, it is probable that the bulk of this group of dissident Communist sympathizers will wind up supporting the French Socialists. It is rather clear that they will do so from a growing distrust of Russia and Russian influence over local Communist organizations and an acceptance of the necessity for European unity in the interests of keeping Russia behind the Elbe. It appears that they can be won over to a limited alliance, for a specific purpose within a limited period of time. However, they cannot be expected to accept free enterprise, or clericalism, or a belief in American idealism, or various other facets of the anti-Communist coalition. And it is likely that any unwise attempts to try to sell them more than they want to buy will not only fail, but have the effect of forcing them back toward that party from which they are now quite strongly alienated.

04464

SECTION III

REACTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY CONCEPT

04465

SECTION III

REACTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY CONCEPT

SECTION III

REACTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY CONCEPT

I. SUPPORT FOR A WEST EUROPEAN ARMY

FEW WEST EUROPEANS WELL INFORMED ABOUT PLANS FOR A COMMON ARMY . . .

Throughout the CSC nations, all of which are projected participants in the European Defense Community, information about the West European Army is rather low. A fifth say they have heard of the Army and also know that West Germany is to be a member and that Great Britain is not to be a member.

About the same proportions say they have heard of plans for the Army, but are correct in only one of the two questions on membership. Somewhat less than a fifth say they have heard of the Army but can answer neither of the membership questions. Finally, nearly a third have not even heard of the idea.

Highest amount of ignorance among prospective member nations is in Italy, though respondents in Great Britain (not in EDC) are even less informed.

84466

"Have you heard about any plans for the formation of a common West European Army?"
"Do you happen to know whether or not it is planned to have West Germany in the West European Army?"
"And is it planned to have England in the West European Army, or not?"

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
HAVE HEARD ABOUT PLANS, and correctly informed about membership of both nations	20%	21%	29%	10%	21%	4%
and correctly informed about membership of one nation*	33	40	32	36	42	24
but not correctly informed about membership of either nation	16	8	19	21	18	13
HAVE NOT HEARD ABOUT PLANS	31	31	20	43	19	59
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

ABOUT HALF OF THE CSC PEOPLES APPROVE EDC PARTICIPATION . . .

Within prospective member nations, a bare half favor participation of their own countries in a West European Army. Only in the Netherlands does a firm majority approve. However, the level of actual opposition is rather low; those not actually in favor are more likely to be undecided. An exception is West Germany, where participation has become a definite issue between the two major parties. There a solid block of opposition can be found.

Great Britain is not a projected member of the EDC, but nevertheless the larger part of her people favor joining, and only a fourth are actually opposed. Thus there is indication that if British policy in this respect were ever modified, a plurality block of popular support would exist.

"Are you for or against (name of country) taking part in a common West European Army?"

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
For	46%	48%	45%	42%	63%	42%
Against	29	37	26	25	15	24
No opinion, no answer	25	15	29	33	22	34
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Throughout the CSC area, well over half know that West Germany is a prospective member. Only a fourth know that Great Britain is not. In Great Britain, a third believe it is planned to have their country in the Army; only a tenth know that Great Britain is not to be a member.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN SUPPORT OF EDC . . .

The opinion leading groups— those of most education and income, and those in prestige occupations— are generally strongest in support of a West European Army. (See Appendix J.) Lowest level of support derives from French and Italian manual workers and farmhands, and those with no religious affiliation—the groups in which Communist sympathies are strongest. Thus there is evidence that much of the motivation for opposition stems from opposition to the whole idea of Western defense rather than just from nationalism or inertia.

This is shown more clearly when political affiliation of the respondents is noted. Among "hard core" Communists in France and Italy, almost none back a West European Army. Among Communist sympathizers, however, sizable minorities do so.

Socialists in general support the Army, but often less than other parties. It is of particular interest to note that West German Socialists show a slight edge in favor of participation, though opposition to membership in EDC under existing agreements has been a major policy of the SPD. However, this support for EDC membership on the part of West German rank and file Socialists should not be taken to mean actual support for ratification of the agreements made by the Adenauer government. It is more likely to mean merely support in principle or potential support for membership under SPD auspices.

Geographical location appears to excercise very little effect. However, it might be noted that West German support for participation in a common army is highest in Schleswig-Holstein, with a mixed population, and in the cosmopolitan Hanse cities of Bremen and Hamburg.

KNOWLEDGE OF WEST GERMAN PARTICIPATION DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE A STUMBLING-BLOCK IN SUPPORT OF WEST EUROPEAN ARMY...

West German participation in a West European Army, of itself, does not appear to be a handicap for the idea. As the following table shows, in every nation, those persons who know that West Germany is to be a member of the Army are more likely to favor participation than those who think West Germany is not to be included or who are not sure. Part of this finding stems from an artifact; i.e. the well-educated and the well-informed everywhere are most in favor of participation, and it is these groups who are also most likely to know that Germany is expected to join. Thus we cannot say that knowledge of West German participation is a factor in gaining support for EDC; but we can say that the fact of German participation does not appear to scare people off. This finding is confirmed later where it is shown that even when people are told that West Germany is to be in the West European Army, no drop in support occurs.

04467

"Are you for or against (name of country) taking part in a common West European army?"

	YES						NO						NO OPINION, NO ANSWER					
	EDC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	U.S.	EDC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	U.S.	EDC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	U.S.
"Do you happen to know whether or not it is planned to have West Germany in the West European army?"																		
Yes, it is	59	57%	55%	64%	74%	59%	47%	37%	32%	49%	54%	46%	29%	26%	28%	29%	42%	33%
No, it is not	30	35	30	29	15	28	37	58	26	34	27	35	25	38	21	22	11	20
Don't know	11	8	15	7	11	13	16	5	22	17	19	19	46	36	51	49	47	47
	100%																	

FEAR OF WAR IS NOT A MAJOR FACTOR IN ATTITUDES TOWARD A WEST EUROPEAN ARMY; BUT FEAR OF DEFEAT IS IMPORTANT . . .

The fear of war, or its absence, appears to exercise no direct influence on European thinking about common defense. Everywhere, the proportions favoring participation in a West European Army are about the same whether the respondent worries a great deal about war breaking out, or whether he does not worry at all. However, those who say they worry a lot about war do show somewhat more actual opposition than do other groups. As the first of the following tables show, Italy is a partial exception. There, least support for a common Army is found among the two extremes, those who worry a lot about war and those who don't worry. A probable explanation is that in Italy those who worry a lot are afraid that such an Army may bring on war, while those who don't worry feel that there is no need for such an Army. In any event, the differences are slight.

But fear of losing a war, of being helplessly occupied by Russia, is another matter. In the prospective member nations, support for EDC participation rises to two-thirds of those who think Russia can be stopped. Except in the Netherlands, there is a sharp drop of 20 percentage points in support among those who think Russia cannot be stopped, as the second table following demonstrates.

The indication here, as also mentioned in Section II of this report is that proponents of a West European Army should stress already existing strength and the possibility of stopping Russia closer to the Elbe than the Channel. At the same time, those persons who believe Russia can be stopped but oppose a West European Army are open to the theme that stopping the Russians can only be done by integrated forces. The two themes, which lead themselves to combination can thus appeal to sizeable groups in both camps.

GAINING SUPPORT FOR EDC IS NOT PRIMARILY A PROBLEM OF INFORMATION . . .

It is not lack of information that lowers support for a European Army, although, as mentioned earlier, a great lack of information is evident. When all respondents are told of the projected membership and plans for the Army, this added information causes almost no change, either in support or active opposition; a very slight gain in net support in the Netherlands is balanced by an equally slight loss in West Germany.

Thus there is definite evidence that a simple information campaign in favor of a West European Army can be expected to have little or no favorable results, and in West Germany might lose a little support. Opinion on this issue appears to be firmly structured and if it is to be changed, something more basic than the sort of informational campaign earlier recommended for the Schuman Plan is needed.

04468

" Are you personally worried about the possibility of a war breaking out, or not ? Do you worry much, somewhat, or only a little ? "

" Are you for or against (name of country) taking part in a common West European army? "	WORRY MUCH						SOMEWHAT						ONLY A LITTLE						DON'T WORRY					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
For	41	43	43	38	60	42	49	50	48	46	64	42	50	51	45	53	64	42	48	50	45	39	65	43
Against	33	43	32	26	24	25	26	35	23	22	10	20	26	32	27	22	12	25	29	34	27	29	17	24
No opinion, no answer	26	14	25	36	16	33	25	15	29	32	26	38	24	17	28	25	24	33	23	16	28	32	18	33
	100%																							

" Suppose this country get into a war with Russia within the next twelve (12) months, do you think West Europe and America would be able to stop Russia from occupying (name of country), or wouldn't they be able to ? "

" Are you for or against (name of country) taking part in a common West European army? "	COULD STOP THEM						COULDN'T STOP THEM						NO OPINION, NO ANSWER					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
For	64%	66%	62%	61%	69%	49%	47%	49%	42%	44%	66%	42%	32%	25%	37%	30%	53%	30%
Against	19	27	13	17	11	24	39	43	39	39	18	29	23	34	19	20	10	20
No opinion, no answer	17	7	25	22	20	27	14	8	19	17	16	29	45	41	44	50	37	50
	100%																	

" Here is a short description of a West European Army. (HAND CARD)

WEST EUROPEAN ARMY

Participating nations: West Germany
France
Italy
Holland
Belgium
Luxembourg

Soldiers from all these countries will wear the same uniform and will serve in their own national divisions under an international Supreme Command. Would you be for or against having (name of country) take part in such an army?"

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
For	47%	45%	48%	45%	70%	42%
Against	31	37	30	29	16	35
No opinion, no answer	22	18	22	26	14	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

REASONS FOR SUPPORTING A WEST EUROPEAN ARMY REVEAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF INDIVIDUAL WEAKNESS, DESIRE TO PREVENT WAR...

Acknowledgment of the relative weakness of individual nations is a basic reason behind support for a West European Army. In the Netherlands in particular proponents are of this mind. A second and allied reason is a belief that EDC can prevent the actual outbreak of war. In contrast, relatively few proponents of the Army give reasons based on international cooperation. It is clear that proponents of EDC are less " Good Europeans " than they are people aware of the peril from the East and hoping that consolidated forces can prevent it or defeat it. Thus it would appear that proponents of EDC would do better to stress the " realistic " aspects of such a force rather than idealism or any possible subsidiary benefits.

04169

" Would you be for or against having (name of country) take part in such an Army ? "
(IF YES) " Why are you for (name of country) taking part ? "

	ECSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Unity is strength—we cannot succeed alone, but can be strong together	17%	12%	19%	17%	34%	12%
Decreases danger of war, of aggression, of attack	16	16	16	16	20	12
Step toward United Europe—(if one is for a United Europe one has to be for a European Army, etc.)—cooperation, integration is a good thing	6	5	7	6	10	7
Economic, financial advantages	1	*	1	1	1	*
Germany must not keep apart	1	4	—	—	—	—
Will prevent future war between European countries	1	2	—	—	—	—
Necessity, no alternative	*	—	—	—	2	1
Miscellaneous	4	7	1	3	1	4
No opinion, no answer	2	1	4	2	4	6
	48%⊙	47%⊙	48%⊙	45%	72%⊙	42%

* Less than one half of one per cent
⊙ Some respondents mentioned more than one reason.

CHIEF REASONS FOR OPPOSING MEMBERSHIP IN WEST EUROPEAN ARMY: PREFERENCE FOR NATIONAL ARMY, FEAR OF WAR, ANTI-REARMAMENT . . .

Main causes for opposition to joining a West European Army are equally divided between three main themes—nationalistic desire for own Army; fear that EDC will increase danger of war; and general anti-militarism, at least when it comes to " capitalist aggression " against the USSR. Distrust of other nations—particularly of West Germany—is rarely given as a reason. On the part of West Germany, the " cannon-fodder " argument was one of the most important reasons given.

The results indicate that only a portion of opposition to EDC is pro-Communist. Most other opponents should be receptive to propaganda based on the themes that loss of independence is not involved, that a common Army is more efficient, that unified strength is the best way to prevent a war as well as to win one.

" Would you be for or against having (name of country) take part in such an Army ? "
(IF NO.) " Why are you against (name of country) taking part ? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Loss of independence; national Army better	7%	5%	7%	9%	5%	13%
Increases danger of war	6	9	4	6	2	1
Against any Army, against rearmament; don't want to fight for capitalists against USSR	6	6	7	5	4	1
West Germany will supply the cannon-fodder; they want France to pull the chestnuts out of the fire	3	8	1	—	—	—
Won't work—too much discord, distrust	2	1	3	2	1	5
Distrust other partners (West Germany, "continental" Europeans, etc.)	2	2	4	—	1	5
Miscellaneous (dislike idea of common uniform; want USSR, Great Britain to join; because Germany is still divided; disturb relations with Commonwealth, U.S.)	3	7	1	5	3	7
No opinion, no answer	2	1	3	2	1	4
	31%⊙	39%⊙	30%⊙	29%⊙	17%⊙	36%⊙

⊙ Some respondents gave more than one reason.

04470

THE OLD-FASHIONED NATIONAL ARMY STILL HAS A STRONG APPEAL . . .

Except in the Netherlands, the proponents of the old-fashioned national Army almost balance the supporters of EDC. Thus there is indication that much opposition to a common Army stems, not from pacifism, but from national pride, and distrust of other nations.

*"What do you think is the best way to strengthen Western European defense: for each country to build up its own army, or to form a common West European Army?"**

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Own Army	27%	31%	23%	29%	17%	39%
West European Army	34	39	32	26	61	32
Both	10	5	15	12	7	10
No opinion, no answer	29	25	30	33	15	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT GAINS CAN BE MADE AMONG ADHERENTS OF NATIONAL ARMIES . . .

Preference for a national army does not invariably mean opposition to EDC, as the data below demonstrate.** A fifth to almost half of those who prefer a national army are willing to have their nations join EDC.

Proportions of Those Preferring National Army, But Who Nevertheless Are Willing To Have Their Countries Join A Common West European Army.

CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
34%	45%	19%	32%	35%	28%

* The terms of the question which mentions strengthening Western European defense probably keeps support for a national army to a minimum. For example, in West Germany, the two types of armies are almost equally balanced; but in other studies, when a similar question was asked in terms of what the respondent thought would be best for West Germany, the old-fashioned national army was favored two-to-one. Thus, its continued strength is probably even greater than shown here.

** To obtain this material, the two preceding questions, one dealing with preference between a national and a West European Army and the other dealing with support for a West European Army, were cross-analyzed.

Thus in all the nations studied, large proportions of the nationalistically-minded will nonetheless accept membership in a European Army. In West Germany, the figures are particularly striking: about half of the "nationalists" are willing to see their country in a European force—possibly in many cases because they see EDC as the first step in reconstituting a German national army.

STRONG NATIONALIST OPPOSITION LIMITED TO ABOUT ONE-SEVENTH; CONSISTENT PROPONENTS OF EDC ARE TWICE AS STRONG . . .

Throughout the several nations, strong consistent nationalist opposition to EDC is never higher than about a seventh of the population. (This group consists of those who oppose membership in a European Army but endorse a national army.) In contrast, those who favor joining EDC and who also believe in an international army or at least a combination of both types of army are at least twice as strong in all countries.

The table below, based on a recombination of data, indicates the various ways West Europeans are divided on the issue.

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
PRO-EDC:						
Strongly for EDC (willing to join and prefer European Army or combination to national army)	35%	31%	39%	31%	56%	30%
Weakly for EDC (willing to join, but prefer national army or undecided)	11	16	6	11	7	12
Leaning to EDC (Don't know whether willing to join, but prefer European Army or combination to national army)	5 (51)	3 (50)	7 (52)	5 (47)	8 (71)	7 (49)
POSSIBLE EDC SUPPORTERS:						
Possible converts (not now willing to join, but prefer European army or combination to national army)	5	10	1	2	3	5

04471

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
ANTI-EDC:						
Leaning to national army (Don't know whether willing to join, but prefer national army)	4	2	4	6	4	13
Simple opposition to EDC (not willing to join, but don't know which type of army is preferable)	10	12	10	9	4	3
Nationalistic opposition (not willing to join and prefer national army)	14 (28)	15 (29)	15 (29)	14 (29)	8 (16)	15 (31)
UNDECIDED:						
Undecided (don't know whether willing to join, and don't know which type of army is preferable)	16	11	18	22	10	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

It appears that the bulk of Western Europeans either favor EDC or are leaning toward acceptance. In West Germany, in particular, an additional sizeable group appears to prefer some new type of European Army to the old national army, but at the same time is not sold on EDC. We have noted earlier that a simple informational campaign does not appear to be the answer for winning support for the EDC idea. However, the figures above indicate that substantial gains for EDC can be made at the expense of the concept of an " old-fashioned " national army. As mentioned previously, the best single theme to stress would seem to be the strategy of stopping Russian aggression through a general Western system of security of which EDC is an integral part.

II. TRUST IN ALLIES

Do the " member " nations trust each other as probable or possible military allies? Do they trust other members planned for the West European Army? Do they trust Great Britain, standing aloof from direct participation? Have they trust in Spain and Yugoslavia, often mentioned as possible military partners, though not necessarily as EDC members? Do they trust the United States, to a great degree architect, arsenal and guarantor of the West European Army? And finally, to what degree is trust and distrust mixed in with acceptance or rejection of a European Army? To ascertain these attitudes, respondents were asked to rate various nations as military allies: could they be trusted " a great deal "; " up to a point "; or " not at all ".

" Now I'd like to find out what best describes your opinion about a few countries. " (HAND CARD)
In case of war, to what extent do you think we could trust (name of country): a great deal as an ally, only up to a point as an ally, couldn't trust at all as an ally ?"

Could trust:	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
United States:					
Great deal	52%	64%	50%	68%	79%
Up to a point	27	19	16	16	13
Not at all	6	7	9	6	2
No opinion, no answer	15	10	25	10	6
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
West Germany:					
Great deal	—	9%	16%	27%	16%
Up to a point	—	33	24	31	37
Not at all	—	36	25	24	27
No opinion, no answer	—	22	35	18	20
France:					
Great deal	7%	—	18%	39%	37%
Up to a point	33	—	35	35	42
Not at all	40	—	16	10	11
No opinion, no answer	20	—	31	16	10
Italy:					
Great deal	5%	8%	—	8%	9%
Up to a point	23	39	—	29	31
Not at all	54	34	—	37	41
No opinion, no answer	18	19	—	26	19

04472

(continued)

"Now I'd like to find out what best describes your opinion about a few countries."
(HAND CARD)
In case of war, to what extent do you think we could trust (name of country): a great deal as an ally, only up to a point as an ally, couldn't trust at all as an ally?"

Could trust:	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Great Britain:					
Great deal	23%	46%	13%	42%	—
Up to a point	41	34	28	35	—
Not at all	16	7	29	12	—
No opinion, no answer	20	13	30	11	—
Netherlands:					
Great deal	27%	45%	23%	—	62%
Up to a point	38	29	19	—	22
Not at all	11	6	9	—	4
No opinion, no answer	24	20	49	—	12
Belgium:					
Great deal	15%	48%	26%	55%	21%
Up to a point	41	32	23	26	46
Not at all	18	5	9	5	17
No opinion, no answer	26	15	42	14	16
Luxembourg:					
Great deal	22%	51%	22%	57%	38%
Up to a point	36	24	17	18	27
Not at all	13	5	10	7	8
No opinion, no answer	29	20	51	18	27
Yugoslavia:					
Great deal	7%	14%	1%	8%	16%
Up to a point	23	31	7	19	29
Not at all	37	20	59	40	26
No opinion, no answer	33	35	33	33	29
Spain:					
Great deal	33%	11%	20%	10%	7%
Up to a point	29	24	23	22	25
Not at all	11	31	15	39	35
No opinion, no answer	27	34	42	29	33

UNITED STATES MOST TRUSTED BY ALL NATIONS . . .

The results are cited in this manner for purposes of completeness. However, they can be simplified a good deal by converting percentages into numerical values. Each response of trust " A great deal " is given two points; each response of trust " up to a point " is given one point, since it is favorable with reservations; each response of trust " not at all " is considered a minus two points, since it is the negative equivalent of trust a great deal. By this method, the rating of each nation can be converted from a row of percentages to a single number.

For example, the rating of the United States in West Germany is converted as follows: 52 per cent say " a great deal, " and thus, at two points each, America gets 104 plus points; then 27 per cent more say " up to a point ", so 27 more points are added; finally, 6 per cent say " not at all " so 12 points are subtracted (the " no opinions " are rated as zero). The trust for America in West Germany then becomes 104+27—12 or 119 points. One further refinement adds additional meaning to the index number: if every West German had trusted America a great deal, the total score would have been 200 points—the possible maximum of trust. However, America's actual rating was 119. By dividing 119 by 200, we get a number representing America's per cent of a possible perfect score, 0.60. Thus we can say that as an ally, America is nearly two-thirds as good as perfection in the eyes of West Germans. Similar calculations are used when a nation is regarded negatively.

The table below and Charts V and VI following show how each of ten nations is rated in the five nations where the study took place.

RATING OF VARIOUS NATIONS AS ALLIES . . .

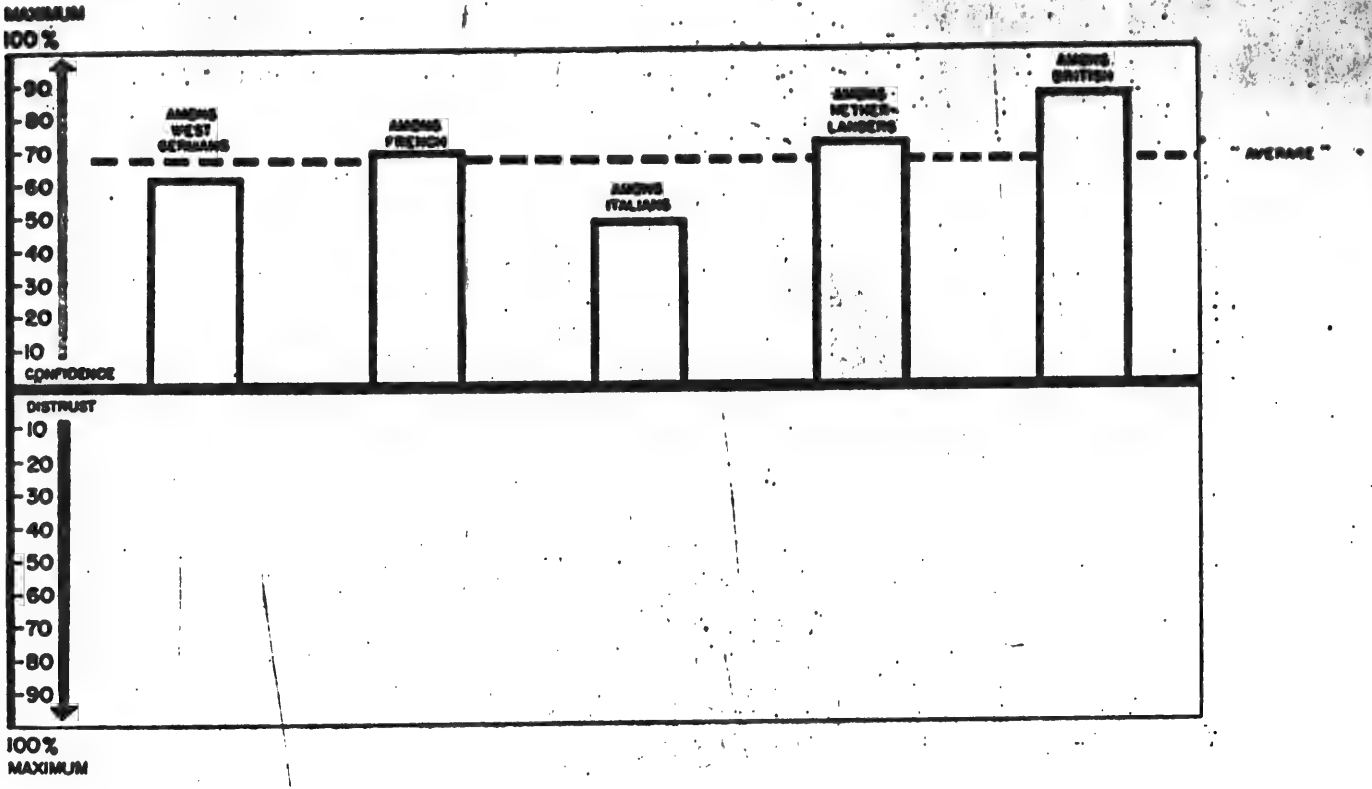
Nation-rated	by: " Average "*	West Germany	France	Italy	Netherlands	Great Britain
United States	66	60	67	48	70	84
Netherlands	46	35	54	24	—	69
Luxembourg	42	27	58	21	59	44
Belgium	39	18	59	29	63	27
Great Britain	33	28	66	—2	48	—
France	24	—17	—	20	47	47
West Germany	5	—	—11	3	19	8
Spain	3	37	— 8	17	—18	—16
Yugoslavia	—16	—19	10	—55	—23	5
Italy	—19	—38	—7	—	—15	—17

* The " average " listed here is not the usual CSC average, since the nations naturally did not rate themselves as allies. Thus the " average " represents the average of actual ratings given each nation as an ally, and it is not weighted in terms of population as in the case of the CSC averages.

044473

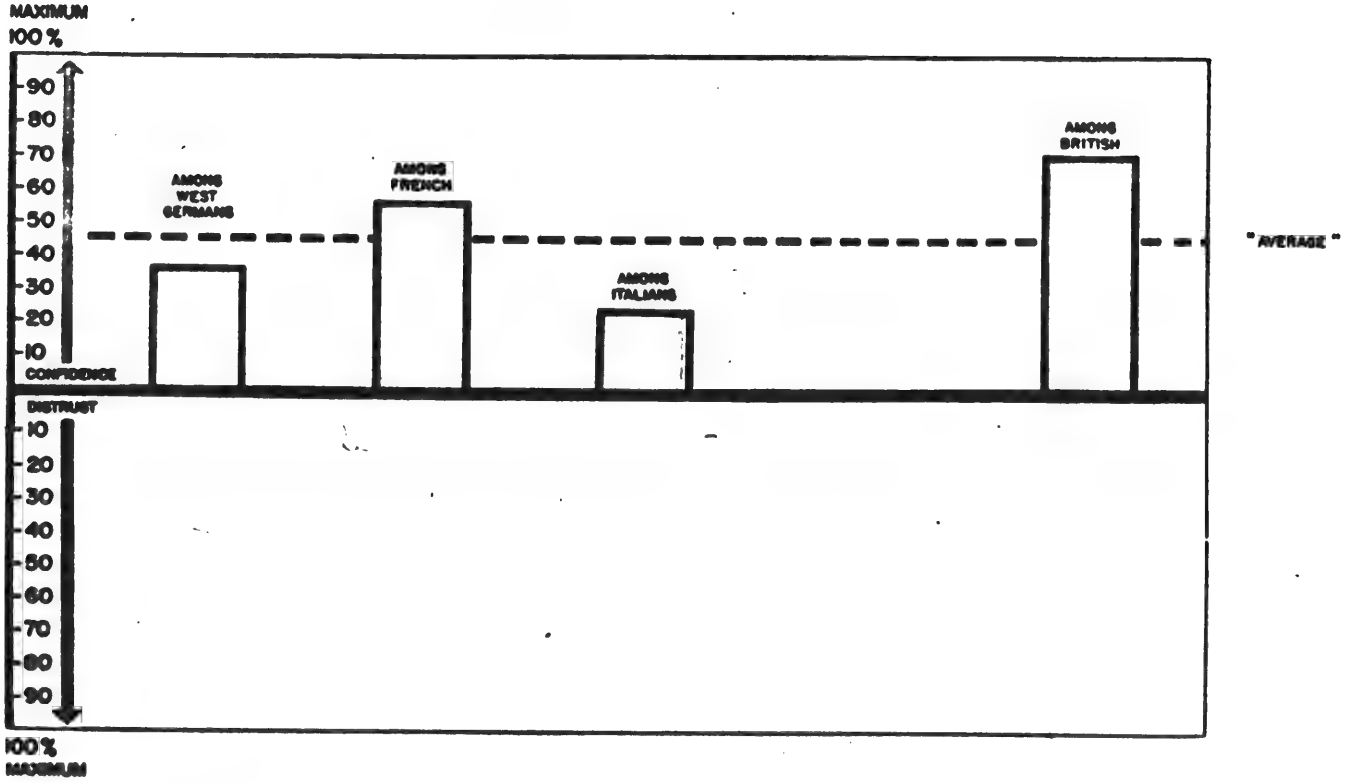
CONFIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES

CHART 2-A



CONFIDENCE IN THE NETHERLANDS

CHART II B

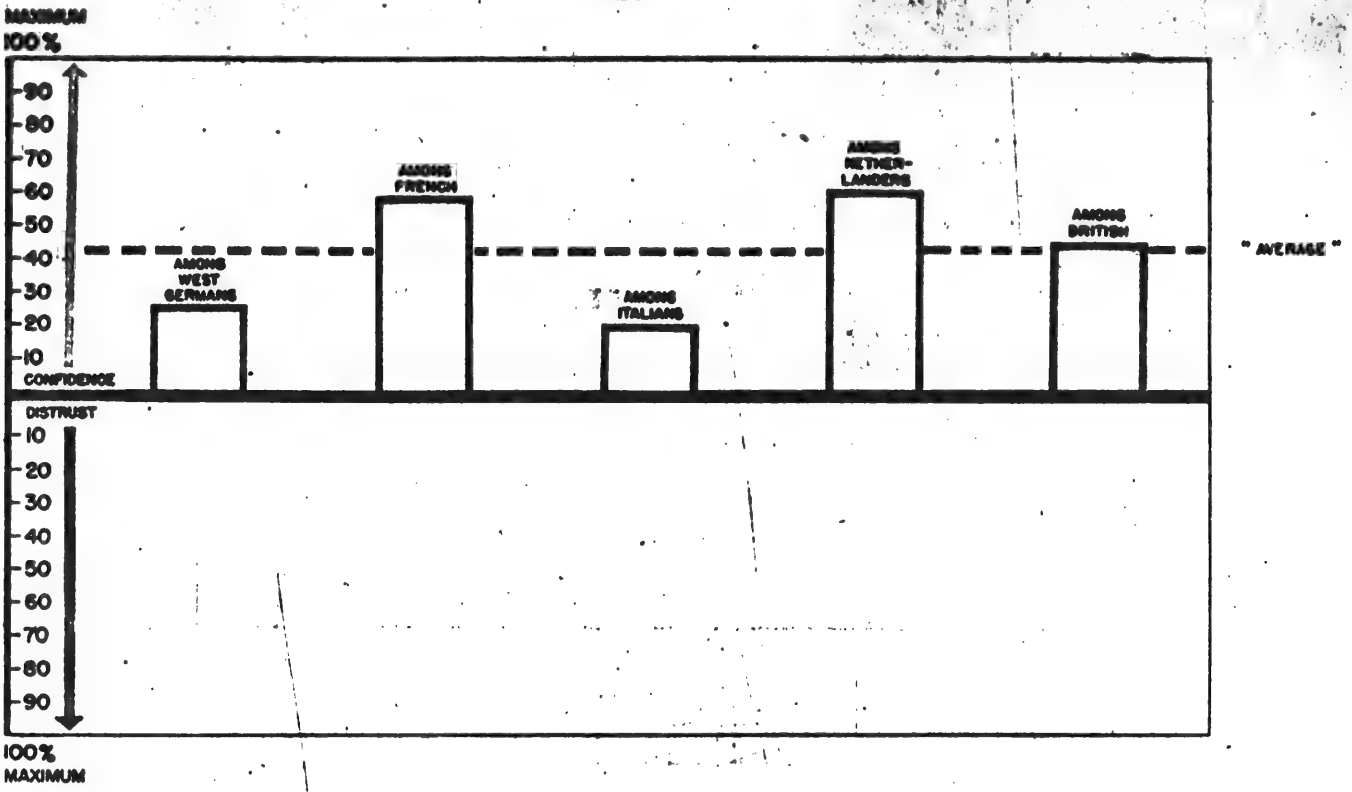


[redacted]

044/4

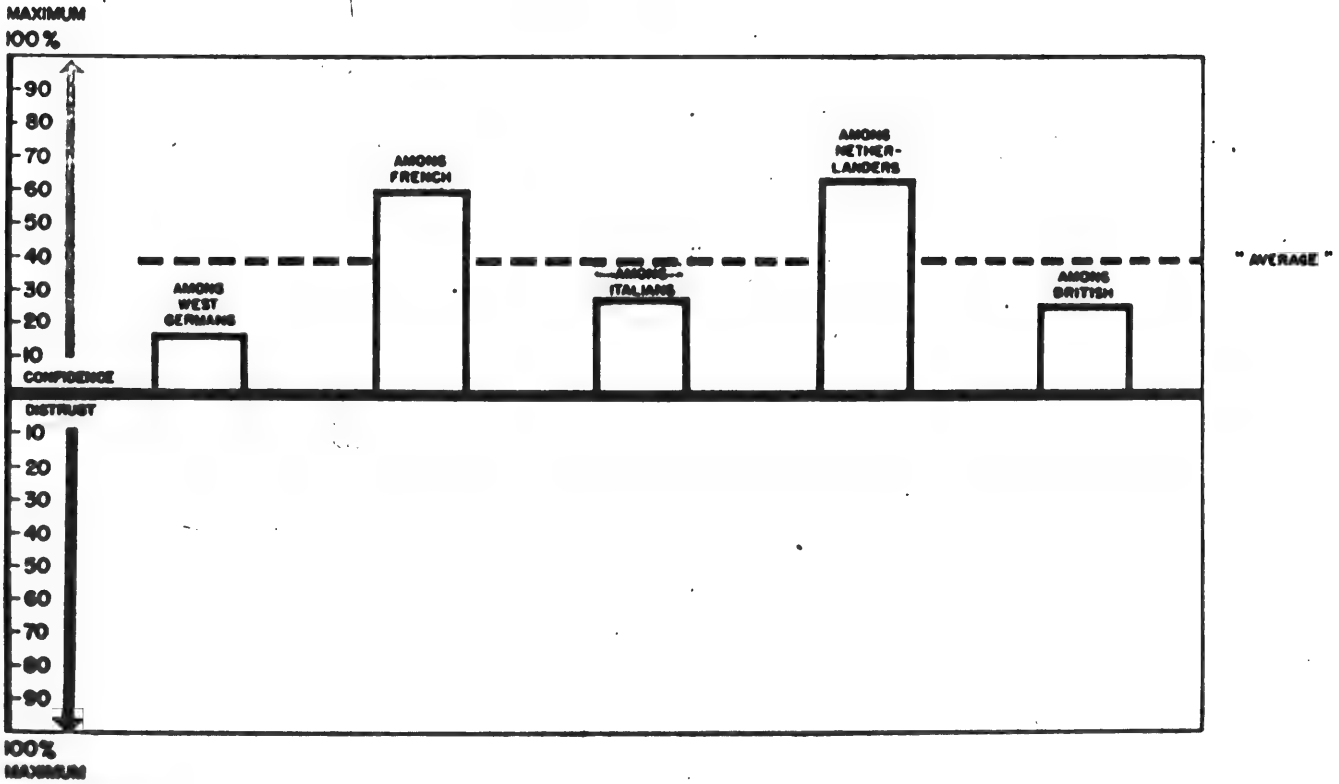
CONFIDENCE IN LUXEMBOURG

CHART XC



CONFIDENCE IN BELGIUM

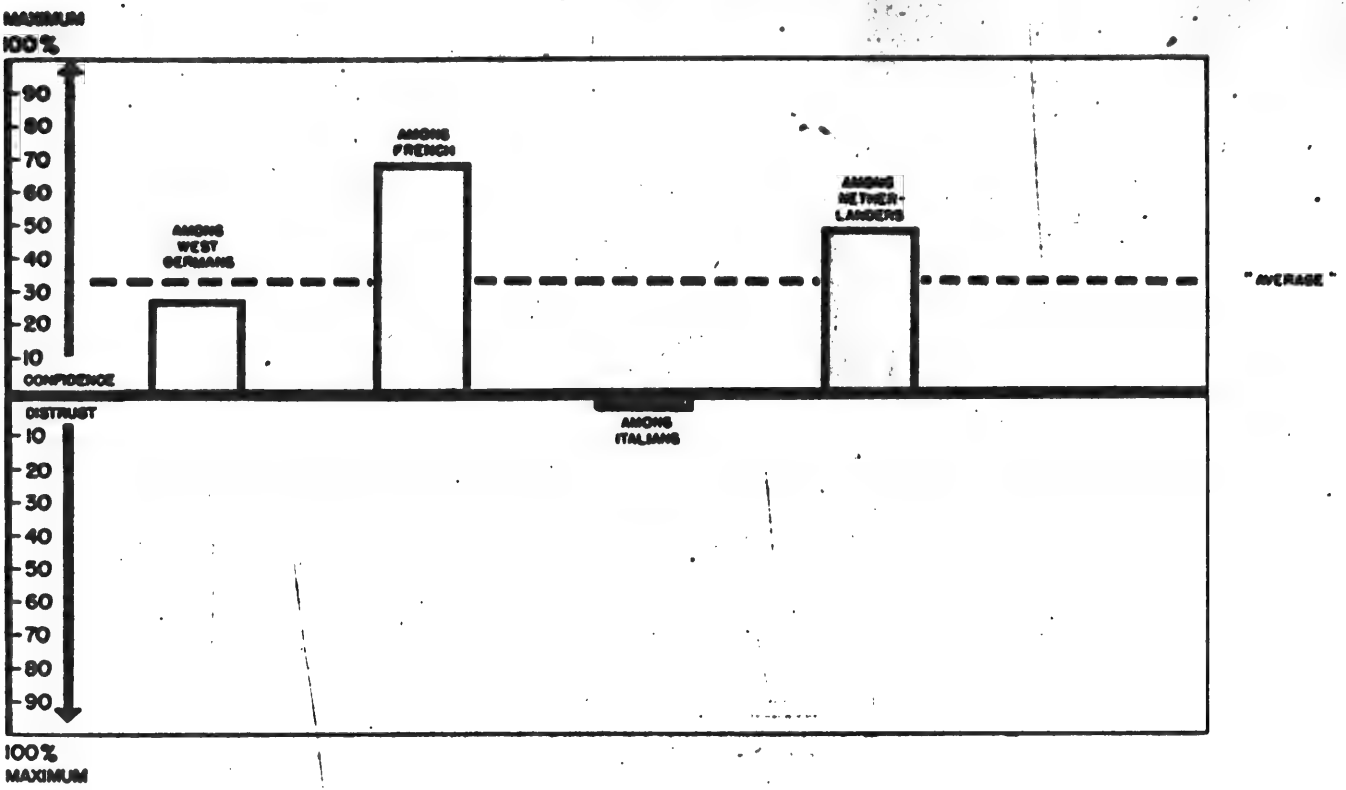
CHART IX D



[redacted]

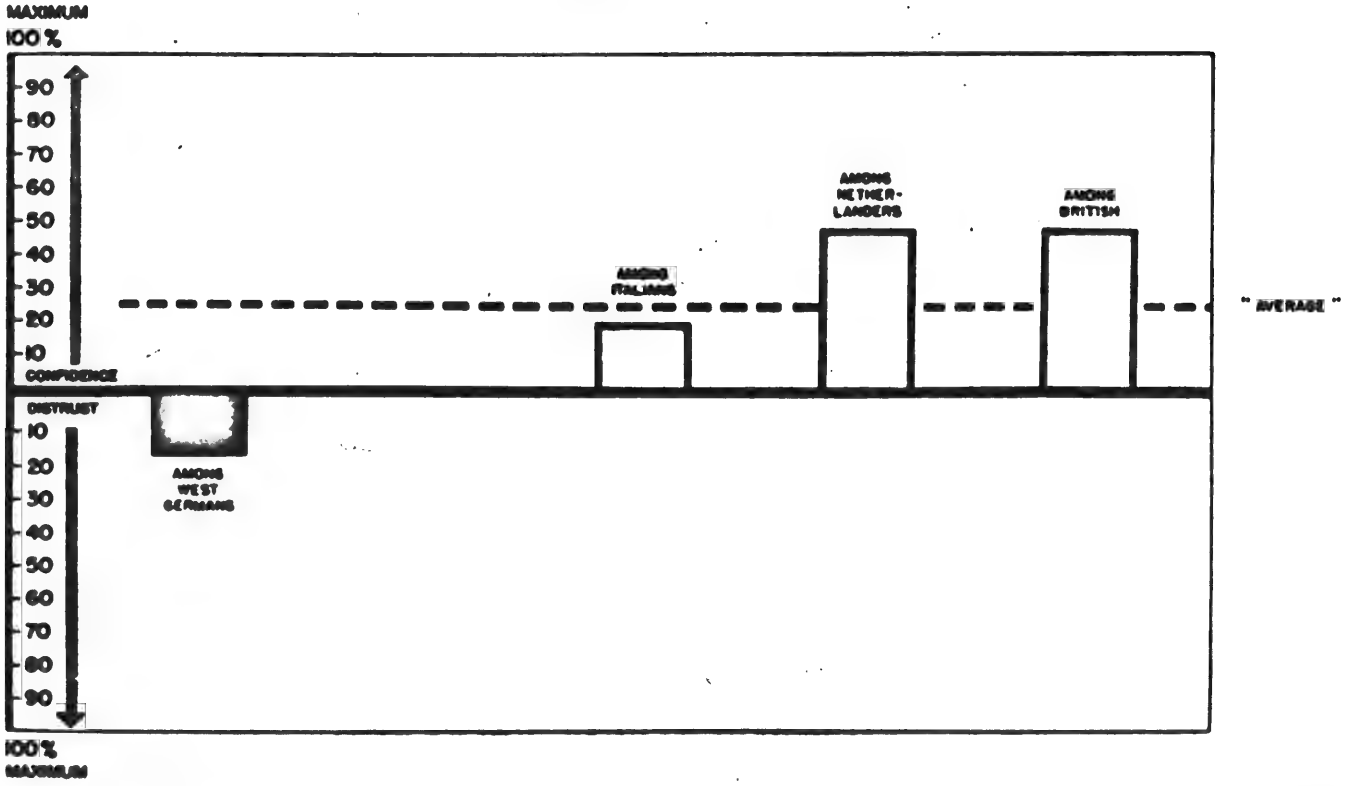
CONFIDENCE IN GREAT BRITAIN

CHART XI E



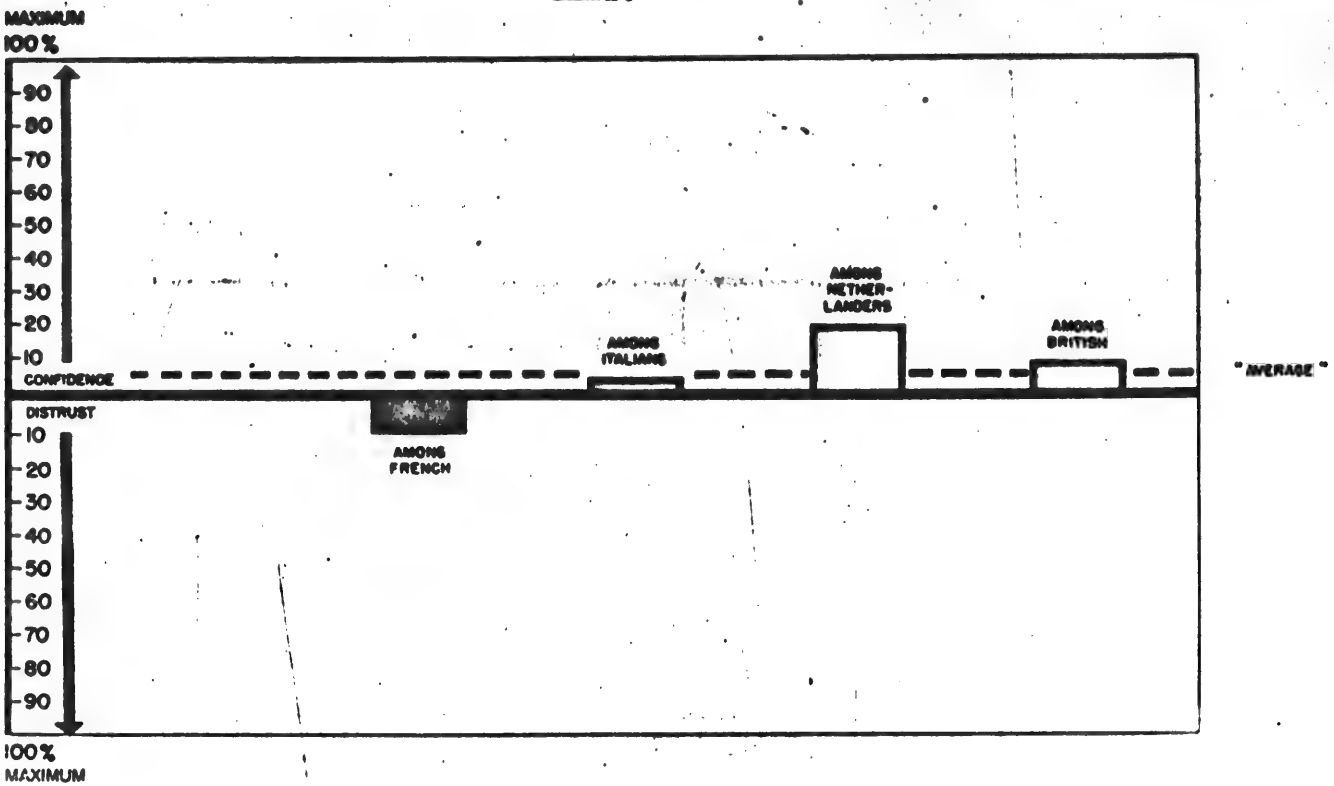
CONFIDENCE IN FRANCE

CHART II F



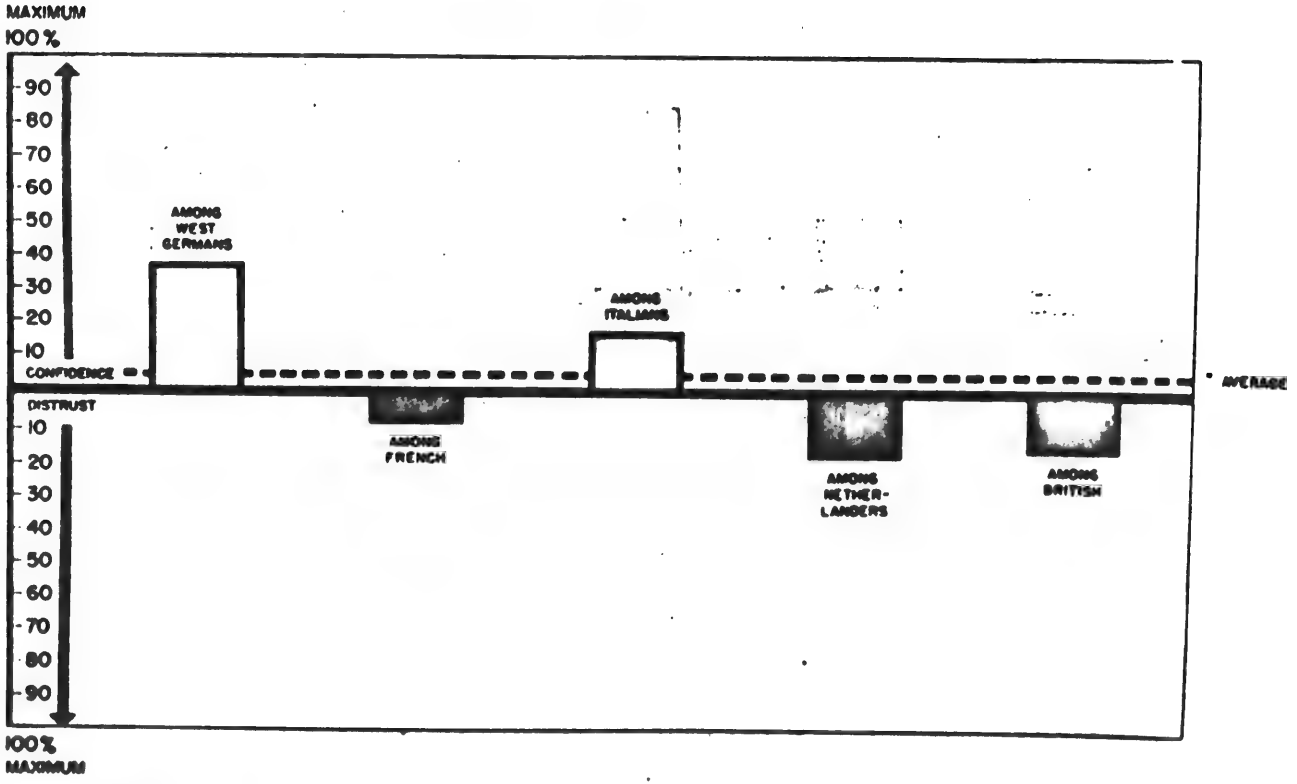
CONFIDENCE IN WEST GERMANY

CHART X 6



CONFIDENCE IN SPAIN

CHART XI H

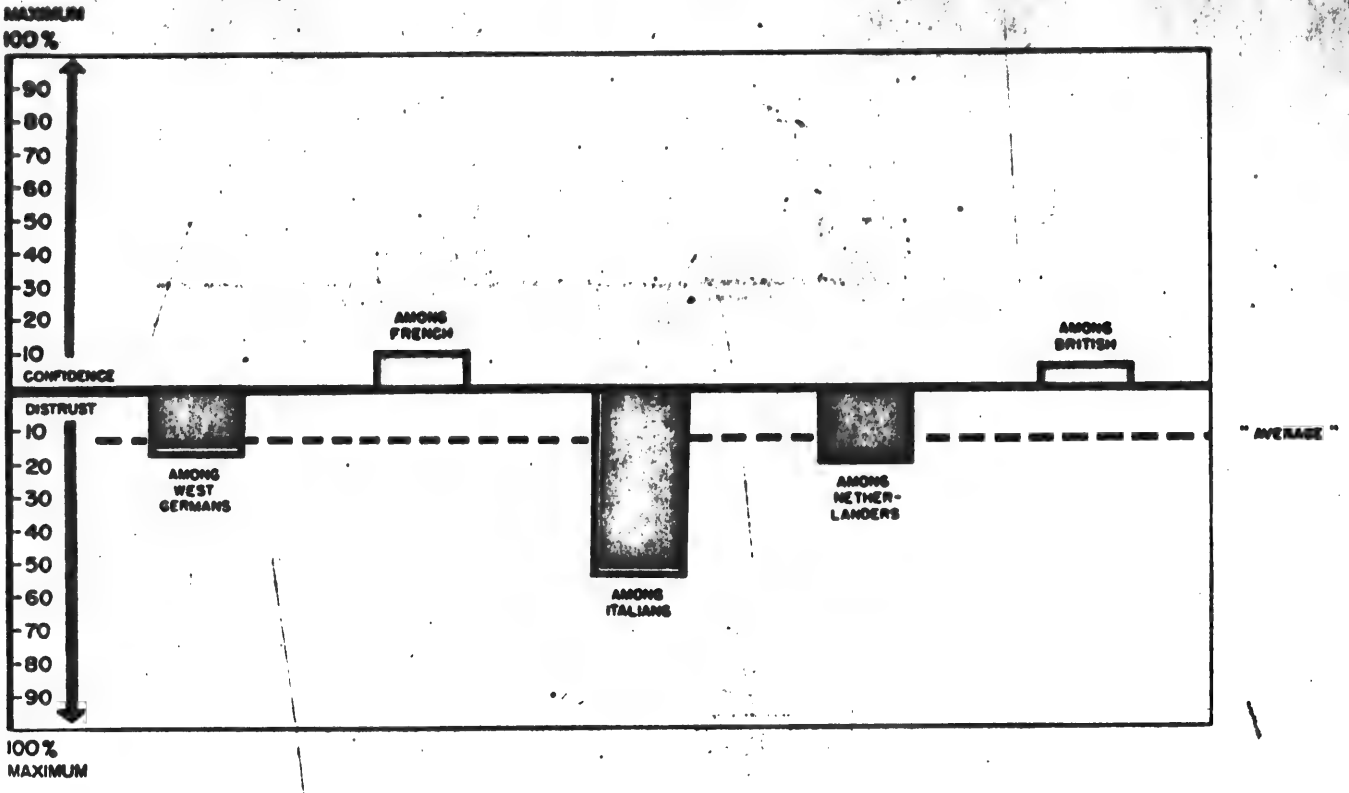


[redacted]

0447

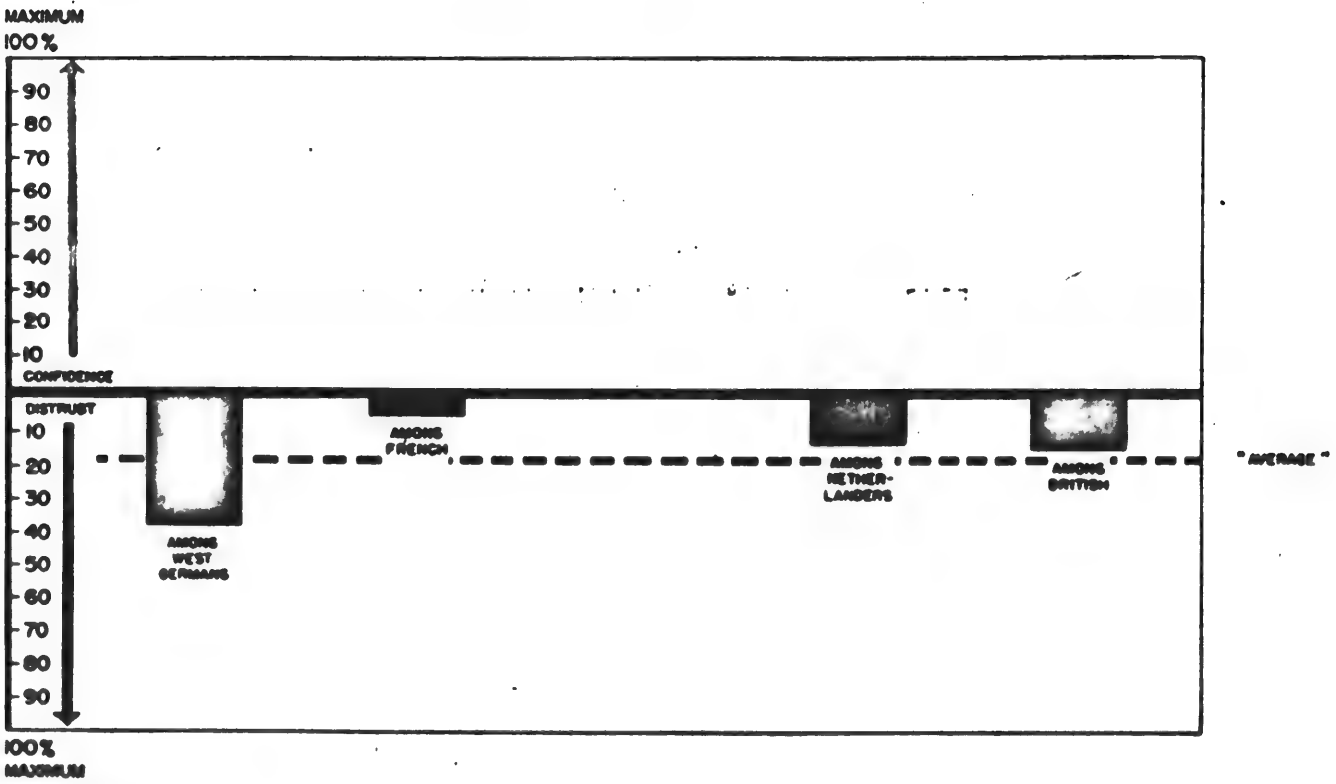
CONFIDENCE IN YUGOSLAVIA

CHART II



CONFIDENCE IN ITALY

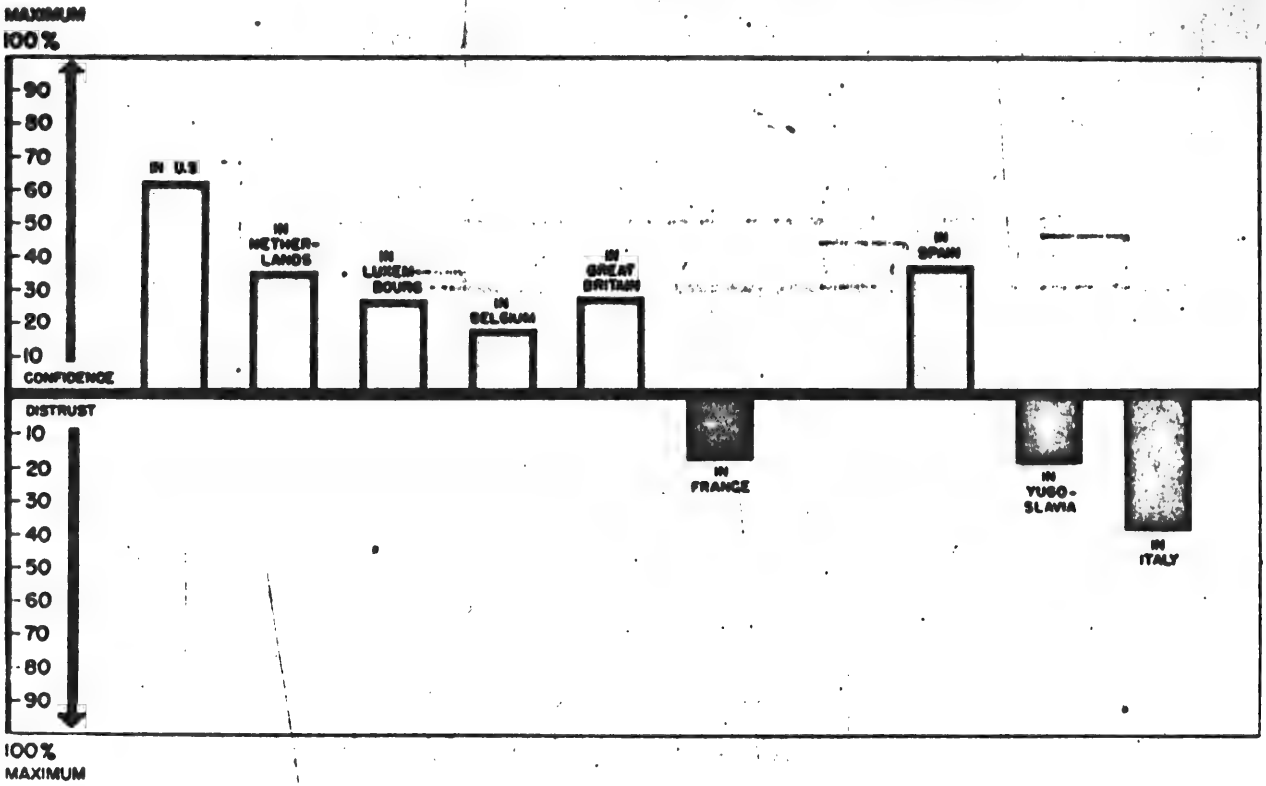
CHART IX J



04478

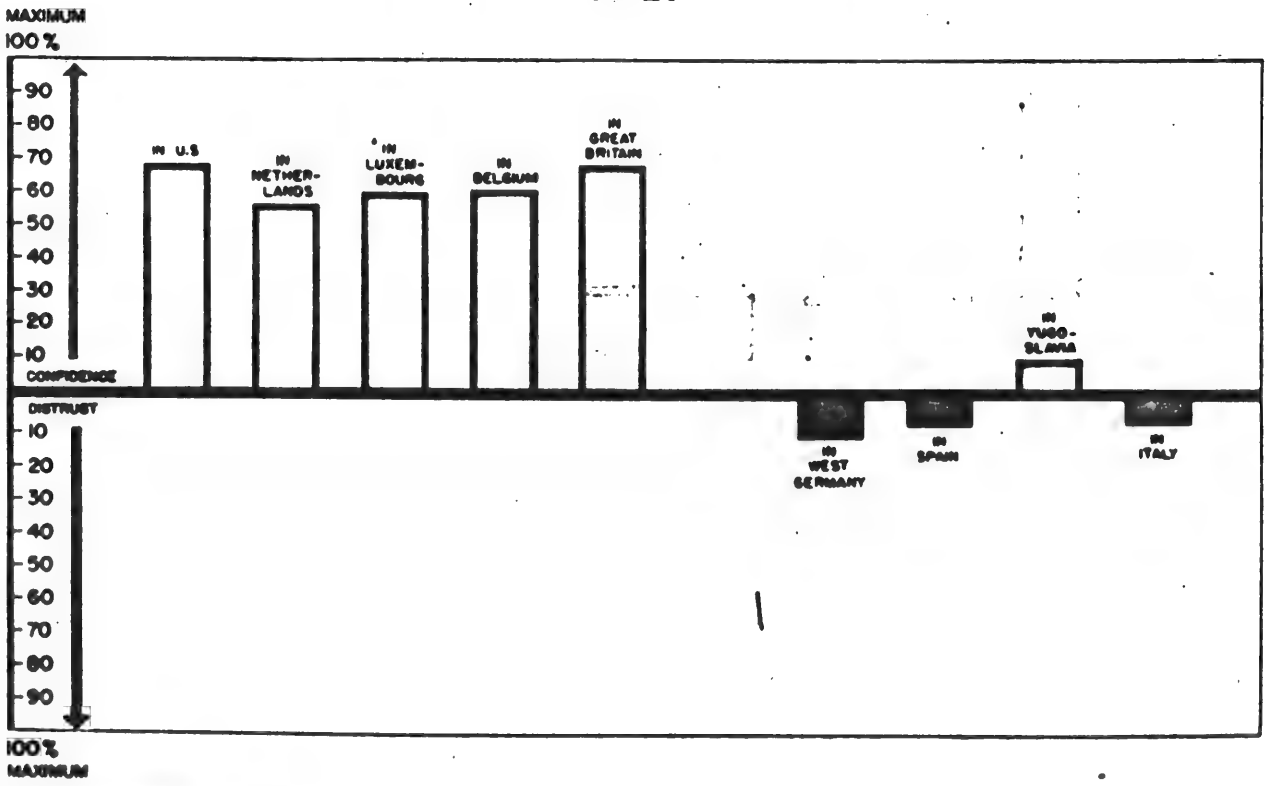
LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE AMONG WEST GERMANS

CHART NO. A



LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE AMONG FRENCH

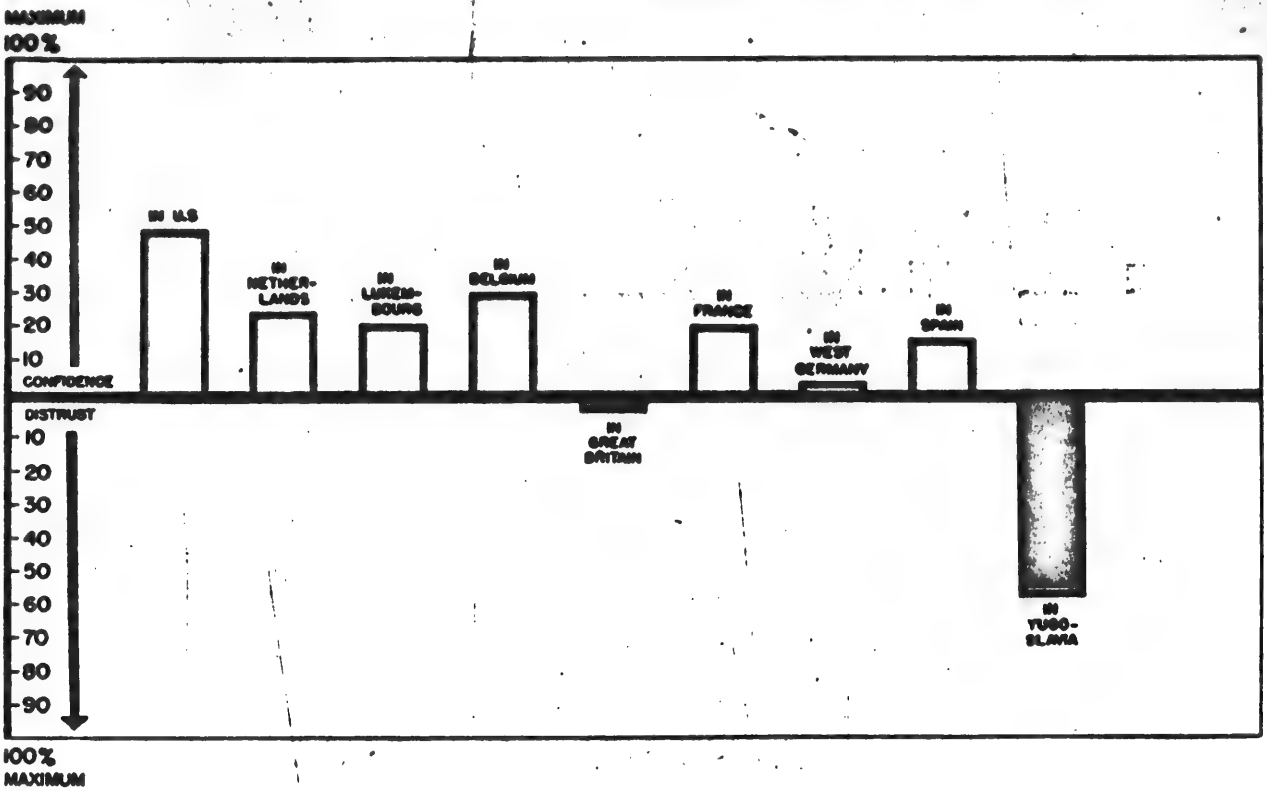
CHART XI B



[redacted]
04479

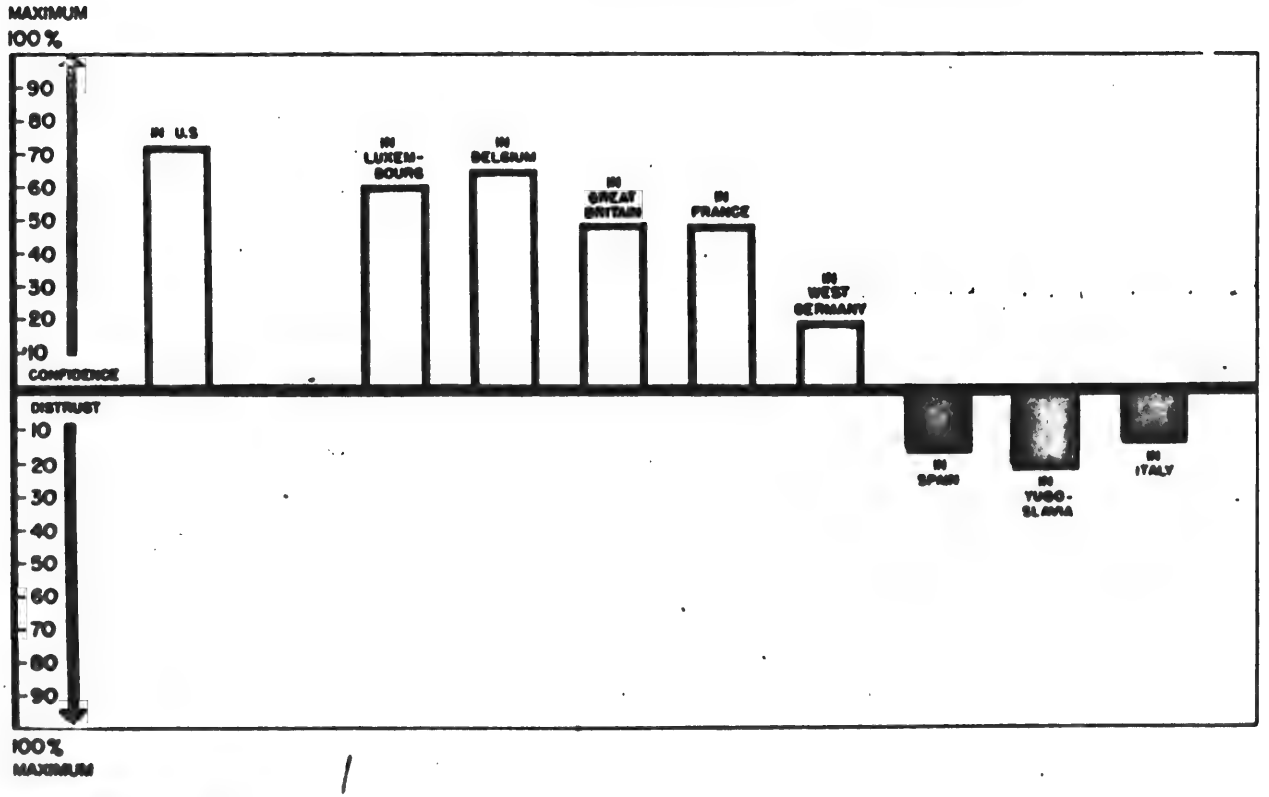
LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE AMONG ITALIANS

CHART III 6



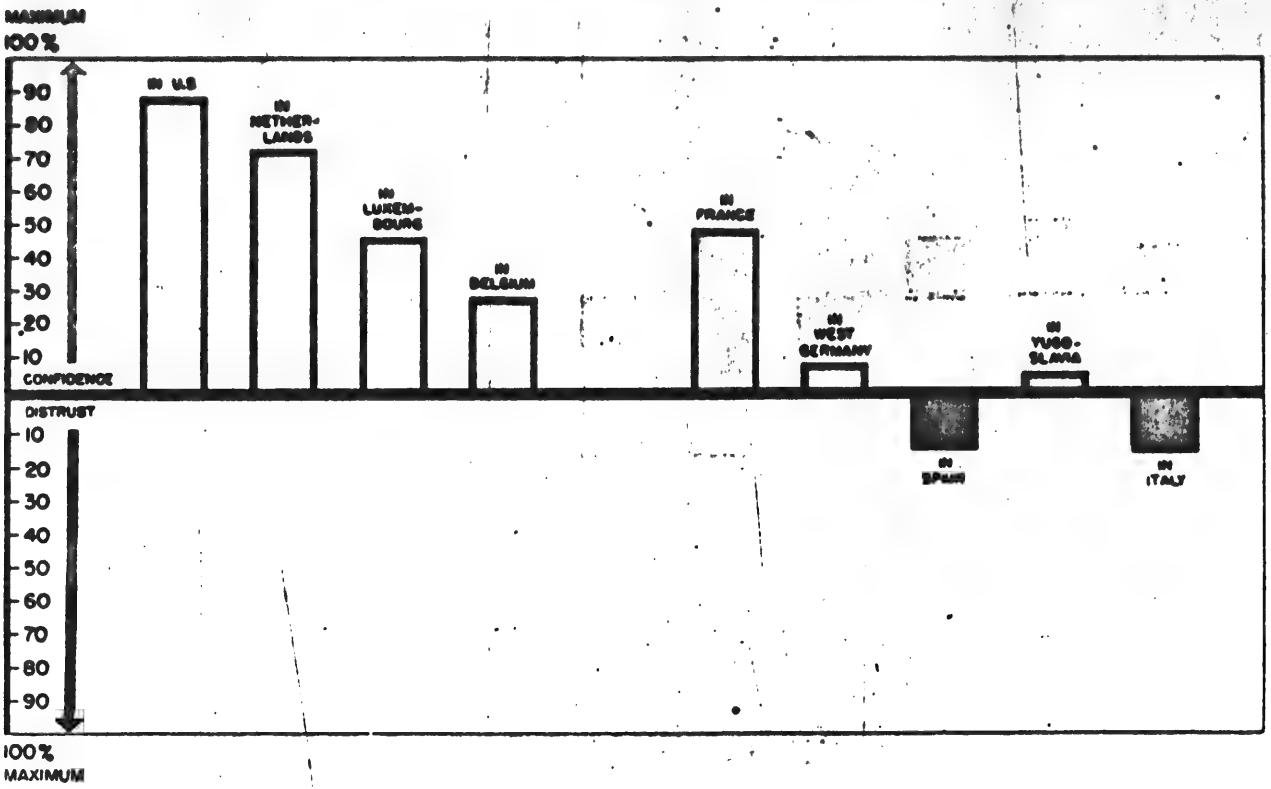
LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE AMONG NETHERLANDERS

CHART IX D



04480

LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE AMONG BRITISH



PSYCHOLOGICAL COHESIVENESS OF ALLIES ONLY PARTLY ACHIEVED . . .

It is clear that psychological cohesiveness obtains in only a portion of the planned West European Army. Those nations who have been associated in the past—France, the Netherlands and Great Britain—appear to have a good level of confidence in each other, and in Belgium and Luxembourg. The survey did not cover Belgium and Luxembourg, but it can safely be assumed that those two nations would have about as high a level of confidence as the similar nations queried. (A single exception is the case of Great Britain's rating of Belgium; presumably the 1940 surrender still rankles a bit.)

It is also in France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain, where America is most highly regarded as an ally—more so than any other nation. West Germany is another question. Only in the Netherlands is there even moderate degree of confidence in Germany; and in France, the reaction is negative. It is clear that West Germany is little trusted, not only in France but everywhere.

Distrust of Italy as an ally in every nation would, seem to represent a potential obstacle to support for EDC. The "spaghetti line" slur may be an ill-tempered exaggeration of the facts, but it is truth to most West Europeans.

Two nations at present are slowly being brought into the Western combination —Spain and Yugoslavia. It is clear that neither is a propaganda asset. Spain is highly regarded in West Germany, and moderately regarded in Italy; but she is strongly distrusted in the three nations which are friendly to each other and already cohesive. Yugoslavia is poorly regarded everywhere. Her slight positive value in France and Great Britain is outweighed by her negative rating elsewhere.

UNITED STATES STRONGLY TRUSTED EVERYWHERE . . .

Chart V, based on the preceding table, reveals interesting patterns of confidence.

1. The United States is most trusted everywhere. Only in Italy does the level drop below 50 per cent of maximum. This finding goes a long way toward outweighing earlier findings of cynicism concerning American policy and resentment toward American influence and behavior. It indicates that America still holds the bulk of respect and confidence (though not necessarily admiration or liking) gained during World War II. It might be argued that this high rating is more one of admission of American military might than of trust. However, the fact that relatively powerless Luxembourg is rated quite highly by most nations indicates that the frame of reference here is confidence rather than power.

2. A group of small nations, the Benelux countries, are rated well—between 40 and 50. To these groups, Great Britain and France could be added except that

044481

the extremely low ratings of Great Britain by Italy and of France by Germany pull down their respective averages.

3. Germany and Spain appear to be psychological cyphers. As allies, both average close to zero. In the case of Germany, French hostility pulls the average down a bit; but in general, except in the Netherlands, Germany attracts little confidence. Spain is kept up by the relatively high ratings given her by her former Axis partners. (West Germany, indeed, rates Spain only below the United States.) However, in France, the Netherlands and Great Britain, Spain is considered a liability.

4. Yugoslavia and Italy get outright negative ratings. There is a modicum of confidence in the former in France and Great Britain; but the very high negative rating given by Italy pulls the average down. Italy is rated negatively by all nations (the French are most charitable). Particularly low opinion is displayed by West Germany.

NATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN TRUST . . .

Chart VI presents the various levels of trust by individual nations. How, for example, does the average West German regard his probable and possible allies? The results reveal great inconsistency of opinion from nation to nation.

1. Again, it can be seen clearly that France, the Netherlands and Great Britain trust the United States, each other, Belgium and Luxembourg; but neither West Germany, Italy, nor Spain or Yugoslavia. Obviously, there is backing for alliance of the United States, Great Britain, France and the Benelux nations; but the project stops at that point.

2. West Germans trust in America. There is some backing for Spain and for the Netherlands; but confidence in other Western nations is low, and in the case of France non-existent. In Italy, it is even lower.

3. The case of Italy deserves special attention. Least trusted by all other nations, she herself displays the smallest amount of trust. This may stem from unhappy relations with allies for the last century, or from a realization that other Western European nations have little confidence in her. Whatever the cause, it affects not only her confidence in other European nations but also her confidence in the United States. It is true that Italy has more confidence in America than in any other nation; but that confidence is considerably lower than the usual level of trust placed in America. As might be expected, Italian distrust of Yugoslavia—presumably reflecting the Trieste issue—is very high, the highest of any nation in any other.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA . . .

Since strong confidence in America as a military ally appears to be the one common factor, the cement of common defene, it is advisable to see just where in each nation that confidence is greatest. (For complete breakdown, see Appendix K.)

There is a definite pattern for the " influence groups " to be most confident in America; however, the variations here are not great. Perhaps the most important finding is that confidence in America as a military ally is, with a few exceptions, spread throughout all groups in all nations.

A few " soft spots " exist. First of all, less than a majority of West German and Italian women have strong confidence in America. Here, however, the explanation lies in the high level of " no opinion " responses among these groups. Again in West Germany and Italy, those with elementary schooling or none are least confident; and again lack of opinion is the explanation. The same situation applies to the lower socio-economic groups in Italy.

Two occupations in two nations have most of West Europe's Communists concentrated in them. These are manual workers and farm-hands in France and Italy. It is among these groups in Italy that confidence in America is lowest and distrust greatest. Only a third say they trust America a great deal. This is not so to anywhere near the same extent in France. Majorities of both these French groups express strong confidence in America. Free-thinkers in France and Italy, other groups in which Communism is strongest, show least confidence in America. But even here, the preponderance display trust.

Political affiliation makes little difference. In general, rightwing parties or parties in power are most confident in America. However, differences are small and even opposition parties generally show a strong majority that trust America. Among Communist sympathizers everywhere, strong minorities say they have a great deal of confidence in the United States (in Great Britain, two-thirds of them say so.) So general is this that there is some evidence for saying that Western Europe's pro-Communist minority, hostile as it is on balance, nevertheless has more regard for America than for Russia.

Even among the hard-core Communists in France and Italy, there is a great deal of indecision. Only half the French Communists, and less than half of the Italian actually say they have no trust in America as an ally. Certainly, Communist dogma on this point is definite, and in a completely solid Party one would expect something like 100 per cent exhibiting absolute distrust of America. The results here point up and expand an earlier conclusion: that the bulk of the Communist strength everywhere has " soft " areas. Now, there is some evidence that even the remaining hard-core has soft spots—and one of these spots is confidence in America as a military ally.

Regional variations within nations are few. In West Germany, greatest confidence in America is found where American troops are least in evidence—in North-Rhine-Westphalia, in Lower Saxony and in Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg-Bremen. Confidence in America is lowest in the American Zone and the Rhineland-Palatinate area of the French Zone, where U.S. troops are most plentiful.*

In France, geographical differences are small. In general, the Atlantic seaboard departments trust America most. In Italy, the Central provinces are least trusting.

DISTRUST MEANS OPPOSITION TO WEST EUROPEAN ARMY . . .

Almost without exception, complete lack of trust in any of the projected members of the West European Army means opposition to membership in that Army, as the tables (p. 103-106) show. The one exception is the case of Italy: those who evidence complete distrust of that nation as a military ally, nonetheless are evenly divided between support and opposition to participation in the common Army. Very few respondents have any confidence in Italy; and it is clear that many proponents of a West European Army are able to write off Italy's value without being shaken in their support.

The same association of ideas can be seen in the case of distrust in non-members of the Army—Great Britain and the United States. In the case of the latter nation, those who do not trust at all are solidly opposed to participation in a West European Army to a greater degree than is found in the cases of those distrusting various other nations.

It is clear that mutual distrust goes hand in hand with opposition to a common Army. Only in the case of Italy can the distrustful still tend to favor the Army. Of most importance, however, is trust of the United States.

BUT TRUST NEED NOT BE COMPLETE . . .

On the other hand, an absolute trust is not necessary. The majority of those respondents who trust various nations only " up to a point " still favor participation in the Army. Their support is less solid than those who trust " a great deal ", but they still show a majority or a plurality in favor of participation.

There is one important exception to this finding: the United States. Those West Europeans who trust America only up to a point are predominantly opposed to participation in the Army.

---

* This lack of confidence is not the same thing as dislike. Previous studies have shown American troops to be popular in the areas where they are stationed—particularly so among those who know them best. It is probable that this lack of trust represents dubiousness about military quality of U.S. Headquarters troops plus the impact of new American units on areas where they were previously not stationed and where the community has not yet had time to get used to them.

Thus, for other European nations, trust can be limited and still not wreck the chance of military combination. But trust in the United States as an ally must be strong. Thus the indication here is that the key to support of a common Army is strong trust in the United States. This does not mean liking or admiration, as earlier reports have made evident; but it does mean a confidence that America will be able and will be willing to aid in a defense which will hold back the Russians. An exception to this combination of attitudes is, of course, the Communist sympathizers who are apt to be anti-American and anti-Army both for reasons of doctrine.

But among ordinary Europeans, military confidence in America appears to be the major factor.

DISTRUST OF WEST GERMANY ALONE NOT A MAJOR FACTOR . . .

In terms of association of ideas, distrust of West Germany does not appear to be a major factor in attitudes toward a West European Army. Those who distrust Germany completely are opposed to participation in a common Army but no more so than those who distrust any other of the nations mentioned, except Italy. It is true that the question was asked before respondents were informed about German participation; but it has been shown earlier that that information makes little difference in support or opposition to the Army.

However, it should be remembered that from a fourth to a third everywhere distrust West Germany, and insofar as this level of distrust is among the highest, the problem of West Germany is important.

BUT ANY KIND OF TRUST IN WEST GERMANY IS IMPORTANT . . .

The few respondents who trust West Germany a good deal are more in favor of participation in a West European Army than are almost any other groups. Indeed, those who only trust West Germany up to a point are often more favorable to participation than those who trust some other nation all the way. The indication here is that creating even a modicum of trust in West Germany elsewhere would strengthen support for West European defense, and that, in contrast to the case of America, only a bare minimum of trust is needed. Again it appears to be a case where the psychological demands are modest, where expecting real confidence in West Germany would be unnecessary and perhaps self-defeating, where the best is enemy of the good.

FRENCH AND GERMAN CONFIDENCE IN EACH OTHER . . .

In France, West Germany is the most distrusted of all nations (including Italy, Spain and Yugoslavia). In West Germany, France is equally distrusted (though Italy heads the list.)

Four out of ten Frenchmen and West Germans display a mutual complete distrust; about the same number show at least a minimum of trust. In the case of no other nations is mutual complete distrust at so high a level that it balances even the minimum confidence demanded to give a response of trust " up to a point ".

Are there any areas of confidence in the two nations? Appendices L and M present the whole picture; only to be cited here are those few groups in either country that have a majority trusting their neighbor to any degree.

PRO-FRENCH GROUPS IN WEST GERMANY . . .

Very few groups in West Germany show even a bare majority trusting the French. In terms of education, it is those with secondary education who display most confidence. (The relatively highly educated, in contrast, are on balance mistrustful.)

Professionals, executives and small businessmen show a balance of trust in France. So also do FDP supporters. CDU supporters show a balance in favor of trust in France, but interestingly enough, Catholics are no more trusting than any other group.

PRO-GERMAN GROUPS IN FRANCE . . .

There is somewhat more trust of West Germany in France than of France in West Germany. In general, the French groups trusting West Germany are of the same sort as those in West Germany trusting France. Again, professionals, executives and small businessmen show a majority on the side of trust. However, in France it is the highest educational groups that trust Germany. It is the well-to-do, people in large cities and in Paris. As in West Germany, it is not solely a case of old memories: the young, the middle aged and the old are equally suspicious.

Unlike West Germany, religion appears to make some difference. A majority of churchgoing French Catholics display trust in West Germany. Least trusting are churchgoing Protestants and those with no religion. In the case of the latter, a fairly high level of Communist sympathies explains the distrust. However, it is possible that the level of trust shown by devout French Catholics (about a third of the population) depends largely upon a West German government predominantly Catholic in composition. A change of government in West Germany would probably cause a drop in trust in this quarter.

Political affiliation partly reflects the religious and socio-economic variations. A majority of the supporters of the Catholic MRP have some confidence in West Germany. Such is also the case with supporters of De Gaulle and with those assorted right-wing respondents listed as supporters of the Farmers and Independent blocs.

Again it should be noted that some of this confidence depends on a conservative German government and would be lost to a West German SPD regime. On the other hand, it is just as possible that such a West German government might gain quite high support from French Socialists. Even as it is, nearly half of them (48%) express some confidence in West Germany. As in West Germany, Communists and sympathizers are most suspicious; but it should be noted that among French Communist sympathizers a fourth express some confidence in West Germany.

04484

" In case of war, do you think we could trust United States a great deal as an Ally, only up to a point as an Ally, couldn't trust at all as an Ally ? "

	GREAT DEAL					UP TO A POINT					NOT AT ALL					NO OPINION, NO ANSWER				
	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
" Would you be for or against having (name of country) take part in such an army? "	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
For	61	62	68	82	47	36	33	38	64	31	16	5	12	25	29	17	10	15	27	10
Against	29	18	17	9	34	46	41	39	23	45	72	93	79	66	53	31	47	29	20	17
No opinion, no answer	10	20	15	9	19	18	26	23	13	24	12	2	9	9	18	52	43	56	53	73
	100%																			

" In case of war, do you think we could trust the Netherlands a great deal as an Ally, only up to a point as an Ally, couldn't trust at all as an Ally ? "

	GREAT DEAL				UP TO A POINT				NOT AT ALL				NO OPINION, NO ANSWER			
	W.G.	Fr.	It.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	G.B.
" Would you be for or against having (name of country) take part in such an army? "																
For	68%	66%	75%	48%	49%	45%	54%	38%	28%	19%	38%	35%	21%	21%	28%	20%
Against	26	16	16	36	40	38	32	39	56	72	51	46	35	38	30	18
No opinion, no answer	6	18	9	16	11	17	14	23	16	9	11	19	44	41	42	62
	100%															

" In case of war, do you think we could trust Luxembourg a great deal as an Ally, only up to a point as an Ally, couldn't trust at all as an Ally ? "

	GREAT DEAL					UP TO A POINT					NOT AT ALL					NO OPINION, NO ANSWER				
	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
" Would you be for or against having (name of country) take part in such an army ? "	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
For	68	63	75	81	51	52	44	56	71	46	29	16	39	48	35	25	21	30	43	29
Against	26	18	15	11	35	38	40	32	19	38	57	80	50	40	49	35	37	29	18	28
No opinion, no answer	6	19	10	8	14	10	16	12	10	16	14	4	11	12	16	40	42	41	39	43
	100%																			

" In case of war, do you think we could trust Belgium a great deal as an Ally, only up to a point as an Ally, couldn't trust at all as an Ally ? "

	GREAT DEAL					UP TO A POINT					NOT AT ALL					NO OPINION, NO ANSWER				
	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	L.N.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
" Would you be for or against having (name of country) take part in such an army ? "	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
For	78	57	69	88	50	56	49	56	78	46	27	30	33	42	43	21	16	27	40	21
Against	17	21	19	11	35	34	35	31	19	37	60	65	57	49	38	35	40	28	16	26
No opinion, no answer	5	22	12	9	15	10	16	13	11	17	13	5	10	9	19	44	44	45	44	53
	100%																			

04485

" In case of war, do you think we could trust Great Britain a great deal as an Ally, only up to a point as an Ally, couldn't trust at all as an Ally ? "

	GREAT DEAL				UP TO A POINT				NOT AT ALL				NO OPINION, NO ANSWER			
	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.
" Would you be for or against having (name of country) take part in such an army? "																
For	67%	60%	75%	81%	50%	49%	63%	76%	32%	19%	42%	49%	18%	17%	19%	32%
Against	26	20	14	9	36	32	22	15	57	71	43	38	33	40	26	19
No opinion, no answer	7	20	11	10	14	19	15	9	11	10	15	13	49	43	55	49
	100%															

" In case of war, do you think we could trust France a great deal as an Ally, only up to a point as an Ally, couldn't trust at all as an Ally ? "

	GREAT DEAL				UP TO A POINT				NOT AT ALL				NO OPINION NO ANSWER			
	W.G.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
" Would you be for or against having (name of country) take part in such an army? "																
For	70%	71%	81%	48%	63%	58%	75%	44%	37%	39%	51%	34%	22%	19%	44%	19%
Against	24	16	10	32	30	27	14	37	48	48	41	50	30	27	16	20
No opinion, no answer	6	13	9	20	7	15	11	19	15	13	8	16	48	54	40	61
	100%															

" In case of war, do you think we could trust West Germany a great deal as an Ally, only up to a point as an Ally, couldn't trust at all as an Ally ? "

	GREAT DEAL				UP TO A POINT				NOT AT ALL				NO OPINION, NO ANSWER			
	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
" Would you be for or against having (name of country) take part in such an army? "																
For	81%	73%	85%	60%	69%	64%	78%	45%	28%	39%	58%	35%	25%	22%	48%	32%
Against	12	18	9	28	17	22	12	36	47	46	30	46	48	26	14	23
No opinion, no answer	7	9	6	12	14	14	10	19	25	15	12	19	27	52	38	45
	100%															

" In case of war, do you think we could trust Italy a great deal as an Ally, only up to a point as an Ally, couldn't trust at all as an Ally ? "

	GREAT DEAL				UP TO A POINT				NOT AT ALL				NO OPINION, NO ANSWER			
	W.G.	Fr.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	N.L.	G.B.	W.G.	Fr.	N.L.	G.B.
" Would you be for or against having (name of country) take part in such an army? "																
For	68%	75%	86%	57%	61%	61%	81%	52%	45%	37%	68%	39%	19%	27%	57%	24%
Against	23	14	8	30	30	21	10	33	42	43	23	42	32	33	14	26
No opinion, no answer	9	11	6	13	9	18	9	15	13	20	9	19	49	40	29	50
	100%															

98170

SECTION IV

DEFENSE MORALE

04487

SECTION IV

DEFENSE MORALE

I. GENERAL MORALE

FEAR OF WAR PREVALENT IN WESTERN EUROPE . . .

Fear of war is widespread in Western Europe. From a tenth in the Netherlands to four out of ten in Italy say they worry a lot about the possibility of war's breaking out. An equally large group worries " somewhat ". All told, a third of the people of the Netherlands and Great Britain, half the West Germans, nearly two thirds of the French and Italians worry at least somewhat about war. Nevertheless, except in Italy, no more than a fourth mention extreme worry.

" Are you personally worried much about the possibility of a war breaking out, or not ? Do you worry a lot, somewhat, or only a little ? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Worry a lot	31%	29%	29%	38%	11%	15%
Somewhat	26	24	31	25	25	17
Only a little	17	14	19	15	24	20
Don't worry	25	32	18	22	38	48
No opinion, no answer	1	1	3	—	2	—
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT FEAR OF WAR DOES NOT SEEM TO LOWER MORALE . . .

It has been noted in earlier sections of this study that fear of war does not necessarily lower willingness to join a common European Army. What does seem to occur is that extreme views on the subject in many cases appear to lower readiness for defense—the very fearful because they fear; those who don't worry about war because they see no necessity for defense. But in the case of many of those in the middle who worry somewhat or only a little, reasonable anxiety has produced valuable results—a sense of apprehension and moderate alarm, but one mixed with hope.

04488

FEW EUROPEANS BELIEVE RUSSIA CAN BE STOPPED . . .

West Europeans may believe the United States can eventually defeat Russia in case of war, but few believe that even America and Western Europe combined can prevent Russia from occupying their countries. A fourth of the continental nations believe Russia can be stopped; about twice as many believe Russia is unstoppable in the short run. Only in Great Britain, with the Channel and her past experience, is optimism high.

"Suppose this country got into a war with Russia within the next twelve months. Do you think West Europe and America would be able to stop Russia from occupying (name of country), or wouldn't they be able to?"

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Could stop Russia	24%	26%	22%	25%	20%	57%
Couldn't stop Russia	43	50	45	31	54	13
No opinion, no answer	33	24	33	44	26	30
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

FEARFULNESS WIDESPREAD IN WESTERN EUROPE . . .

Except in the Netherlands, an attitude of fearfulness is dominant in the continental nations of Western Europe. And it is in the light of this apprehension that other attitudes must be considered.

By cross-analyzing the results in the two previous questions, we get a realistic picture of Western European attitudes toward war. Note the great variations by nation: in West Germany, France, and Italy, the predominant mood is that of fearfulness—people worry a lot or somewhat about war breaking out and are doubtful whether Russi could be stopped. The Netherlands are apt to be fatalistic—they don't think Russia could be stopped, but they don't worry much and this is typical of the consistent high morale found among the people of that nation, in this and other surveys. Great Britain still has a measure of security—there the mood is lack of worry plus a feeling Russia can be stopped.

WEST EUROPEAN ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR AND ABILITY TO RESIST

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
FEARFUL: worry a lot or somewhat, and doubtful whether Russia can be stopped or certain she can't be stopped	43%	39%	47%	47%	28%	15%
WORRIED: worry a lot or somewhat, but believe Russia can be stopped	14	14	12	16	9	17
FATALISTIC: worry little or not at all, though certain Russia can't be stopped	18	22	18	12	36	8
SECURE: worry little or not at all, and believe Russia can be stopped	11	12	10	10	11	40
UNWORRIED AND IGNORANT: worry little or not at all, and don't know whether or not Russia can be stopped	14	13	13	15	16	20
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

But fears and anxieties are only the background of morale. How do West Europeans stand on other components—willingness to line up with the West, willingness to rearm?

MOST WEST EUROPEANS BELIEVE THEY ARE INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT . . .

Verbally, at least, most of the people in Western Europe concede that they are involved in the conflict between East and West. No more than a fourth anywhere are convinced that it is a case of merely a national struggle between Russia and America. (And in view of earlier findings on Communist strength, it is safe to assume that almost none feel involved on the side of Russia.) Thus, there is psychological basis for commitment to common defense.

04489

" What do you think about the conflict between East and West—is it a conflict only between Russia and America, or is it our affair, too ? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Only between Russia and America	18%	16%	25%	18%	17%	27%
Our affair too	66	74	56	61	75	59
No opinion, no answer	16	10	19	21	8	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT SOME NEVERTHELESS HESITATE IN TAKING SIDES . . .

Psychological acceptance of involvement is not the same thing as taking sides. When people are asked specifically whether or not they would like to see their countries lined up with one or another of the two combatants, support for involvement drops from 10 to 20 percentage points, except in the Netherlands and Great Britain, where it is stable. In France and Italy, support for taking the side of the West falls below a majority.

" Do you personally think that (name of country) should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East, or not be on either side ? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
West	49%	58%	42%	40%	72%	57%
East	2	—	4	3	1	—
Neither side	37	31	43	42	18	28
No opinion, no answer	12	11	11	15	9	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

ONLY NETHERLANDS AND GREAT BRITAIN STABLE IN SUPPORT OF WESTERN ORIENTATION . . .

The figures below and Chart VII following show the variations between psychological acceptance of involvement in the struggle and actual support of commitment to the West. They indicate that in West Germany, Italy and to a lesser degree France, the gap is quite wide. However, these figures to some degree can give rise to optimism. They imply that actual support for commitment to the West may well be augmented by means of intensive action aimed at those who may well be psychologically on the verge of swinging over. Any success here would give support for joining the West a majority strength.

PSYCHOLOGICAL INVOLVEMENT IN EAST-WEST STRUGGLE AND WILLINGNESS TO TAKE SIDES

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Believe conflict is " our affair "	66%	74%	56%	61%	75%	99%
Should take sides*	51	58	46	43	73	97
Drop from psychological involvement to actual commitment	15%	16%	10%	18%	2%	2%

OPPOSITION TO PRO-WESTERN COMMITMENT LESS STRONG THAN IT APPEARS . . .

In a preceding question it was seen that half of the CSC respondents were either opposed to having their countries line up with the West, or were undecided. Opposition was almost as strong as approval. However, this is not the whole story. Do respondents also believe their nations are already involved on the side of the West? A majority of respondents believe that their respective countries have already taken the side of the West; but a substantial minority is not sure; and this minority is particularly strong among those who do not favor taking the side of the West.

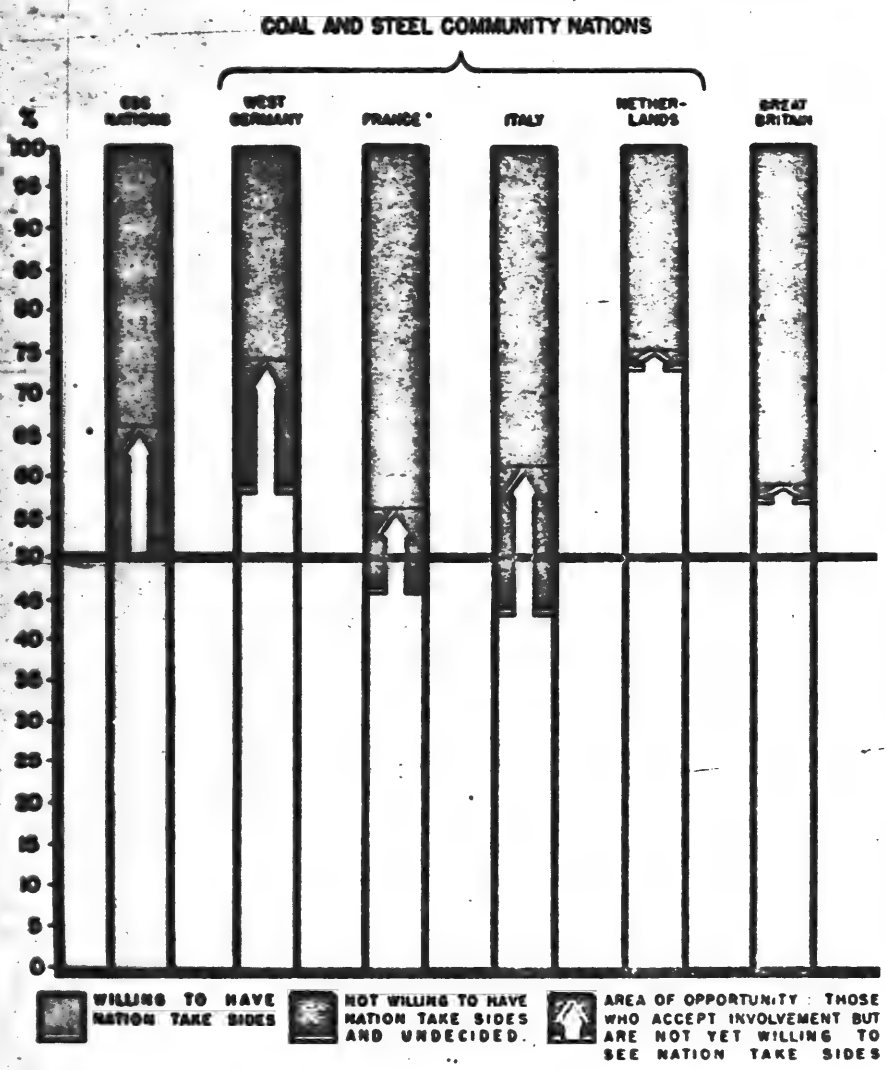
When we combine results on the two questions, it appears that existing, strong opposition to commitment (as differentiated from theoretical dislike of the idea) is rather small. Only about a fourth both oppose taking sides and believe that their countries have already taken sides, as the table following shows.

* In France this included 4 per cent, in Italy 3 per cent and in the Netherlands 1 per cent who wanted to join the side of the East.

04490

CHART XII

PSYCHOLOGICAL ACCEPTANCE OF INVOLVEMENT IN EAST-WEST CONFLICT AND WILLINGNESS TO SEE NATION TAKE SIDES



(* IN FRANCE THE "AREA OF OPPORTUNITY" MAY BY EVEN GREATER. SEE FOOTNOTE ON PRECEEDING PAGE.)

OPPOSITION TO PRO-WESTERN COMMITMENT AND BELIEF THAT NATION IS COMMITED

" Do you personally think that (name of country) has already taken the side of the West, or haven't we taken sides ? "

" Do you personally think that (name of country) should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East, or not be on either side ? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Believe nation should be on side of West	49%	58%	42%	40%	72%	57%
Undecided	12	11	10	15	9	15
Opposed to taking sides, but not convinced nation has already taken sides	14	13	18	14	4	16
Opposed to taking sides, and believe nation has taken side of West already	23	18	26	28	14	12
Favor taking side of East	2	*	4	3	1	*
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

But there are two sides to this coin. If on the one hand, it is seen that existing strong opposition is lower than might appear, on the other hand, there remains a sizeable group that might increase its opposition if it became convinced that the nation is firmly committed.

SUPPORT FOR REARMAMENT ABOUT EQUAL TO SUPPORT FOR JOINING WEST . . .

For the CSC nations as a whole support for rearmament equals support for joining the West. However, in France and Italy, more people support rearmament than support pro Western orientations.

04491

*"Do you favor (name of country) building up its military forces at this time, or are you against it?"**

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Favor	48%	45%	46%	51%	70%	79%
Against	32	41	33	23	20	11
No opinion, no answer	20	14	21	26	10	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

BUT THAT SUPPORT IS CONDITIONAL ON THE LIVING-STANDARD . . .

Support for rearmament drops still lower when respondents are given the choice between guns and butter. In West Germany, France, and Italy, only a fifth choose rearmament over living-standard. And even in the Netherlands and Great Britain support for rearmament drops to less than a majority.

"If both cannot be done at the same time, what do you think is more important to do now in (name of country)—rearm according to plans, or to improve the standard of living?"

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Rearm	20%	18%	21%	19%	37%	46%
Improve living standard	61	71	60	53	49	39
No opinion, no answer	19	11	19	28	14	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

HOWEVER, THE PICTURE IS LESS BLACK THAN IT APPEARS AT FIRST SIGHT . . .

It is true that most West Europeans (not unlike most Americans) favor butter over guns. But there is an important complication: a good deal less than a majority are convinced that rearmament inevitably means a lower standard of living. This is particularly so in West Germany and Italy—in the former nation, indeed, more people think that rearmament will raise the standard of living than think it will lower it.**

---

* Since West Germany had no military forces at the time of the survey, the word "its" was omitted from the West German questionnaire.

** It may be that the main reason for this belief in West Germany is past experience under the Third Reich, when a large rearmament program marked the end of mass unemployment.

" Do you think that carrying out the present rearmament program in (name of country) will make your standard of living go up, go down, or won't it make any difference ? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Go up	18%	31%	10%	13%	20%	10%
Go down	36	22	54	31	47	56
No difference	30	36	23	30	23	23
No opinion, no answer	16	11	13	26	10	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

ACTUAL ECONOMIC OPPOSITION TO REARMAMENT QUITE LOW . . .

When the results on two preceding questions are combined it can be seen that pure economic opposition to rearmament is quite low, and except in France, represents a fourth or less of the population.

ATTITUDES ON REARMAMENT VERSUS STANDARD OF LIVING . . .

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Pick rearmament over improved standard of living	21%	19%	21%	19%	37%	46%
Don't know whether rearmament or improved standard of living more important	19	11	19	28	15	15
Pick improved standard of living; but not convinced rearmament will make standard of living go down	34	52	21	30	20	19
STRONG OPPOSITION: Pick improved standard of living and believe rearmament will make standard of living go down	26	18	39	23	28	20
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

THIS COMBINATION OF ATTITUDES A KEY TO NEUTRALISM . . .

These strong opponents of rearmament are not only important in themselves but represent one of the cores of Neutralism, particularly in West Germany, France and Italy. But it is in France, where the group amounts to nearly four-out-of-ten of the population, that the correlation of attitudes is most important. The table opposite shows the variations, and suggests that one of the major propaganda weapons against Neutralism is the theme that rearmament can and must be carried out on the basis of an expanding and integrated European economy, and therefore will not result in a decline in living standards. Such a campaign is not simple, but it is at least simpler than trying to convince people that guns are preferable to butter.

"Do you personally think that (name of country) should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East or not be on either side?"

	A Pick rearmament over improved standard of living						B Don't know whether rearmament or improved standard of living more important						C Pick improved standard of living, but not convinced rearmament will make standard of living go down						D STRONG OPPOSITION: pick improved standard of living, and believe rearmament will make standard of living go down					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
West	82	90	77	75	92	72	42	43	49	36	59	44	49	57	36	38	67	43	27	38	22	18	55	46
East	•	—	—	1	—	•	•	—	—	—	•	•	•	•	2	1	1	—	7	•	9	11	1	1
Neither	15	7	19	22	6	20	27	17	26	33	11	22	40	34	51	47	21	38	58	56	60	63	36	39
No opinion, no answer	5	3	4	2	2	8	31	40	25	31	30	34	11	9	11	14	11	19	8	6	9	8	8	14
	100%																							

• Less than half of one per cent.

04493

FRENCH SOCIALISTS A KEY GROUP . . .

Communist sympathizers everywhere are apt to fall into this group which considers improved standard of living more important than rearmament and at the same time believes re-armament causes the living standard to suffer (See Appendix N.)

In France, an additional group, the Socialists, hold this view. The results indicate that special attention should be given the French Socialists, along the lines mentioned earlier—not to argue to them that guns are preferable to butter, but to convince them that the two are not necessarily antithetical.

OUT-AND-OUT NEUTRALISTS MATCHED BY THOSE FAVORING COMMITMENT TO WEST AND RE-ARMAMENT . . .

Key questions in those cited to date have been combined so as to give a rough scale ranging from Neutralist-Pacifist all the way to those who favor pro-Western commitment and rearmament even at the expense of the standard of living.

The results indicate that Neutralist-Pacifists (amounting to about a third) are matched by those favoring pro-Western commitment and rearmament. However, less than half of the latter favor unqualified rearmament, i.e. even at the expense of living-standards. In the middle are Neutralists who favor rearmament, evenly balanced by those who favor pro-Western orientation but do not favor rearmament. Only infinitesimal minorities actually favor joining Russia.

NEUTRALISM* AND ANTI-REARMAMENT HAS STRONG APPEAL . . .

Out and out pacifistic Neutralism appeals to more than a third of the population in West Germany, France and Italy. Only in the Netherlands and Great Britain does it lack appeal. Nevertheless, some sort of joint action is favored by a majority of West Europeans, and a sizeable group (particularly in Great Britain) favors a sort of armed neutrality. The table following, based on a combination of these questions, reveals much about the general morale of West Europe.

---

* The term "Neutralism" as used here and subsequently is derived from and defined by the questions listed below. It will not therefore necessarily coincide with definitions used by various more or less organized groups in Western Europe.

" Do you personally think that (name of country) should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East, or not be on either side ? "

" Do you favor (name of country) building up its military forces at this time, or are you against it ? "

" If both cannot be done at the same time, what do you think is more important to do now in (name of country)—rearm according to plans, or to improve the standard of living ? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
(NEUTRALIST-PACIFIST)						
Neutralists not for re-armament	36%	34%	40%	38%	17%	13%
(ARMED NEUTRALISTS)						
Neutralists for rearm-ament	13	8	14	19	10	30
(PRO-WESTERN-PACIFISTS)						
For joining West, not for rearmament	14	21	10	8	13	7
(PRO-WESTERN, PRO-REARMAMENT)						
For joining West, for qualified rearmament	19	22	16	18	26	18
For joining West and for unqualified re-armament	16	15	16	14	33	32
For joining East	2	*	4	3	1	*
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*. Less than half one per cent.

OUT-AND-OUT NEUTRALISTS SINGLE STRONGEST GROUP . . .

The consistent neutralists (the Neutralist-Pacifists) represent the single strongest group except in the Netherlands and Great Britain. It is clear that joining Russia has little or no appeal and can be disregarded as a mass phenomenon, however important it may be from the standpoint of internal security. From a tenth to a third favor a sort of Armed Neutrality. This group is particularly strong in Great Britain. It appears to represent a European version of the " America First " school of thought.

04494

About a tenth, considerably more in West Germany, favor commitment to the side of the West but oppose rearmament. Here the problem is one of convincing this group that no relatively unarmed Western combination can exist except on Russian sufferance.

Finally, about a third in West Germany, France and Italy, but a majority in the Netherlands and Great Britain favor commitment to the West and rearmament. But even here there is conflict. The two groups divide on the rearmament issue: some want it at all costs; others want a little but not at the expense of the living standard. The findings here cast light on the recent NATO cutbacks.

PACIFIST NEUTRALISM STRONGEST AMONG WOMEN, LOWER SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS, POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE LEFT . . .

Women, the poorly educated and less well-to-do are among the leaders in Pacifist Neutralism. (See Appendix O.) Two occupational groups—small business men and farmers—are also a good deal more Neutral and Pacifist than average. (Interestingly enough, it is also these two groups in France and Italy that are most likely to favor joining the East.)

There is relatively little Pacifist Neutralism in the larger cities; it is particularly strong in the villages and small towns. The factor of age appears to make little difference one way or the other, as has been generally found throughout this study.

Irregular Catholics and the non-religious are more apt to be Pacifist Neutralists than other religious groups. (Among the non-religious, however, about a fifth in France and Italy would side with the East.) But even among other religious groups, Pacifist Neutralism appeals to a third.

As might be expected, the bulk of Communists and sympathizers profess Neutralism and Pacifism. In West Germany and France, these are joined by the predominance of Socialists. (In Italy, a combination of Neutralism plus rearmament is particularly strong among Monarchists and Neo-Fascists.)

Except in West Germany, geographical variations are small. In that country, Neutralism-Pacifism has particularly strong support in Hessen and Wuerttemberg-Baden and the Rhineland-Palatinate areas.

TRUST IN AMERICA AS AN ALLY APPEARS TO BE A MAJOR FACTOR IN GENERAL MORALE . . .

Strong trust in America as a military ally is one of the most important factors in making Western Europeans willing to join the West and to rearm. Lack of this

almost complete confidence, not even necessarily actual distrust, is closely associated with Pacifist Neutralism, as the first of the tables following shows.

Among Pacifist Neutralists, less than a third have a great deal of trust in America. Along the scale, the level of trust rises sharply, so that among those who favor pro-Western orientation and rearmament, about three fourths profess great trust in America.

Except among those who would like to join the East, there is little or no actual distrust of America. Among the Neutralists, whether pacifist or not, the predominant attitude is one of partial trust mixed with suspicion, of doubt and indecision. Thus, any attempts to increase confidence in America's value as an ally among this key Neutralist group does not have to overcome deep-rooted hostility, and should have fairly good chances for success in swinging many of this group over to the West.

EVEN NEUTRALISTS BELIEVE THEIR NATIONS ARE COMMITTED TO THE WEST . . .

Among all shades of opinion and morale, the fact of commitment to the side of the West is accepted, though not necessarily with pleasure. Half of the Pacifist Neutralists believe that their nations are already lined up with the West. Among those who favor such commitment plus rearmament, nine tenths believe it is a fact, as the second of the following tables shows. Thus, to some degree even the Pacifist Neutralists may be ready to accept a fait accompli. For this reason it would seem tactically sound to avoid any controversy as to whether a nation should be committed to the West and to generally avoid the idea of commitment as a major issue meanwhile stressing the value and trustworthiness of the United States as an ally and hammering the theme that common defense not only can prevent a war being lost but can prevent it from breaking out.

044095

" Do you personally think that (name of country) should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East, or not be on either side ? "
" Do you favor (name of country) building up its military forces at this time, or are you against it ? "
" If both cannot be done at the same time, what do you think is more important to do now: to rearm according to plans or to improve the standard of living ? "

	Neutralists not for rearmament						Neutralists for rearmament					
	CSC	WG.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.	CSC	WG.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
In case of war, do you think we could trust the United States:												
A great deal as an ally	30	26	44	22	32	51	57	46	71	52	54	70
Only up to a point as an ally	25	31	29	17	23	20	25	31	19	27	24	22
Couldn't trust at all as an ally	12	12	9	12	19	6	5	8	3	6	6	2
No opinion, no answer	33	31	18	49	26	23	13	15	7	15	16	6
	100 %											
" Do you think the government of (name of country) has already taken the side of the West, or haven't we taken either side ? "												
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Taken side of West	49	47	51	51	64	35	59	52	57	64	57	34
Haven't taken either side	9	14	5	6	5	19	14	20	16	11	10	31
No opinion, no answer	42	39	44	43	31	46	27	28	27	25	33	35
	100 %											

MORALE

For joining West, not for rearmament						For joining West, for qualified rearmament						For joining West and unqualified rearmament						For joining East					
CSC	WG.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.	CSC	WG.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.	CSC	WG.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.	CSC	WG.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
60	50	84	61	63	82	79	70	89	82	79	90	79	88	91	89	87	94	6	50	7	4	11	71
23	31	9	17	14	13	16	24	10	11	14	7	8	10	8	8	12	5	14	—	16	10	22	29
6	7	2	3	8	—	2	2	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	*	1	57	50	56	61	67	—
11	12	5	19	15	5	3	4	1	5	6	2	3	2	1	3	1	—	23	—	21	25	—	—
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
78	77	80	74	85	75	87	85	81	92	90	77	91	89	89	92	95	83	85	100	88	80	89	57
6	8	5	2	3	8	5	10	1	3	3	13	4	8	1	5	2	9	9	—	5	14	11	29
16	15	15	24	12	17	8	5	18	5	7	10	5	3	10	3	3	8	6	—	7	6	—	14

04496

II. CRISIS MORALE

In a military unit, the ultimate test of morale is "will they fight." All other considerations are peripheral. To some degree, the same question applies to the present study. Thus, in this final section we will be occupied with "Crisis Morale"—the will to fight for one's country, in behalf of a neighbor, alongside of the United States.

MOST EUROPEANS SAY THEY FAVOR DEFENDING THEIR COUNTRY AGAINST RUSSIA IN CASE OF INVASION . . .

A majority of Western Europeans believe in resisting Russian invasion of their country. Nearly six out of ten in West Germany, France and Italy support resistance, two-thirds in the Netherlands, and nine out of every ten in Great Britain. At first appearance, the fact that not too many more than half in the CSC nations believe in fighting indicates low morale; nevertheless it should be remembered that few continental Europeans believe Russia can be stopped from occupying their countries. Thus a large portion of those who are willing to resist, do so with little hope. It would seem that a major objective of American action and propaganda would be to increase that hope, both to relieve the tensions of those who are willing to fight without it, and to win over others who need such hope in order to resist.

"In case Russia tried to invade (name of country), what do you think would be better for our country to do: to fight, or to do something else? (What else?)"

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Fight	58%	58%	55%	59%	64%	88%
Something else (what)	19	23	18	15	19	5
No opinion, no answer	23	19	27	26	17	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

NEUTRALISTS HAVE NO REAL PLANS . . .

About a fifth favor something other than resistance, but few have any real idea what that other course should be.* The largest group recommends neutrality, which is a meaningless contradiction of the question and represents wishful thinking rather than a definite plan. Others advocate negotiation, surrender on terms or unconditional surrender. Hardly any actually advocate welcoming, cooperating with or joining the invaders, though undoubtedly considerably more collaborators could be found if the event were to occur.

* The actual table is not cited because of its lack of specific answers.

ALMOST AS MANY WILL FIGHT ON SIDE OF AMERICA AS WILL DEFEND OWN COUNTRY . . .

Half of the people of the CSC Nations believe their country should fight on the side of America in case of war between America and Russia. Individual figures range from four out of ten in France and Italy to seven out of ten in the Netherlands. In Great Britain, nearly six out of ten favor joining with America. In France and Italy, neutralists outnumber those who favor joining America. Thus the drop in support of resistance tends to be localized in France and Italy. There apparently fairly large numbers are willing to defend their own countries, but hope to stay neutral in a war between Russia and the United States.

" And if it should come to a war between Russia and the U.S., do you think this country should take any side or not take a side? Which side? "

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Side with Russia	1%	—%	4%	4%	1%	—%
Side with U.S.	50	52	36	36	70	58
Not take side	37	37	45	48	20	32
No opinion, no answer	12	11	15	12	9	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

RELATIVELY FEW WILL FIGHT FOR A NEIGHBOR . . .

Any Russian attack toward the Atlantic must come, in great part at least, through West Germany. Thus willingness to aid West Germany in case of a Russian attack represents self-preservation at least in the second degree. In France, the Netherlands and Great Britain, the respondents are about as willing to come to the aid of West Germany as they are to come to the aid of America. But the average is pulled down by the fact that Italians are solidly opposed to the idea, and similarly, West Germans are opposed to coming to the aid of Italy.

04497

" Now I'd like to find out what best describes your opinion about a few countries. (Hand card) In case of war, to what extent do you think we could trust West Germany as an ally? Please pick out one of these three sentences.

	A GREAT DEAL AS AN ALLY				ONLY UP TO A POINT AS AN ALLY				COULDN'T TRUST AT ALL AS AN ALLY				NO OPINION, NO ANSWER			
	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
" Suppose West Germany were attacked by Russia, do you think (name of country) should help fight together with other countries on the side of West Germany or should we keep out? "																
Help fight	75%	59%	80%	88%	62%	38%	77%	66%	24%	22%	47%	52%	22%	11%	44%	41%
Keep out	19	31	14	8	24	50	18	23	59	68	43	40	40	57	25	25
No opinion, no answer	6	10	6	4	14	12	5	11	17	10	10	8	38	32	31	34
	100%															

" Suppose West Germany were attacked by Russia, do you think (name of country) should help fight together with other countries on the side of West Germany, or should we keep out ? " •

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Help fight	35%	32%	40%	28%	65%	60%
Keep out	48	54	40	54	24	26
No opinion, no answer	17	14	20	18	11	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

WILLINGNESS TO DEFEND WEST GERMANY DEPENDS ON TRUST . . .

Willingness to come to the defense of West Germany depends on trust as much or more than it does on self-interest, as the table opposite shows. This is particularly the case in France. Except in Italy, very large majorities of those who have even a minimum of confidence in West Germany as a potential ally are willing to be trustworthy in their turn and come to West Germany's assistance. It does not appear to make much difference whether this trust is complete or limited. But among those who distrust West Germany there is reluctance to help oppose a Russian invasion. In the Netherlands and Great Britain, barely half express themselves in favor of support; in France, only one-fourth.

The results here underline earlier findings concerning the importance of rank and file French and German mutual distrust in blocking military cooperation. But the large amount of distrust found earlier in both nations, and its probable intensity, argue rather strongly that little can be done by direct means along the usual " good will " lines. It has been shown that liking, admiration and even respect for America are not strictly necessary in order to accept certain policies and ideas backed by America. So, too, in this case, the themes of common-sense and enlightened self-interest are likely to be more effective than attempts to create friendship.

ONE-THIRD OF CSC POPULATION IS COMPLETELY DEFEATIST . . .

A combination of the preceding three questions reveals that about one-third of the CSC population is completely defeatist. The largest amount of defeatism is in West Germany, France and Italy. In the last two nations, the explanation is rather simple: ordinary defeatists and pacifists have been augmented by Communists. But in West Germany this is not the case, since Communism there has little or no appeal.

• In the case of West German respondents an alternate question was used substituting Italy : " Suppose Italy were attacked by Russia, do you think West Germany should help fight together with other countries on the side of Italy with whatever forces we might have, or should we keep out ? "

04498

The complete defeatists are not quite matched by a group at the other end of the scale which is willing to defend its own country, the United States, and a neighbor (either West Germany or Italy.) In between are about a fifth who would defend their own countries and fight on the side of America but would not defend a neighbor; and about a tenth who would fight for their own countries or a neighbor but would not join the side of America. Nearly a fifth are isolationist and would only defend their own country. Only small minorities advocated actually joining Russia's side.

"If it should come to a war between Russia and U.S., do you think this country should take any side or not take a side? Which side?"
"Suppose West Germany were attacked by Russia, do you think (name of country) should help fight together with other countries on the side of West Germany, or should we keep out?" •
"In case Russia tried to invade (name of country), what do you think would be better for our country to do: to fight or to do something else?"

	CSC	West Germany	France	Italy	Nether-lands	Great Britain
Would defend own country, U.S. and neighbor	27%	27%	28%	21%	57%	45%
Would defend own country, and U.S., but not neighbor	16	25	8	15	13	13
Would defend own country, and neighbor, but not U.S.	8	5	12	7	7	15
Would defend own country only	16	14	14	22	6	18
Would not fight for own country, U.S. or neighbor	30	28	34	31	16	8
Would fight together with Russia	3	1	4	4	1	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

• In the case of West German respondents, an alternate question was used substituting Italy.

OUTBREAK OF WAR PROBABLY WOULD DECREASE NEUTRALISM AND PACIFISM ONLY SLIGHTLY . . .

It was noted earlier that somewhat more than a third of the CSC respondents could be classified as neutral and pacifist, while about the same number were pro-Western and favored rearmament. What happens to these groups in terms of Crisis Morale? Do they stick resolutely to their Pacifism and Neutralism or do they advocate resistance in time of war? At the same time, do those who favor taking the side of the West in peace stick to their beliefs in time of war? What actually will happen in case of war, of course, can never be known until the event. Nevertheless the shifts in opinion among the groups at least provide a strong indication, as shown in the following admittedly complicated table.

In the first place, both extremes display considerable consistency. Two-thirds of the Pacifist-Neutralists state that they would not favor fighting even for their own country in case of Russian attack; similarly, three-fourths of the pro-Western-unlimited-rearmament group say they favor fighting for their own countries, for America or for a neighbor. But there are also changes—gains and losses. A third of the Pacifist-Neutralists would fight at the least if their own nation were involved. Among those Neutralists who favor rearmament, presumably a nationalistic group, nearly all favor fighting—half of them, indeed, for more than their own country. An even greater shift in this direction occurs among those who favor pro-Western orientation but not rearmament. Thus, there is evidence that bold action in case of war will be accepted by many, perhaps the bulk of those who hesitate in time of peace.

But gains are balanced by losses. Among those who favor pro-Western orientation and modified rearmament, only half indicate willingness to help defend their countries, America and their neighbors, though few revert to pacifism. Similarly even those who favor pro-Western orientation and unqualified rearmament are by no means solid. Among these groups, the weak point appears to be unwillingness to fight for a neighbor (West Germany). The bulk of the defectors fall into this class. Thus, if potential gains among Neutralists are not to be overbalanced by defections among those with high peacetime morale, particular care must be taken to stress the inter-dependence of Western Europe, and the importance of all its nations, whether trusted, popular or not, to the common defense.

GROUPS LOW IN CRISIS MORALE SIMILAR TO THOSE LOW IN GENERAL MORALE . . .

The groups in the population which particularly favor pacifistic Neutralism in peacetime also are most likely to favor non-resistance in case of war. (See Appendix P.) Women, the poorly educated, the poor, small business men, farmers, inhabitants of villages and small towns—these are the non-resisters.

04499

Politically, also, the trend is the same: the parties of the Left are least ready to fight. But it is here that a gain is made, particularly among Socialists.

Many Socialists who favor Pacifism and Neutralism in time of peace will fight Russian invasion. It is probable that much of this pacifistic Neutralism is doctrinaire or based on the hope that such a policy will prevent war. When war comes, the hypothesis is then disproved. The indication here is that the theme that common defense can prevent war better than neutrality or pacifism may be effective to some extent among European Socialists.

CONFIDENCE IN AMERICA KEY TO CRISIS MORALE . . .

Even more than is the case with general, peacetime morale, strong confidence in America is the key to crisis morale. As the following table shows, among those who favor fighting any Russian aggression, nearly all have a great deal of confidence in America. Only among those who would not even defend their own countries does less than a majority trust the United States. Only in the case of actual pro-Russian respondents is America actively distrusted. The findings here underline earlier comments concerning the importance of confidence in America as an ally.

04500

	Neutralists not for rearmament						Neutralists for rearmament					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
CRISIS MORALE												
Would defend own country, US, and neighbor	3	4	2	2	4	9	13	17	16	7	22	24
Would defend own country, and US but not neighbor	6	10	3	5	11	5	14	17	13	14	19	16
Would defend own country and neighbor but not US	6	4	8	4	10	15	17	7	27	15	15	21
Would defend own country only	19	18	19	22	14	40	33	33	25	40	15	30
Would not fight for own country, US or neighbor	64	64	67	63	60	31	23	26	19	24	28	9
Would fight together with Russia	2	*	1	4	1	—	*	—	—	*	1	*
	100%											

"And if it should come to a war between Russia and the U.S., do you think this country should take any side or not take a side? Which side?"
"Suppose West Germany (in West Germany: "Italy") were attacked by Russia, do you think (name of country) should help fight together with other countries on the side of West Germany or should we keep out?"
"In case Russia tried to invade (name of country), what do you think would be better for our country to do: to fight or to do something else? (If something else:) What else?"

	Would defend own country, US, and neighbor						Would defend own country, and US, but not neighbor					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
In case of war, do you think we could trust the **United States:**												
A great deal as an ally	85	81	92	84	83	95	67	59	87	70	75	80
Only up to a point as an ally	11	16	7	12	12	4	20	26	10	13	13	14
Couldn't trust at all as an ally	1	1	*	1	1	*	3	4	*	2	4	2
No opinion, no answer	3	2	1	3	4	1	10	11	3	15	8	4
	100%											

MORALE

For joining West, not for rearmament						For joining West, for qualified rearmament						For joining West and unqualified rearmament						For joining East					
CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
23	17	34	18	48	42	51	45	60	47	68	58	76	75	80	64	91	73	1	—	1	—	11	28
35	46	15	30	24	19	26	35	15	27	17	16	13	18	4	21	5	11	2	—	1	2	11	—
7	5	16	4	10	17	7	5	11	7	7	14	7	4	10	7	4	10	1	—	—	2	—	29
17	14	14	31	5	16	10	9	8	15	3	9	3	2	5	5	—	5	3	25	—	4	—	14
17	17	20	17	13	—	5	5	5	4	4	3	1	1	1	2	—	1	19	25	18	22	11	29
1	1	1	—	—	6	1	1	1	—	1	•	•	—	•	1	•	•	74	50	80	70	67	—

MORALE

Would defend own country and neighbor, but not US						Would defend own country only						Would not defend own country, US, or neighbor						Would fight with Russia					
CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
68	57	79	63	55	77	50	38	65	50	48	59	28	25	38	21	25	44	15	40	14	7	36	36
24	34	19	22	31	18	25	34	22	21	23	23	26	31	29	17	24	28	13	30	12	10	14	19
3	6	*	5	8	3	6	8	3	6	11	6	13	13	12	13	20	3	53	30	55	57	43	9
5	3	2	10	6	2	19	20	10	23	18	12	33	31	21	49	31	25	19	*	19	26	7	36

04501

APPENDICES

04502

APPENDIX A—SAMPLING

SAMPLING METHOD . . .

A " probability " mode of sampling was employed throughout in the present survey. That is to say the interviewers were allowed no freedom of choice in the selection of respondents but had to interview individuals who had been chosen beforehand in some random manner by the survey organization participating in the study. *

Probability sampling has the advantage over the so-called "quota" method—wherein the interviewers are free to make their own selection of respondents subject only to certain assigned quotas on age, sex and the like—of avoiding the danger of sample biases which may emanate from conscious or unconscious propensities on the part of interviewers to pick certain kinds of people more often than others—most particularly more literate appearing subjects who pose fewer difficulties in interviewing.

WEST GERMANY: Probability sampling is greatly facilitated in West Germany by the existence of comprehensive government-maintained registers which need only be sampled for every nth case to get an accurate miniature of the West German population. Up to four call-backs were employed before assigned persons were abandoned as uninterviewable within the time limits of the present survey. Since a carefully constructed 1,600 case sample design already existed for West Germany, this size of sample was utilized (1,592 cases obtained) instead of the 1,500 targeted for the other countries sampled. Since West Berlin represents such a distinct and different political entity in the West Germany of today (and is not part of the Schuman Plan), it was deemed desirable to exclude this area from the German sampling.

GREAT BRITAIN: Great Britain like West Germany has the advantage of having population listings available (electoral lists of all persons of voting age—21 years and over). So here as in Germany it was possible to base sampling on random selection of every nth person from the lists. As in West Germany also four call-backs were employed. The obtained sample includes 1,503 cases.

FRANCE: In France access to electoral lists was possible in some towns, in which instances nth names and addresses from such lists could be sampled. The French lists, it may be remarked, leave something to be desired for accuracy as 13 per cent

---

* Institut Francais d'Opinion Publique, Paris.
Instituto Per Le Ricerche Statistiche E L'Analisi Pell Opinione Pubblica, Milano.
Nederlands Instituut Voor De Publieke Opinie, Amsterdam.
The British Institute of Public Opinion, London.
DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m. b. H., Frankfort/Main.

04503

of the addresses proved to be wrong when interviewers tried to find respondents. Where sampling was not possible from lists, as was the case in Paris for example, randomization was performed on an area basis: on the basis of detailed maps, interviewers were instructed to obtain individuals from the xth house on the nth block; if necessary on the pth floor, etc. Three call-backs were employed in France.

The present study ran afoul of a special sampling difficulty in France in that interviewing fell into the traditional French holiday period. For this reason despite extra efforts, inability to contact designated respondents was considerably greater than elsewhere, and in the time period set somewhat fewer than the target 1,500 cases were obtained (1,380).

ITALY: Since no population listings are available in Italy, randomization was performed wholly on an area basis. Out of the Italian Institute's standard register of 400 sampling points, 202 were randomly chosen. In urban areas (including small towns) streets and then house numbers were designated at random. In rural areas houses and farms were numbered on the 1:25,000 maps of the Italian Military Institute, then dwelling units were picked at random. Selection of the respondents at the final stage was done by having the interviewers list on prepared sheets all members of the family according to age. Up to four call-backs were employed where necessary. The obtained sample embraces 1,505 cases.

NETHERLANDS: As in Italy, no population listings are available in the Netherlands so recourse must be made to area methods of randomization. Sampling points were chosen at random from a list of over 400 such points covering all parts of the country. At each sampling point random addresses on random streets were assigned. In the final stage of selection that person in the family was interviewed who would first have his or her next birthday. The experience of the Netherlands Institute suggests that such a method achieves randomization within households for all practical purposes and has a great advantage of simplicity. The obtained sample includes 1,513 cases.

SOME COMMENTS ON SAMPLING . . .

The sampling designs in the present study compare favorably with those in use for attitude and opinion research. In utilizing solely probability methods, they are all, as already indicated, less vulnerable to the upper status biases which plague quota sampling. To say that the present sampling is good, however, is not to imply that it cannot be improved. Some slight weaknesses are still present which future efforts can hope to improve. Slight bias possibilities exist, for example, in the method of picking dwelling units on an equal probability basis without reference to household size, and similarly in selecting the streets in which these dwelling units are located. Such objections are often more theoretical than practical, as some investigators have found disparities arising from this source to be negligible in actual

surveys when checking against census statistics. However, there is no reason to rest content with less than the most rigorous and efficient sample design that can be tailored to West European conditions.

However rigorously samples are designed there will always be the problem of " mortality "—selected individuals who fall out of the sample because of refusals or failure to reach despite three or four call-backs. These losses from the sample are, of course, potentially biasing to the extent that such people differ in their attitudes from those available for interviewing. However, one must be careful in evaluating the adequacy of a sample, not to criticize a sample for any problem that would exist even with a complete census. We are faced here with a kind of " non-response " that is also likely to be present in a complete census, and therefore can hardly be attributed to sampling deficiency.

WEIGHTING . . .

The returns for the Coal and Steel Community as a whole were obtained in the present study through a process of weighting. That is to say, each country's returns were allowed to contribute to the CSC figure in proportion to its share of the CSC population. Weighting factors for the overall returns on the CSC were derived from census figures as illustrated below. Weighting factors for population sub-groups tabulations in the CSC (sex, age, education, etc.) were approximated from the distributions of such characteristics indicated by the obtained sample proportions for each of the countries concerned.

	Adult population * (in millions) from census figures	Proportion of CSC ** Population	Weighting Factors
West Germany	34	34.2 %	.342
France	29	29.2	.292
Italy	30	30.2	.302
Netherlands	6.3	6.4	.0635
Total	99.3	100.0 %	1.00

* Adult population embraces individuals 21 years of age and over in France, Italy, Netherlands (and in Great Britain also). In West Germany, however, calculations were made on the normal 18 year and over RAS sample before operators were informed of desired 21 year old cutoff. However, in the interest of speed in getting out reports the 18 year base for West Germany was allowed to stand since with only 5 per cent of the West German sample under 21 years of age the overall West German figures were not likely to be affected in any important way, and any effect on CSC figures would verge on the infinitesimal.

** As already indicated Belgium and Luxembourg were omitted from the present approximation of CSC thinking. Since, however, they encompass together only about 6 per cent of the complete CSC area, their omission—even if attitudes in these areas are quite widely different from the regions surveyed—would not affect the approximate CSC figures given by more than the order of two or three per cent.

04504

COMPOSITION OF OBTAINED SAMPLES . . .

Details on the composition of the samples obtained in the various countries surveyed are tabulated on the following pages. Since the samples are samples and not complete enumerations, they can be expected to deviate somewhat, plus or minus, from census figures. It remains for further study to ascertain on the basis of whatever up-to-date census information is available if any deviations appear to exceed values which can be reasonably ascribed to chance variation.

Another difficulty that can only be diminished via successive approximation as more and more experience is gained in international surveying is comparability of background classification of individuals in various countries. As soon as one gets beyond the easily defined and universally meaningful classifications by sex and age troubles commence.

Some effort was made to utilize comparable criteria in such characteristics as educational level, socio-economic status, occupational status, etc., but there is no doubt there will have to be considerable development of international survey research on the West European scene before any precisely comparable classifications can be worked out. In advance of such future methodological refinements the background classification comparisons in the present study are focused on for direction and to a lesser degree extent of variation, rather than on comparative returns for different countries for particular classification levels.

A common political party classification for the various nations sampled was thought to be too hazardous even to attempt in this initial study, so party comparisons have been confined to a within-country basis, leaving to the individual reader's inclination any attempts at between-country comparisons. Regional breakdowns, of course, cannot be compared between countries, and are hence merely listed throughout the present reports—generally without comment since the focus of emphasis is on larger units, most particularly the Coal and Steel Community.

A NOTE ON SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES . . .

A sufficient number of persons have been interviewed in each of the five countries so that a high degree of accuracy will be reached, and so that comparisons of difference between countries will be statistically significant.

Ninety-five times out of a hundred where percentages for the total national sample are presented, the results will not vary more than three percentage points from the results which would have been obtained if every adult in the population had been interviewed; and in most cases the variation will be substantially less.

When differences between sub-groups within individual countries are referred to, the margin of error is somewhat larger depending on the size of the groups involved. Where such sub-samples drop to low levels (around 100 persons), differences should generally be taken as more suggestive than conclusive.

DATES OF INTERVIEWING . . .

Interviewing for the study began 1 September and was completed 20 September, 1952.

045US

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLES

	CSC No. of cases	%	W.G. No. of cases	%	Fr. No. of cases	%	It. No. of cases	%	N.L. No. of cases	%	G.B. No. of cases	%
Sex :												
Men	(3152)	53	(800)	51	(748)	55	(805)	53	(799)	53	(723)	48
Women	(2799)	47	(788)	49	(597)	45	(700)	47	(714)	47	(780)	52
Education:												
No school/elem. school	(3719)	65	(1217)	77	(719)	54	(965)	64	(818)	54	(1136)	75
Sec. school/trade school, etc.	(1300)	18	(211)	13	(275)	20	(282)	19	(532)	35	(209)	15
High school, university	(899)	16	(160)	10	(332)	25	(258)	17	(138)	9	(154)	10
No answer	(44)	1	(—)	—	(19)	1	(—)	—	(25)	2	(4)	—
Socio-Economic Status:												
Upper middle & well-to-do	(2014)	23	(224)	14	(547)	41	(207)	14	(477)	31	(327)	22
Lower middle & poor	(3851)	75	(1364)	86	(712)	53	(1298)	86	(1036)	69	(1176)	78
Not ascertained	(86)	2	(—)	—	(86)	6	(—)	—	(—)	—	(—)	—
Occupation: **												
Professionals & Exec.	(221)	3	(47)	3	(74)	5	(65)	4	(35)	2	(128)	9
Small business	(272)	5	(66)	4	(84)	6	(74)	5	(49)	3	(63)	4
White-collar workers	(877)	13	(204)	13	(212)	16	(152)	10	(309)	21	(207)	14
Independent artisans	(226)	4	(38)	2	(49)	4	(96)	6	(43)	3	(80)	5
Manual workers	(1083)	18	(420)	27	(212)	16	(167)	11	(284)	19	(735)	49
Farmers	(584)	11	(85)	5	(187)	14	(221)	15	(61)	4	(42)	3
Farmhands	(240)	4	(36)	2	(37)	3	(119)	8	(48)	3	(37)	2
Unemployed	(55)	1	(18)	1	(2)	•	(27)	2	(8)	—	(15)	1
Retired, pensioners	(555)	11	(220)	14	(189)	14	(79)	5	(67)	4	(173)	11
No answer	(99)	1	(—)	—	(16)	1	(27)	2	(56)	4	(23)	2
None	(1768)	29	(454)	29	(283)	21	(478)	32	(553)	37	(—)	—
City Size:												
Less than 2,000	(1070)	22	(461)	29	(484)	36	(88)	6	(37)	3	(23)	2
2,000— 5,000	(759)	14	(226)	14	(144)	11	(273)	18	(116)	8	(53)	3
5,001— 20,000	(1176)	18	(259)	16	(143)	11	(439)	29	(335)	22	(208)	14
20,001—100,000	(1254)	19	(229)	14	(212)	16	(384)	26	(429)	28	(600)	39
100,001—250,000	(478)	8	(138)	10	(82)	6	(91)	6	(167)	11	(327)	22
Over 250,000	(1214)	19	(275)	17	(280)	20	(230)	15	(429)	28	(292)	20
Age:												
21—29 years	(1330)	22	(294)	19	(257)	19	(400)	27	(379)	25	(207)	14
30—64 years	(3850)	64	(1052)	66	(834)	62	(961)	64	(1003)	66	(1086)	72
65 years and over	(623)	11	(158)	10	(190)	14	(144)	9	(131)	9	(210)	14
No answer	(148)	3	(84)	5	(64)	5	(—)	—	(—)	—	(—)	—
Religion: ***												
Catholics, regular	(1839)	33	(465)	29	(424)	32	(646)	43	(304)	20	(52)	3
Catholics, irregular	(1791)	35	(262)	16	(611)	45	(778)	52	(140)	9	(62)	4
Protestants, regular	(410)	4	(157)	10	(19)	1	(—)	—	(234)	16	(140)	9
Protestants, irregular	(1132)	17	(639)	40	(36)	3	(—)	—	(457)	30	(1079)	72
Others	(148)	3	(25)	2	(76)	6	(81)	5	(47)	3	(54)	4
None	(631)	6	(40)	3	(179)	13	(—)	—	(331)	22	(116)	8
Total	(3951)	100	(1588)	100	(1345)	100	(1505)	100	(1513)	100	(1503)	100

• Less than one half of one per cent.

** **Occupation:** In public opinion studies one has a choice of basing occupational classifications on that of the breadwinners in which case housewives are assumed to have the occupational characteristics of their providers—or on the occupation of the respondents themselves,—in which case non-occupational elements as housewives, students, and the like are factored out. On the assumption that the latter procedure is likely to result in less diluted comparisons, it was adhered to except in the case of Great Britain where it was not possible to do so because the ballot design unfortunately overlooked providing the requisite data. It must be understood throughout, therefore, that the British occupational breakdowns are not entirely equivalent to those of the CSC bloc.

*** **Religion:** Respondents who stated they usually go to church or Sunday school on Sunday morning were classified as regular, others as irregular.

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLES (CONT'D)

	No. of cases	Per cent
PARTY PREFERENCE		
West Germany: *		
Socialists	(394)	25 %
Christian Democrats	(388)	24
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	(81)	5
Other parties	(97)	7
No party preference stated	(629)	39
Total:	(1588)	100 %
France:		
Socialists	(186)	14 %
MRP (Catholic)	(149)	11
Radical Socialists ("Liberal")	(108)	8
Farmers and Independents	(125)	9
Gaullists	(92)	7
Communists	(113)	8
Other parties	(66)	5
No party preference stated	(508)	38
Total:	(1345)	100 %
Italy:		
Anti-Communists Socialists, Republicans	(176)	11 %
Christian Democrats	(439)	28
Liberals	(57)	4
Monarchists	(71)	5
Neo-Fascists	(72)	5
Pro-Communist Socialists	(88)	6
Communists	(151)	10
Other parties	(35)	2
No party preference stated	(437)	29
Total:	(1505)	100 %
Netherlands: *		
Labor (Socialists)	(447)	30 %
Catholic People's Party	(337)	22
Christian Historicals (Protestant/Liberal-Conservative)	(143)	9
Liberals	(106)	7
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist/Conservative)	(143)	9
Other parties	(84)	6
No party preference stated	(253)	17
Total:	(1513)	100 %
Great Britain: *		
Labour (Socialists)	(715)	47 %
Liberals	(142)	9
Conservatives	(486)	33
Other parties	(23)	2
No party preference stated	(137)	9
Total:	(1503)	100 %

* Communist party political preferences have not been separately tabulated in West Germany, the Netherlands and Great Britain because the number of cases were too few to offer reliable results.

04506

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLES (CONT'D)

	No. of cases	Per cent
REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:		
West Germany:		
Bavaria	(307)	19 %
Hesse	(146)	9
Wuerttemberg-Baden	(134)	8
North Rhine-Westphalia	(439)	28
Lower Saxony	(228)	15
Schleswig-Holstein	(87)	5
Baden	(40)	3
Rheinland-Palatinate	(97)	6
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	(41)	3
Bremen, Hamburg	(69)	4
Total:	(1588)	100 %
France: ●●		
Paris & surroundings	(307)	23 %
North East	(325)	24
North West	(236)	18
South West	(177)	13
South East	(299)	22
Not ascertained	(1)	*
Total:	(1345)	100 %
Italy: ◎		
North	(723)	48 %
Central	(271)	18
South and Islands	(511)	34
Total:	(1505)	100 %
Netherlands: ◎◎		
North	(168)	11
East	(236)	16
West	(861)	57
South	(248)	16
Total:	(1513)	100 %
Great Britain:		
South England (including London)	(479)	32 %
The Midlands	(394)	26
Wales	(116)	8
Northern England	(367)	24
Scotland	(147)	10
Total:	(1503)	100 %

* Less than one half of one per cent.

●● Regions denoted specifically embrace the following: Paris and surroundings: Seine, Seine-et-Oise, Seine-et-Marne. North East: Somme, Oise, Aisne, Marne, Aube, Yonne, Nievre, Saone-et-Loire, Jura, and all North and East of preceding. North West: Seine-Inferieure, Eure, Eure-et-Loire, Loiret, Cher, Loir-et-Cher, Indre-et-Loire, Maine-et-Loire, Loire-Inferieure, and all North and East of preceding. South West: Vendée, Deux-Sevres, Vienne, Indre, Creuse, Correze, Lot, Tarn-et-Garonne, Tarn, Haute-Garonne, Ariege, and all South and West of preceding. South East: remaining areas.

◎ North Italy: all Italy North of central areas indicated following. Central: Toscany, Marche, Umbria, Lazio. South and Islands: Sicily and Sardinia.

◎◎ North Netherlands: Groningen, Drente, Friesland. East: Overijsel, Gelderland. West: North Holland, South Holland, Utrecht, Zeeland. South: Noord Brabant, Limburg.

QUESTIONNAIRES

Certain open-end questions are not reported because of difficulties in coordination of various national coding categories which raise the problem of invalidity. To be on the safe side, these were omitted from the report. One of the objectives of the next international study undertaken will be to devote more attention to this very difficult problem.

QUESTIONNAIRES

The five questionnaires used in the respective countries are reproduced in the following pages.

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

INTRODUCTION: We are trying to find out what people think about a number of issues of the day. Of course, nobody knows all the answers, but I would like to have your opinion.

---

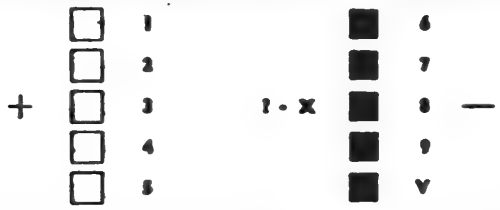
*1. What is the main problem facing this country at the present time?

---

2 a. As you may know, there has been much talk about forming a West European union made up only of countries in the Western part of Europe.
Are you in general for or against making efforts toward uniting West Europe?

For	1
Against	2
DK	3

2 b. We would like you to show just how much you are for or against this, by pointing to one of the squares on this card. (Hand card) The white squares mean "for" and the black squares mean "against". The higher you go on the white squares the more you are for it; the lower you go on the black squares, the more you are against it. Now will you point to the square which shows about how much you are for or against a West European Union.



---

3 a. This is one of many suggestions made for forming a West European union. (Show card A) Would you like to see Britain be a part of such a West European Government or would you be against it?

For	1
Against	2
DK	3

3 b. If FOR: In the interests of West Europe as a whole, such a government may occasionally have to make decisions that would sometimes be unfavourable to Britain and sometimes to other countries. In view of this, would you be for or against Britain taking part in such a West European Union?

For	4
Against	5
DK	6

---

4. What do you think would be the advantages for Britain under such a Western European Union?

---

5. And what would be the disadvantages for Britain under such a Western European Union?

---

* This question was merely inserted as a psychological "icebreaker" in order to gain rapport with respondents. Thus, the results are not presented in the text.

04508

6 a. Have you ever heard of the Schuman Plan?

Yes	1
No	2

6 b. **If YES:** Do you happen to know which industries the Schuman Plan covers?

If Other or DK: skip to Q. 7.

Coal and steel, iron (ore)	3
Heavy industries	4
Only coal	5
Only steel, iron (ore)	6
Other	7
Don't know	8

6 c. **ASK ALL OTHERS:** Are you in favour or against Britain taking part in the Schuman Plan?

For	1
Against	2
DK	3

6 d. Do you happen to know if West Germany is a member of the Schuman Plan, or not?

Yes, is a member	4
is not a member	5
Don't know	6

ASK ALL:

7 a. Here is a short summary of the Schuman Plan. (You may not have thought of some of these points.) **(Show Card B)** ** In view of this are you in favour or against Britain taking part in the Schuman Plan?

For	7
Against	8
DK	9

7 b. **If FOR or AGAINST:** Why are you for/against Britain being included?

_____

_____

8 a. Now here are some interesting questions about other countries. Has America done anything since the war that has made a favourable impression on you? What?

_____

_____

8 b. What else? _____

_____

_____

9 a. Has America done anything since the war that has made an unfavourable impression on you? What? _____

_____

_____

9 b. What else? _____

_____

_____

10. Would you say, on the whole, you've been favourably or unfavourably impressed by the things that America has done since the war?

Favourably	1
Unfavourably	2
Mixed	3
Don't know	4

11 a. What do you think America's aims are in world affairs? _____

_____

_____

11 b. And what else? _____

_____

_____

12 a. What is your opinion about America's influence in Britain? In general, is it too much, about the right amount or too little?

Too much	1
Right amount	2
Too little	3
DK	4

** Where SHOW CARD—read out if necessary

12 b. **If TOO MUCH or TOO LITTLE:** In what things does America exert (too much) (too little) influence in Britain? _____

12 c. Anything more that you can think of? _____

---

13 a. Now what about Russia. Has Russia done anything since the war that has made a favourable impression on you? What? _____

13 b. What else _____

---

14 a. Has Russia done anything since the war that has made an unfavourable impression on you? What? _____

14 b. What else? _____

---

15. Would you say on the whole you've been favourably or unfavourably impressed by the things that Russia has done since the war?

Favourably	1
Unfavourably	2
Mixed	3
Don't know	4

---

16 a. And what do you think Russia's aims are in world affairs? _____

16 b. What else? _____

---

17. Are you personally worried about the possibility of a war breaking out or not? Do you worry much, somewhat, or only a little about it?

Worry much	1
Somewhat	2
Only a little	3
Don't worry	4

---

18. What do you think about the quarrel between East and West —is it a quarrel only between Russia and America, or is it our affair too?

Only between Russia and America	5
Our affair too	6
Don't know	7

---

19. Do you think the British Government has already taken the side of the West, or haven't we taken either side?

Taken side of West	8
Haven't taken either side	9
Don't know	X

---

20. Do you personally think that Britain should be on the side of the West at the present time, on the side of the East, or not be on either side?

West	1
East	2
Neither side	3
Don't know	4

04509

21. And if it should come to a war between Russia and the U.S., do you think Britain should take sides, or should we stay out? If take sides: Which?

Side with Russia	5
Side with U.S.	6
Stay out	7
Don't know	8

22. In the present quarrel between Russia and the U.S. which country do you think is more to blame—Russia or the United States?

Russia	9
United States	0
Both	X
Don't know	Y

23 a. Are you in favour of Britain building up our military forces at this time, or are you against it?

Favour	1
Against	2
Don't know	3

23 b. IF IN FAVOUR: Do you think Britain at the present time is doing too much, too little, or the right amount about building up our military forces?

Too much	4
Too little	5
Right amount	6
Don't know	7

24. Now I'd like to find out what best describes your opinion about a few countries. (Hand card C) In case of war, to what extent do you think we could trust Belgium as an ally? Please pick out one of these sentences!

	Great deal	Up to a point	Not at all	DK
Belgium	1	1	1	1
And how about:				
	Ask about each country separately			
France	3	3	3	3
West Germany	4	4	4	4
Italy	5	5	5	5
Holland	6	6	6	6
Luxembourg	7	7	7	7
Yugoslavia	8	8	8	8
United States	9	9	9	9
Spain	X	X	X	X

25 a. Do you have the impression that West Europe is rearming faster than planned, slower, or about as planned?

Faster	1
Slower	2
About as planned	3
Don't know	4

25 b. IF SLOWER: What do you think is the reason that West Europe is rearming more slowly than planned? _____

26. Have you heard about any plans for the formation of a common West European army?

Yes	1
No	2

27. Are you for or against Britain taking part in a common West European army?

For	3
Against	4
Don't know	5

28. What do you think is the best way to strengthen Western European defence: for each country to build up its own army, or to form a common West European army?

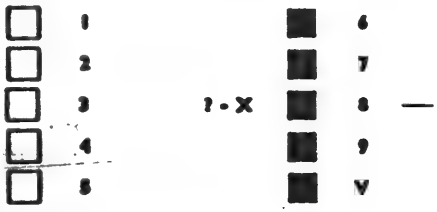
Own army	6
West European army	7
Both	8
Don't know	9

29. Do you happen to know whether or not it is planned to have West Germany in the West European army?	Yes, in Not in DK	1 2 3
30. And is it planned to have England in the West European army or not?	Yes No DK	4 5 6
31 a. Here is a short description of a West European Army. (Hand card D.) Soldiers from all these countries will wear the same uniform and will serve in their own national divisions under an international Supreme Command. Would you be for or against having Britain take part in such an army?	For Against, partly or wholly Don't know	7 8 9
31 b. If FOR or AGAINST: Why are you for/against Britain taking part?		
*32 a. On the whole, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with what America is doing about the rearmament of Western Europe?	Satisfied Dissatisfied Neither Don't know	1 2 3 4
32 b. If SATISFIED or DISSATISFIED: Why are you satisfied/dissatisfied?		
*33 a. What do you think America would do if she were dissatisfied with Western Europe's defence efforts; decrease military aid to Europe, increase aid, or keep it as it is?	Decrease Increase Keep same Don't know	1 2 3 4
33 b. If DECREASE, INCREASE or KEEP SAME: Why do you think America would decrease/increase/keep the same its military aid?		
34. Do you think carrying out the present rearmament programme in Britain will make your standard of living go up, go down, or won't it make any difference?	Go up Go down No difference Don't know	1 2 3 4
35. If both cannot be done at the same time, what do you think is more important to donow in Britain—to rearm according to plan, or to improve the standard of living?	Rearm Improve living Don't know	5 6 7
36. Suppose West Germany were attacked by Russia, do you think Britain should help fight together with other countries on the side of West Germany or should we keep out?	Help fight Keep out Don't know	8 9 X
37. Suppose this country got into a war with Russia within the next twelve months, do you think West Europe and America would be able to stop Russia from occupying Britain, or wouldn't they be able to?	Could stop them Couldn't stop them Don't know	1 2 3
38. In case Russia tried to invade Britain, what do you think would be better for our country to do: to fight, or to do something else? If something else, what else? Do something else (write in).	Fight Don't know	1 3

* Results on this question will be presented in a separate paper.

04510

39. Will you indicate how you feel about Communism by once more pointing to one of the ten squares on this card? (Show card.)



40. If Britain were at war with Russia, what do you think most British Communists would do: try to help Russia or help defend our country?

Russia	1
Our country	2
Help neither side	3
Don't know	4

Men	1
Women	2

21—29	1
30—44	2
45—64	3
65 & over	4

	1
	2
Per Office	3
Use Only	4
	5
	6

Occupation. (If not employed occupation of chief wage earner.) *

Income: (CWE if not working.)

A. Under £3/10 a.	1
B. £3/10s—under £5	2
C. £5—under £8	3
D. £8—under £12	4
E. £12—under £15	5
F. £15—under £20	6
G. £20 and over	7

Farmer	1
Farmworker	2
Professional; director; high executive; manager; high civil service	3
Shopkeeper, only those who buy and sell goods instead of service	4
Manual worker—self-employed, artisans, etc.	5
Manual worker—not self-employed, skilled, semi-skilled, and non-skilled labourer	6
White-collar workers including minor civil servant, policemen	7
Unemployed, seeking work	8
Retired, pension, etc.	9

Church membership:	
Catholic	1
Protestant	2
Non-Conformist	3
Scot. Church	4
Other	5
None	6

School:	
Elementary school (left school under 15)	1
Secondary school, comm./tech. school (left at 15)	2
Other (left over 15)	3
University	4

How do you usually spend your Sunday morning?

Trade Union Membership of Respondent (which union?)

Member	1
Non-member	2

Socio-economic status

Av plus 1 Av- 3
Av 2 Group D4

Which political party do you think is best for people like yourself?

Conservative	1
Labour	2
Liberal	3
Other	4
Don't know	5

* Chief Wage Earner—member of family making main contribution to family upkeep.

				If unsuccessful: Why?	Arrangements made.
FIRST CALL:	Date ____	Successful	1		
	Time: ____	Unsuccessful	2		
SECOND CALL:	Date ____	Successful	1		
	Time: ____	Unsuccessful	2		
THIRD CALL:	Date ____	Successful	1		
	Time: ____	Unsuccessful	2		
FOURTH CALL:	Date ____	Successful	1		
	Time: ____	Unsuccessful	2		

Name and address of contact:

I certify that this is a true and honest interview.

Rep. No. _____

Interviewer's Signature: _____

Ce questionnaire est ANONYME

Numéro de l'enquêteur

Nous essayons de savoir ce que pensent les Français de quelques-uns des problèmes qui se posent à l'heure actuelle. C'est pourquoi j'aimerais bien avoir votre opinion personnelle.

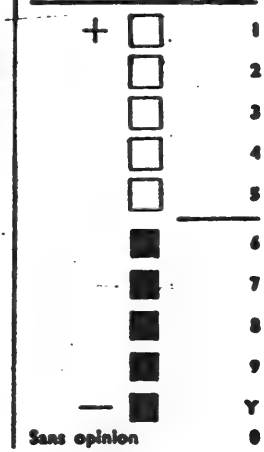
1. A votre avis, quel est, pour la France, le problème le plus important, à l'heure actuelle?

Comme vous en avez sans doute entendu parler, il est souvent question de la formation d'une Union de l'Europe occidentale, qui comprendrait seulement les pays de l'ouest de l'Europe.

2 a. D'une manière générale, êtes-vous pour ou contre ces efforts vers une unification de l'Europe occidentale?

Pour	1
Contre	2
?	3

2 b. J'aimerais que vous m'indiquiez, à l'aide de ceci, à quel point vous êtes pour ou contre. (L'enquêteur montre la carte A.) Les carrés blancs signifient POUR et les carrés noirs signifient CONTRE. Plus vous allez haut, du côté des carrés blancs, plus vous êtes POUR; plus vous allez bas du côté des carrés noirs, plus vous êtes CONTRE. Maintenant, pourriez-vous me désigner le carré qui indique le mieux à quel point vous êtes pour ou contre l'union de l'Europe occidentale.



Voici l'un des nombreux projets qui ont été faits pour la constitution d'une Europe occidentale. (L'enquêteur montre la carte B) : Tous les pays de l'Europe de l'ouest s'uniraient pour former un gouvernement commun qui décide de toutes les questions concernant l'ensemble de l'Europe de l'ouest. Cependant chaque pays conserve le droit de décider des choses qui le concernent lui seulement.

3 a. Aimeriez-vous que la France participe à un tel gouvernement de l'Europe occidentale ou seriez-vous contre?

Pour	1
Contre	2
?	3

3 b. (Si POUR à la question 3 a). Dans l'intérêt de l'Europe occidentale dans son ensemble, il peut se faire qu'un tel gouvernement soit amené, à l'occasion, à prendre des décisions quelquefois défavorables à la France, et quelquefois défavorables à d'autres pays. Compte tenu de cela, seriez-vous pour ou contre la participation de la France à un tel gouvernement?

Pour	4
Contre	5
?	6
Question non posée	0

4 a. Quels seraient, à votre avis, pour la France, les avantages d'un tel gouvernement?

4 b. Et quels seraient les inconvénients, pour la France, d'un tel gouvernement?

---

5 a. Avez-vous déjà entendu parler du Plan Schuman?

Oui	1
Non	2

5 b. Savez-vous quelles industries concerne le Plan Schuman?

Charbon, acier, fer	3
Industries lourdes	4
Charbon (seulement)	5
Acier, fer (seulement)	6
Autres réponses	7
?	8

5 c. Etes-vous pour ou contre la participation de la France au Plan Schuman?

Pour	1
Contre	2
?	3

5 d. Savez-vous si l'Allemagne de l'ouest fait partie ou ne fait pas partie du Plan Schuman?

Fait partie	4
Ne fait pas partie	5
?	6

Voici un résumé sommaire du Plan Schuman. (L'enquêteur montre la carte C.) Il se peut que certains détails vous soient passés inaperçus : le Plan Schuman prévoit une mise en commun des industries du charbon et de l'acier de la France, de l'Allemagne de l'ouest, de l'Italie, de la Hollande, de la Belgique et du Luxembourg; les industries de ces six pays sont contrôlées par un organisme international constitué de représentants de ces différents pays.

6 a. Compte tenu de cela, êtes-vous pour ou contre la participation de la France au Plan Schuman?

Pour	1
Contre	2
?	3

6 b. Pour quelles raisons?

Maintenant, j'aimerais avoir votre avis sur quelques questions intéressantes, concernant d'autres pays.

7 a. Est-ce que depuis la guerre, les États-Unis ont fait quelque chose qui vous a impressionné favorablement?

Si oui, quoi?

Et quoi encore?

04512

7 b. Et depuis la guerre, est-ce que les États-Unis ont fait quelque chose qui vous a impressionné défavorablement? Si oui, quoi? _____

Et quoi encore? _____

7 c. En tenant compte de tout ce que les États-Unis ont fait depuis la guerre, est-ce que vous avez, dans l'ensemble, une opinion plutôt favorable ou plutôt défavorable?

Plutôt favorable	1
Plutôt défavorable	2
Mitigée	3
?	4

7 d. A votre avis, quels sont les buts que poursuivent les États-Unis sur le plan des affaires mondiales? _____

Et quoi encore? _____

8 a. Que pensez-vous de l'influence des États-Unis en France. Est-ce que, d'une manière générale, les États-Unis ont une trop grande influence, une trop faible influence ou juste ce qu'il faut? ____

Trop grande	1
Juste ce qu'il faut	2
Trop faible	3
?	4

8 b. (SI TROP GRANDE ou TROP FAIBLE). En quoi est-ce que les États-Unis exercent une trop grande (trop faible) influence; par exemple? _____

Pouvez-vous encore penser à un autre exemple? _____

9 a. Et l'U. R. S. S., est-ce que depuis la guerre elle a fait quelque chose qui vous a impressionné favorablement? Si oui, quoi? _____

Et quoi encore? _____

9 b. Et depuis la guerre, est-ce que l'U. R. S. S. a fait quelque chose qui vous a impressionné défavorablement? Si oui, quoi? _____

Et quoi encore? _____

9 c. En tenant compte de tout ce que l'U. R. S. S. a fait depuis la guerre, est-ce que vous avez, dans l'ensemble, une opinion plutôt favorable ou plutôt défavorable? _____

Plutôt favorable	1
Plutôt défavorable	2
Mitigée	3
?	4

9 d. A votre avis, quels sont les buts que poursuit l'U. R. S. S. sur le plan des affaires mondiales?

_____

Et quoi encore? _____

10. Est-ce que le danger d'une guerre mondiale vous inquiète personnellement beaucoup, assez, un peu, ou est-ce que vous n'êtes pas inquiet?

Beaucoup	1
Assez	2
Un peu	3
Pas inquiet	4
?	5

11. Que pensez-vous du conflit entre l'est et l'ouest : est-ce seulement un conflit entre les États-Unis et l'U. R. S. S. ou bien est-ce également notre affaire?

Seulement U. R. S. S.-U. S. A.	5
Aussi notre affaire	6
?	7

12 a. Pensez-vous que le gouvernement français a déjà pris le parti de l'ouest, ou n'a-t-il pas encore pris parti?

Déjà pris parti ouest	8
N'a pas pris parti	9
?	X

12 b. Pensez-vous personnellement que, actuellement, la France devrait être du côté de l'ouest, du côté de l'est, ou bien ni d'un côté ni de l'autre?

Ouest	1
Est	2
Ni l'un, ni l'autre	3
?	4

12 c. Et s'il y avait une guerre entre les États-Unis et l'U. R. S. S., est-ce que la France devrait prendre parti ou ne pas prendre parti? (SI PRENDRE PARTI). De quel côté?

Parti de l'U.R.S.S.	5
Parti des U. S. A.	6
Ne pas prendre parti	7
?	8

13. Dans le conflit qui oppose actuellement les États-Unis et l'U. R. S. S., lequel des deux pays a les plus grands torts, à votre avis?

États-Unis	8
U. R. S. S.	9
Les deux	X
?	Y

14 a. Etes-vous pour ou contre un effort militaire de la France, à l'heure actuelle?

Pour	1
Contre	2
?	3

14 b. (Si POUR à la question 14 a). Estimez-vous qu'à l'heure actuelle l'effort militaire de la France est trop important, pas assez important ou juste ce qu'il faut?

Trop important	4
Pas assez important	5
Juste ce qu'il faut	6
?	7
Question non posée	0

15. Maintenant, j'aimerais connaître votre opinion sur quelques pays. En cas de guerre, dans quelle mesure pensez-vous que nous pourrions avoir confiance dans la Belgique par exemple? (L'enquêteur montre la carte D). Quel est le mot qui correspond le mieux à votre opinion : beaucoup, jusqu'à un certain point, pas du tout?

	En cas de guerre, nous pourrions avoir confiance dans ce pays comme allié...			
	Beaucoup	Jusqu'à un certain point	Pas du tout	?
	—	—	—	—
Belgique	1	1	1	1
Angleterre	2	2	2	2
Allemagne ouest	4	4	4	4
Italie	5	5	5	5
Hollande	6	6	6	6
Luxembourg	7	7	7	7
Yougoslavie	8	8	8	8
États-Unis	9	9	9	9
Espagne	X	X	X	X
	0	0	0	0

16 a. Avez-vous l'impression que le réarmement de l'Europe occidentale s'effectue plus rapidement qu'il n'était prévu, moins rapidement, ou à peu près comme il était prévu?

Plus rapidement	1
Moins rapidement	2
Comme prévu	3
?	4

16 b. (SI MOINS RAPIDEMENT.) Pour quelles raisons, à votre avis, est-ce que l'Europe occidentale réarme moins rapidement qu'il n'était prévu?

17 a. Avez-vous entendu parler de projets concernant la création d'une armée commune pour l'Europe occidentale?

Oui	1
Non	2
	0

17 b. Êtes-vous pour ou contre la participation de la France à une armée commune pour l'Europe occidentale?

Pour	3
Contre	4
?	5

17 c. A votre avis, quel est le meilleur moyen de renforcer la défense de l'Europe occidentale : que chaque pays organise son armée propre ou que l'on forme une armée commune pour l'Europe occidentale?

Armée propre	6
Armée européenne	7
Les deux	8
?	9

18 a. Savez-vous si, d'après les plans, l'Allemagne de l'ouest participe ou non à l'armée de l'Europe occidentale?

Oui, participe	1
Non, ne participe pas	2
?	3

18 b. Et savez-vous si, d'après les plans, l'Angleterre participe ou non à l'armée de l'Europe occidentale?

Oui, participe	4
Non, ne participe pas	5
?	6

Voici quelques mots d'explication sur une armée de l'Europe occidentale. (L'enquêteur montre la carte E) : Pays participants : France, Allemagne de l'ouest, Italie, Hollande, Belgique, Luxembourg. Les soldats de tous ces pays porteront le même uniforme et serviront dans leurs propres divisions nationales, sous un commandement suprême international.

19 a. **Seriez-vous pour ou contre la participation de la France à une telle armée ?**

Pour	7
Contre	8
?	9

19 b. **Pour quelles raisons ?** _____

20 a. **Êtes-vous satisfait ou mécontent de ce que font les Etats-Unis en ce qui concerne le réarmement de l'Europe occidentale ?**

Satisfait	1
Mécontent	2
Ni l'un, ni l'autre	3
?	4

20 b. **Pour quelles raisons ?** _____

21 a. **A votre avis, que feraient les États-Unis s'ils avaient l'impression que l'Europe occidentale ne fait pas un effort suffisant pour sa défense : croyez-vous qu'ils diminueraient l'aide militaire à l'Europe, qu'ils l'augmenteraient ou qu'ils continueraient comme maintenant ?**

Diminueraient	1
Augmenteraient	2
Comme maintenant	3
?	4

21 b. **Pour quelles raisons, à votre avis ?**

22 a. **Pensez-vous que la réalisation du programme actuel de réarmement en France fera augmenter ou diminuer votre niveau de vie, ou ne changera rien ?**

Augmenter	1
Diminuer	2
Sans changement	3
?	4

22 b. **Si les deux choses ne peuvent pas être faites en même temps, que pensez-vous qu'il est plus important de faire en France à l'heure actuelle : réarmer selon les plans prévus ou augmenter le niveau de vie ?**

Réarmer	5
Augmenter le niveau de vie	6
?	7

23 a. **Supposez que l'Allemagne de l'ouest soit attaquée par l'U. R. S. S., pensez-vous que la France devrait combattre avec d'autres nations aux côtés de l'Allemagne, ou pensez-vous qu'elle devrait rester en dehors ?**

Combattre	8
Rester en dehors	9
?	X

23 b. Supposez que la France se trouve en guerre avec l'U. R. S. S. d'ici un an, pensez-vous que l'Europe occidentale et les États-Unis pourraient ou non empêcher l'U. R. S. S. d'envahir la France?

Pourraient empêcher	1
Ne pourraient pas	2
?	3

23 c. Si l'U. R. S. S. essayait d'envahir la France, que vaudrait-il mieux, à votre avis, pour la France : combattre ou faire autre chose?

(SI AUTRE CHOSE). Que faudrait-il faire?

Combattre	1
Autre chose	2
?	3

24 a. Pouvez-vous m'indiquer, grâce à cette échelle, quels sont vos sentiments à l'égard du communisme? (L'enquêteur montre la carte A).

+	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	6
	7
	8
	9
—	Y
Sans opinion	0

24 b. Si la France se trouvait en guerre avec l'U. R. S. S., que pensez-vous que feraient la plupart des communistes français : essaieraient-ils d'aider l'U. R. S. S. ou participeraient-ils à la défense de la France?

Aideraient l'U. R. S. S.	1
Aideraient la France	2
Ni l'un, ni l'autre	3
?	4

25. Homme 1
Femme 2

26. 21 à 29 ans 1
30 à 44 ans 2
45 à 64 ans 3
65 ans et plus 4

27. Localité de :

0 à 2.000 habitants	1
2 à 5.000 habitants	2
5 à 20.000 habitants	3
20 à 100.000 habitants	4
100 à 250.000 habitants	5
Plus de 250.000 habitants	6

Profession de la personne interrogée : _____

Profession du chef de famille : _____

28. Comment employez-vous habituellement votre dimanche matin? _____

29. Est-ce que vous appartenez à une religion ? Si oui, laquelle ?

Catholique	1
Protestante	2
Autre	3
Aucune	4
Ne répond pas	0

30 a. Quel est le dernier établissement d'enseignement que vous avez fréquenté comme élève ou étudiant ? _____

30 b. Était-ce un établissement d'enseignement...

primaire (ou pas d'études)	1
primaires supérieur ou professionnel	2
secondaire	3
supérieur (université, grande école)	4
	X

31. Pouvez-vous me dire quel est le parti politique qui, à votre avis, convient le mieux aux personnes comme vous ?

Communiste	1
Socialiste S.F.I.O.	2
M.R.P.	3
Rad. soc. ou R.G.R.	4
U.D.S.R.	5
Paysans ou indépendants	6
R.P.F.	7
Autre parti et lequel	8
S'abstiendrait	9
Ne sait pas	0

32. Est-ce que vous faites partie d'un syndicat ? Si oui, est-ce un syndicat rattaché à...

La C.G.T.	1
La C.F.T.C.	2
La C.G.T.-F.O.	3
La C.G.C. (cadres)	4
La C.G.A.(agriculture)	5
Autre	6
Pas syndiqué	7
Ne répond pas	0

Propriété	Non	0
	Oui	1
Automobile	Non	0
	Oui	1
Domestiques	Non	0
	Oui	1
Radio	Non	0
	Oui	1

Localité : _____

Département : _____

Enquêteur : _____

Date de l'interview : .....

04515

Streng vertraulich
Name darf nicht genannt werden

EINFUEHRUNG : Wir machen diese Rundfrage, weil wir gerne wissen moechten, was die Bevoelkerung ueber eine Reihe von Tagesfragen denkt. Natuerlich kennt niemand die Antwort auf alle Fragen ; aber was uns interessiert ist vor allem Ihre Meinung.

1. **Was ist das groesste Problem, dem Westdeutschland zur Zeit gegenueber steht?**

8-

Wie Sie vielleicht wissen, ist schon viel ueber die Bildung eines vereinigten Westeuropas gesprochen worden, das sich « nur » aus den « westlichen » Laendern Europas zusammensetzt.

2. **Sind Sie im allgemeinen fuer oder gegen Bestrebungen mit dem Ziel einer Vereinigung Westeuropas?**

9-1. Dafuer
2. Dagegen
X. KM

2 a. **Wuerden Sie nun bitte bezeichnen, wie stark Sie dafuer oder dagegen sind, indem Sie auf einen der Kaestchen auf dieser Karte deuten. — (KARTE A) Die weissen bedeuten « dafuer » und die schwarzen « dagegen ». Je hoeher Sie bei den weissen Kaestchen gehen, desto mehr sind Sie dafuer; und je tiefer Sie bei den schwarzen Kaestchen gehen, desto mehr sind Sie dagegen.**
Wuerden Sie nun bitte auf das Kaestchen deuten, welches ungefaehr zeigt, wie stark Sie fuer oder gegen eine Vereinigung Westeuropas sind _____

10- 1. + 5
2. + 4
3. + 3
4. + 2
5. + 1
6. — 1
7. — 2
8. — 3
9. — 4
0. — 5
X. KM

---

3. **Dies ist einer von vielen Vorschlaegen zu einer Vereinigung Westeuropas : (KARTE).**

« Alle westeuropaeischen Staaten sollen sich vereinigen und eine gemeinsame Regierung bilden, die ueber alle Fragen zu entscheiden hat, die Westeuropa als ganzes angehen. Dabei soll aber jeder Staat das Recht behalten, ueber alle Dinge zu entscheiden, die den Staat allein betreffen. »
Wuerden Sie es gerne sehen, wenn sich Westdeutschland an einer solchen westeuropaeischen Regierung beteiligen wuerde oder waeren Sie dagegen?

11-*1. Dafuer
2. Dagegen
X. KM

FALL « 1 » ZU FRAGE 3 :

3 a. Eine solche westeuropaeische Regierung wird im Interesse Westeuropas als ganzem Entscheidungen zu treffen haben, die manchmal unguenstig fuer Westdeutschland sind und manchmal unguenstig fuer andere Laender. Wuerden Sie angesichts dessen dafuer oder dagegen sein, wenn sich Westdeutschland an einer solchen Regierung beteiligen wuerde? | 12-1. Dafuer
2. Dagegen
X. KM

ALLE :

4. Welche Vorteile haette Westdeutschland Ihrer Ansicht nach unter einer solchen Regierung? _____ | 13-

---

5. Und welche Nachteile haette Westdeutschland unter einer solchen Regierung? _____ | 14-

---

6. Haben Sie schon einmal vom Schuman-Plan etwas gehoert? | 15-*1. Ja
2. Nein

FALLS « 1 » :

6 a. Und wissen Sie, um welche Industrien es sich beim Schuman-Plan handelt? | 16-*1. Kohle, Eisen, Stahlindustrien
*2. Schwerindustrie
*3. Nur Kohlenindustrie
*4. Anderes : _____
X. KM

FALLS « 1-4 » ZU FRAGE 6 a, FRAGE 6 b UND FRAGE 6 c :

6 b. Sind Sie fuer oder gegen eine Beteiligung Westdeutschlands am Schuman-Plan? | 17-1. Dafuer
2. Dagegen
X. KM

6 c. Wissen Sie vielleicht, ob Westdeutschland am Schuman-Plan beteiligt ist oder nicht? | 18-1. Ja, ist
2. Nein, ist nicht
X. KM

AN ALLE :

7. Hier ist eine kurze Zusammenfassung des Schumanplanes. (KARTE)
« Der Schuman-Plan fasst die Eisen— und Kohlenindustrien von Frankreich, Westdeutschland, Italien, Holland, Belgien und Luxemburg zusammen, wobei die Industrien unter der Kontrolle einer internationalen Behoerde stehen, in der alle beteiligten Laender vertreten sind. »
Sind Sie in Anbetracht dessen fuer oder gegen die Beteiligung Westdeutschlands an diesem Plan? | 19-*1. Dafuer
*2. Dagegen
X. KM

FALLS « 1, 2 » :

7 a. Aus welchen Gruenden sind Sie (fuer) (gegen) eine Beteiligung Westdeutschlands? _____ | 20-

---

AN ALLE :

Und nun haben wir einige interessante Fragen ueber andere Laender.

8. Hat Amerika seit dem Kriege irgendetwas getan, das einen guenstigen Eindruck auf Sie gemacht hat? (Was?) (Was noch?) _____ | 21-

04516

9. Hat Amerika seit dem Kriege irgendetwas getan, das einen ungünstigen Eindruck auf Sie gemacht hat? (Was?) (Was noch?) | 22-

10. Wenn Sie alles berücksichtigen, was Amerika seit Kriegsende getan hat, ist Ihr Gesamteindruck — dann mehr günstig oder mehr ungünstig? | 23-1. Mehr günstig
2. Mehr ungünstig
3. Weder noch
X. KM

11. Welche Ziele verfolgt Amerika Ihrer Ansicht nach in der Weltpolitik? (Welche noch?) | 24-

12. Was ist Ihre Ansicht über Amerikas Einfluss in Westdeutschland: ist Amerikas Einfluss im allgemeinen zu gross, ungefähr richtig oder zu gering? | 25-*1. Zu gross
2. Ungefähr richtig
*3. Zu gering
X. KM

FALLS « 1 ODER 3 » :

12 a. In welchen Dingen ist der Einfluss Amerikas in Westdeutschland (zu gross) (zu gering)? (Fällt Ihnen vielleicht noch etwas ein?) | 26-

AN ALLE :

Und wie ist es mit Russland.

13. Hat Russland seit dem Kriege irgendetwas getan, das einen günstigen Eindruck auf Sie gemacht hat? (Was?) (Was noch?) | 27-

14. Und hat Russland seit dem Kriege irgendetwas getan, das einen ungünstigen Eindruck auf Sie gemacht hat? (Was?) (Was noch?) | 28-

15. Wenn Sie alles berücksichtigen, was Russland seit Kriegsende getan hat, ist Ihr Gesamteindruck dann mehr günstig oder mehr ungünstig? | 29-1. Mehr günstig
2. Mehr ungünstig
3. Weder noch
X. KM

16. Und welche Ziele verfolgt Russland Ihrer Ansicht nach in der Weltpolitik? (Welche noch?) | 30-

17. Sind Sie über die Möglichkeit, dass ein Krieg ausbricht, beunruhigt oder nicht? (FALLS « Beunruhigt » : sind Sie sehr, etwas oder nur wenig beunruhigt?) | 31-1. Sehr beunruhigt.
2. Etwas beunruhigt
3. Wenig beunruhigt
4. Nicht beunruhigt

18. Was denken Sie über die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Ost und West — ist es nur eine Auseinandersetzung zwischen Russland und Amerika oder ist es auch unsere Angelegenheit? | 32-1. Nur zwischen Russland und Amerika
2. Auch unsere Angelegenheit
X. KM

19. Sind Sie der Ansicht, dass sich die Regierung Westdeutschlands schon auf die Seite des Westens gestellt hat oder haben wir uns noch auf keine Seite gestellt?

33-1. Schon auf die Seite des Westens gestellt
2. Noch auf keine Seite gestellt
X. KM

---

20. Meinen Sie persoenlich, dass sich Westdeutschland zum gegenwaertigen Zeitpunkt auf die Seite des Westens stellen sollte oder auf Seite des Ostens oder sollte es sich auf keine Seite stellen?

34-1. Seite des Westens
2. Seite des Ostens
3. Auf keine Seite
X. KM

---

21. Und falls es zu einem Krieg zwischen Russland und Amerika kaeme, sollte Westdeutschland sich dann auf eine Seite stellen oder sollte es sich auf keine Seite stellen? (Welche Seite?)

35-1. Seite Russlands
2. Seite Amerikas
3. Keine Seite
X. KM

---

22. Welches Land trifft nach Ihrer Meinung in der gegenwaertigen Auseinanderzetzung zwischen Russland und Amerika die groessere Schuld Russland oder Amerika?

36-1. Russland
2. U.S.A.
3. Beide
X. KM

---

23. Sind Sie dafuer oder dagegen, wenn Westdeutschland jetzt militaerische Streitkraefte aufstellen wuerde?

37-1. Dafuer
2. Dagegen
X. KM
38-

---

24. Nun wuerde ich gern wissen, was Ihre Ansicht ueber einige Laender ist. (KARTE). Wie weit, glauben Sie, koennten wir im Falle eines Krieges Belgien als Verbuendeten vertrauen? Bitte waehlen Sie einen dieser drei Saetze.

KARTE :

« Koennten wir im Falle eines Krieges diesem Land

als Verbuendeten weitgehend vertrauen,

oder

als Verbuendeten bis zu einem gewissen Grade vertrauen,

oder

Ueberhaupt nicht als Verbuendeten vertrauen. »

Und wie ist es mit _____ ?

		Weitgehend vertrauen	Bis gewissen Grade	ueberhaupt nicht	KM
		—	—	—	—
39-	Belgien	1	2	3	4
	England	5	6	7	8
	Frankreich	9	0	X	Y
40-	Westdeutschland	1	2	3	4
	Italien	5	6	7	8
	Holland	9	0	X	Y
41-	Luxemburg	1	2	3	4
	Jugoslavien	5	6	7	8
	Amerika	9	0	X	Y
42-	Spanien	1	2	3	4

045117

28. Haben Sie den Eindruck, dass Westeuropa schneller aufruestet als geplant war oder langsamer oder ungefaehr so wie vorgesehen?

43- 1. Schneller
*2. Langsamer
3. So wie vorgesehen
X. KM

FALLS « 2 » :

28 a. Was sind, Ihrer Ansicht nach, die Gruende dafuer, dass Westeuropa langsamer aufruestet als geplant war?

44-

AN ALLE :

29. Haben Sie von irgendwelchen Plaenen zur Aufstellung einer gemeinsamen westeuropaeischen Armee gehoert oder gelesen?

34-1. Ja
2. Nein

---

30. Sind Sie im allgemeinen dafuer oder dagegen, dass sich Westdeutschland an einer gemeinsamen westeuropaeischen Armee beteiligt?

46-1. Dafuer
2. Dagegen
X. KM

---

30. Wie kann man Ihrer Meinung nach die Verteidigung Westeuropas am besten staerken : dadurch, dass jedes Land seine eigene Armee ausbaut oder dadurch, dass man eine gemeinsame westeuropaeische Armee bildet?

47-1. Eigene Armee
2. Westeuropaeische Armee
3. Beides
X. KM

---

29. Wissen Sie vielleicht, ob Westdeutschlands Beteiligung an der westeuropaeischen Armee geplant ist oder nicht?

48-1. Ja, ist geplant
2. Nein, ist nicht geplant
X. KM.

---

30. Und wissen Sie vielleicht, ob Englands Beteiligung an der westeuropaeischen Armee geplant ist oder nicht?

49-1. Ja, ist geplant.
2. Nein, ist nicht geplant
X. KM

---

31. Wuerden Sie sich bitte diese kurze Beschreibung der westeuropaeischen Armee durchlesen? (KARTE)

WESTEUROPAEISCHE ARMEE

Beteiligte Staaten : Westdeutschland
Frankreich
Italien
Holland
Belgien
Luxemburg

Soldaten aus allen diesen Laendern tragen gleiche Uniformen und dienen in ihren eigenen nationalen Divisionen, die einem internationalen Oberkommando unterstellt sind.

Sind Sie fuer oder gegen eine Beteiligung Westdeutschlands an einer solchen Armee?

50-*1. Fuer
*2. Gegen
X. KM

FALLS « 1, 2 » :

31a. Warum sind Sie (fuer) (gegen) eine Beteiligung Westdeutschlands an einer solchen Armee? _____ | 51.

AN ALLE :

32. Sind Sie im grossen und ganzen damit zufrieden oder unzufrieden, was Amerika hinsichtlich der Wiederaufruestung Westeuropas tut? | 52-°1. Zufrieden
°2. Unzufrieden
3. Weder-noch
X. KM

FALLS « 1, 2 » :

32 a. Warum sind Sie (zufrieden) (unzufrieden)? _____ | 53.

---

33. Was wuerde, Ihrer Meinung nach, Amerika tun, wenn es mit den Verteidigungsanstrengungen Westeuropas unzufrieden waere : wuerde Amerika dann seine militaerische Hilfe fuer Westeuropa verringern oder vergroessern oder unveraendert fortsetzen? | 54-°1. Verringern
°2. Vergroessern
°3. Unveraendert fortsetzen
X. KM

FALLS « 1, 2, 3 » :

33 a. Warum, glauben Sie, wuerde Amerika seine militaerische Hilfe dann (verringern) (vergroessern) (unveraendert fortsetzen)? _____ | 55.

AN ALLE :

34. Glauben Sie, dass die Durchfuehrung eines Wiederaufruestungsprogramms in Westdeutschland Ihre wirtschaftliche Lage verbessern oder verschlechtern wuerde, oder wird es keinen Einfluss darauf haben? | 56-1. Verbessern
2. Verschlechtern
3. Keinen Einfluss darauf haben
X. KM

---

35. Wenn beides gleichzeitig nicht moeglich ist, was ist dann, Ihrer Ansicht nach, jetzt wichtiger in Westdeutschland — die geplante Wiederaufruestung durchzufuehren oder die wirtschaftliche Lage zu verbessern? | 57-1. Wiederaufruestung durchfuehren
2. Wirtschaftliche Lage verbessern
X. KM

---

36. Angenommen, Italien wuerde von Russland angegriffen, sollte Westdeutschland dann zusammen mit anderen Laendern mit den verfuegbaren Streitkraeften an der Seite Italiens in den Kampf eingreifen oder sollten wir uns heraushalten? | 58-1. In Kampf eingreifen
2. Heraushalten
X. KM

---

37. Angenommen, Westdeutschland wuerde innerhalb der naechsten 12 Monate mit Russland in einen Krieg verwickelt werden — glauben Sie, dass es Westeuropa und Amerika gelingen wuerde, Russland an einer Besetzung Westdeutschlands zu hindern oder wuerde es nicht gelingen? | 59-1. Gelingen
2. Nicht gelingen
X. KM

---

38. Wenn Russland versuchen wuerde in Westdeutschland einzudringen, was waere, Ihrer Meinung nach, dann besser fuer uns : sollten wir kaempfen oder was sollten wir sonst tun? (Was sonst?) | 60-1. Kaempfen (verteidigen)
2. Sonst tun :
X. KM

045 18

39. Wuerden Sie bitte auf dieser Karte bezeichnen, was Ihre Einstellung zum Kommunismus ist, indem Sie wie vorhin auf eines der zehn Kaestchen auf dieser Karte deuten. (KARTE).

61- 1. + 5
2. + 4
3. + 3
4. + 2
5. + 1
6. — 1
7. — 2
8. — 3
9. — 4
0. — 5
X. KM

40. Angenommen, Westdeutschland befaende sich in einem Krieg mit Russland, was, glauben, Sie wuerden die meisten Kommunisten Westdeutschlands dann tun : wuerden Sie versuchen, Russland zu helfen oder wuerden sie helfen, unser Land zu verteidigen?

62-1. Russland
2. Unser Land
X. KM

STATISTIK

41. Geschlecht :

63-1. maennlich
2. weiblich

42. Alter :

64-5. bis 21 Jahre
1. 21-29 Jahre
2. 30-44 Jahre
3. 45-64 Jahre
4. 65 Jahre und darueber

43. Ortsgroesse :

65-1. Einwohner Weniger als 2,000
2. 2,000- 5,000
3. 5,001- 20,000
4. 20,001-100,000
5. 100,001-250,000
6. ueber 250,000

44. Beruf :

66-1. Beruf des Befragten :
67-

FALLS BEFRAGTER NICHT BESCHAEFTIGT (OHNE BERUF) :

2. Beruf des Ernaehrers :

45. Wie verbringen Sie fuer gewoehnlich Ihren Sonntag vormittag?

68-1. Gottesdienst, Sonntagsschule
2. Alles andere :

45 a.	Religionszugehoerigkeit :	69-1. Katholisch 2. Protestantisch 3. Andere : 4. Keine
46.	Schulbildung :	70-1. Keine Schule — oder Volksschule 2. Mittelschule, Handelsschule, usw. 3. Hoehere Schule — Gymnasium, Lyzeum, Oberschule, Oberrealschule mit oder ohne Abitur 4. Universitaet
47.	Einkommen :	71-1. bis 149 DM 2. 150 bis 299 DM 3. 300 bis 399 DM 4. 400 DM und mehr 5. KA, verweigert
48.	Welche politische Partei halten Sie fuer die beste fuer Leute wie Sie selbst?	72-1. SPD 2. CDU/CSU 3. FDP 4. KPD 5. SRP 6. Andere : 7. Keine X. KM, weiss nicht
49.	Sind Sie Mitglied einer Gewerkschaft? (Welcher Gewerkschaft?)	73-1. Mitglied : 2. Kein Mitglied
50.	Gesellschaftsschicht :	74-1. A. 2. B. 3. C. 4. D.
51.	Land : _____	75.

Datum : _____ Int. No. : _____
Ort : _____ Unterschrift : _____

045519

Strettamente confidenziale
Non chiedere, nè scrivere nomi

Intervistatore n° _____
Foglio intervista n° _____
Data _____

AVVERTENZE Circondare con un cerchietto il numero corrispondente alla risposta, oppure scrivere sulla riga punteggiata.

(Suggeriamo di cominciare l'intervista press'a poco così) :
L'Istituto DOXA sta facendo un'inchiesta per sapere che cosa pensi la gente su certi problemi di attualità. Naturalmente Lei c'è nessuno che sappia « tutte » le risposte, ma io desidererei conoscere le « Sue » opinioni. Mi permette di intervistarLa ? In questo momento centinaia di altri intervistatori, in tutta Italia, stanno rivolgendo la medesima domanda, che io farò a Lei, a migliaia di persone di ogni età e condizione sociale.

1. Quale è, in questo momento, il più grosso problema che il nostro Paese deve affrontare? 8-
_____
_____
_____

Come Lei saprà, si è parlato molto della creazione di una unione dell'Europa Occidentale, cui dovrebbero partecipare « esclusivamente » i paesi dell'Occidente europeo.

2. In complesso, Lei è favorevole o contrario a che si faccia uno sforzo per unificare l'Europa Occid. ?

Favorevole	9-1
Contrario	2
Non so	3
	10

2 a. Vorrei che Lei mostrasse in che misura è favorevole o contrario ad un'unione dell'Europa Occid. con l'indicare uno dei quadretti di questo cartellino (porgere Scalometro). I quadrati bianchi significano « Favorevole », i neri « Contrario ». Quanto più in alto sta il quadrato bianco che Lei indica, tanto più Lei mostra di essere favorevole; quanto più in basso sta il quadrato nero prescelto, tanto più Lei è contrario.

□	+ 5
□	+ 4
□	+ 3
□	+ 2
□	+ 1
■	— 1
■	— 2
■	— 3
■	— 4
■	— 5
Non so, non capisco la domanda, ecc.	X

Su questo cartellino (porgere Cartellino A) è riportata una delle varie proposte relative alla creazione di un'unione dell'Europa Occidentale : « Tutti i Paesi dell'Europa Occidentale dovrebbero unirsi e formare un governo comune, che deciderebbe su tutte le questioni che riguardano il complesso dell'Europa. Tuttavia ciascuno Stato conserverebbe il diritto di decidere su questioni che riguardano esclusivamente tale Stato ».

3.	Lei gradirebbe che l'Italia facesse parte di tale governo dell'Europa Occidentale, o sarebbe contrario?	Favorevole Contrario Non so	11-1 2 3
	Se « favorevole » :		
3 a.	Nell'interesse dell'insieme dell'Europa Occidentale, quel governo potrebbe prendere decisioni che in qualche caso danneggerebbe l'Italia, in qualche caso danneggerebbero invece un altro Paese. Tenuto conto di cio, Lei sarebbe favorevole o contrario alla partecipazione dell'Italia a tale governo?	Favorevole Contrario Non so	12-4 5 6
4.	Quali sarebbero, secondo Lei, per l'Italia, i vantaggi di un simile governo?		13
5.	E quali sarebbero per l'Italia gli svantaggi di un simile governo?		14
	A TUTTI		
6.	Lei ha mai sentito parlare del Piano Schuman?	Si No	15-1 2
6 a.	Lei sa, per caso, a quali industrie si riferisce il Piano Schuman?	Carbone e acciaio, ferro Industrie pesanti Solo carbone Solo acciaio, ferro Altre Non so	16-3 4 5 6 7 8
	Se risposte 3-6 alla domanda 6a :		
6 b.	Lei è favorevole o contrario alla partecipazione dell'Italia al Piano Schuman?	Favorevole Contrario Non so	17-1 2 3
6 c.	Lei sa per caso se la Germania Occidentale sia membro o no del Piano Schuman?	Si, membro Non è membro Non so	18-4 5 6
	A TUTTI		
	Ecco qui una breve descrizione del Piano Schuman (porgere Cartellino B). (Per coloro che dicono di « conoscere » il Piano Schuman aggiungere, nel porgere il cartellino : « Puo darsi che Le sia sfuggito qualcuno di questi punti ») : **« Il Piano Schuman prevede la fusione delle industrie dell'acciaio e del carbone della Francia, Germania Occidentale, Italia, Olanda, Belgio, Lussemburgo. Le industrie di questi sei Paesi sono sotto il controllo di una direzione internazionale composta dei rappresentanti di quei Paesi ».**		
7.	Tenuto conto di cio, Lei è favorevole o contrario alla partecipazione dell'Italia al Piano Schuman?	Favorevole Contrario Non so	19-7 8 9
	Se « Favorevole » o « Contrario » :		
7 a.	Per quale ragione Lei è favorevole (contrario) alla partecipazione dell'Italia al Piano Schuman?		20

04520

Ecco ora alcune domande riguardanti altri Paesi.

8. Delle cose che l'America ha fatto dopo la guerra, qualcuna Le ha lasciato un'impressione favorevole?
Che cosa? _____ | 21
_____
E cosa ancora? _____

9. Delle cose che l'America ha fatto dopo la guerra, qualcuna Le ha lasciato un'impressione sfavorevole?
Che cosa? _____ | 22
_____
E cosa ancora? _____

10. Tenuto conto di tutto quanto l'America ha fatto dopo la guerra, la Sua impressione complessiva è piuttosto favorevole o piuttosto sfavorevole?

Piuttosto favorevole	23-1
Piuttosto sfavorevole	2
Impressioni miste	3
Non so	4

11. Quali sono, secondo Lei, gli scopi della politica internazionale dell'America?
_____ | 24
_____
_____

12. Qual è la Sua impressione sull'influenza dell'America in Italia? L'America ha troppa influenza, ha l'influenza che è giusto che abbia, o ha troppo poca influenza?

Troppa	25-1
Giusta	2
Troppo poca	3
Non so	4

Se « Troppa » o « Troppo poca » :

12 a. In che cosa l'America ha troppa (troppo poca) influenza? _____ | 26
_____
In che cosa ancora? _____
_____

Ed ora parliamo della Russia.

13. Delle cose che la Russia ha fatto dopo la guerra, qualcuna Le ha lasciato un'impressione favorevole?
Che cosa? _____ | 27
_____
E cosa ancora? _____
_____

13 a. Delle cose che la Russia ha fatto dopo la guerra, qualcuna Le ha lasciato un'impressione sfavorevole?
Che cosa? _____ | 28
_____
E cosa ancora? _____
_____

13 b. Tenuto conto di tutto quanto la Russia ha fatto dopo la guerra, la Sua impressione complessiva è piuttosto favorevole o piuttosto sfavorevole?

Piuttosto favorevole	29-1
Piuttosto sfavorevole	2
Impressioni miste	3
Non so	4

14. Quali sono, secondo Lei, gli scopi della politica internazionale della Russia?
_____ | 30
_____

15.	Lei personalmente è preoccupato per l'eventualità che scoppi la guerra, o no?	Molto preoccupato	31-1
		Alquanto preoccupato	2
		Solo un poco	3
		No, non mi preoccupo	4
16.	Che cosa pensa del disaccordo fra l'Oriente e l'Occidente? E' un conflitto fra l'America e la Russia soltanto, o è qualcosa che riguarda anche noi?	Solo fra Russia e America	32-5
		Riguarda anche noi	6
		Non so	7
17.	Le sembra che il governo italiano si sia già messo dalla parte dell'Occidente o che non abbia ancora preso le parti dell'uno o dell'altro?	Già messo dalla parte dell'Occidente	33-8
		Non ha ancora preso le parti	9
		Non so	X
18.	Lei personalmente ritiene che l'Italia debba in questo momento mettersi dalla parte dell'Occidente, o dalla parte dell'Oriente, o che debba astenersi dal prendere le parti dell'uno o dell'altro?	Occidente	34-1
		Oriente	2
		Nessuno dei due	3
		Non so	4
19.	E se si dovesse arrivare ad una guerra fra la Russia e gli Stati Uniti, crede che l'Italia dovrebbe parteggiare per l'uno o per l'altro Paese o per nessuno? Da che parte dovrebbe mettersi?	Parteggiare per la Russia	35-5
		Parteggiare per gli Stati Uniti	6
		Non prendere le parti di alcuno	7
		Non so	8
20.	Chi è maggiormente responsabile dell'attuale disaccordo fra la Russia e gli Stati Uniti, la Russia o gli Stati Uniti?	Russia	36-9
		Stati Uniti	0
		Entrambi	X
		Non so	Y
21.	Lei è favorevole o contrario a che l'Italia consolidi in questo momento le sue forze armate?	Favorevole	37-1
		Contrario	2
		Non so	3
	Se « Favorevole » :		
22.	Lei ritiene che in questo momento l'Italia stia facendo troppo, troppo poco o quanto è giusto per consolidare le sue forze armate?	Troppo	38-4
		Troppo poco	5
		Giusto	6
		Non so	7

23. Ed ora mi interesserebbe di sentire che cosa Lei pensa di alcuni Paesi. (Porgere cartellino C). In caso di guerra, in quale misura crede che potremmo fidarci del Belgio, come alleato? La prego di rispondere usando una delle proposizioni scritte su questo cartellino.

	Molto	Fino a un certo punto	Niente affatto	Non so
	—	—	—	—
Belgio	39-1	40-1	41-1	42-1
E dell'Inghilterra?	2	2	2	2
E della Francia?	3	3	3	3
E della Germania Occ.	4	4	4	4
E dell'Olanda?	6	6	6	6
E del Lussemburgo?	7	7	7	7
E della Jugoslavia?	8	8	8	8
E degli Stati Uniti?	9	9	9	9
E della Spagna?	X	X	X	X

04521

INTERVISTATORE : Segnare le risposte cerchiando il numero « appropriato » per « tutti » i Paesi !

24.	Lei ha l'impressione che l'Europa Occidentale stia riarmando più rapidamente di quanto previsto, più lentamente o press'a poco secondo i programmi?	Più rapidamente Più lentamente Secondo i programmi Non so	43-1 2 3 4
	Se « Più lentamente » :		
24 a.	Quale è la ragione, secondo Lei, per cui l'Europa Occidentale riarma più lentamente del previsto?		44
25.	Lei ha sentito di piani per la creazione di un esercito comune dell'Europa Occidentale?	Si No	45-1 2
26.	Lei è a favore o contro la partecipazione dell'Italia ad un esercito comune dell'Europa Occidentale?	A favore Contro Non so	46-3 4 5
27.	Secondo Lei, quale è il modo migliore di rafforzare la difesa dell'Europa Occidentale : che ogni paese rafforzi il suo esercito, o che sia costituito un esercito comune de l'Europa Occidentale?	Proprio esercito Esercito Europa Occidentale Entrambi Non so	47-6 7 8 9
28.	Lei sa per caso se è previsto che la Germania Occidentale entri a far parte dell'esercito dell'Europa Occidentale?	Si, è previsto No Non so	48-1 2 3
29.	Ed è previsto che l'Inghilterra faccia parte dell'esercito della Europa Occidentale?	Si No Non so	49-4 5 6

Ecco una breve descrizione di un esercito dell'Europa Occidentale. (Porgere cartellino D). Vi parteciperanno : Germania Occidentale, Francia, Italia, Olanda, Belgio, Lussemburgo. I soldati dei paesi suindicati porteranno la stessa uniforme e presteranno servizio nelle proprie divisioni nazionali, con un comando supremo internazionale.

30.	Lei è favorevole o contrario a che l'Italia faccia parte di tale esercito?	Favorevole Contrario Non so	50-6 7 8
	Se « Favorevole » o « Contrario » :		
30 a.	Perchè è favorevole (contrario) alla partecipazione dell'Italia?		51
31.	In complesso Lei è contento o malcontento di quello che l'America fa nei riguardi del riarmo dell'Europa Occidentale?	Contento Malcontento Nè contento nè malcontento Non so	52-1 2 3 4
	Se « Contento » o « Malcontento » :		
31 a.	Perchè è contento (malcontento)?		53

32. Secondo Lei, che cosa farebbe l'America se fosse malcontenta degli sforzi che fa l'Europa Occidentale per riarmarsi : ridurrebbe gli aiuti militari all'Europa, li aumenterebbe, o li manterrebbe al livello attuale?

Li diminuirebbe	54-1
Li aumenterebbe	2
Li manterrebbe al livello attuale	3
Non so	4

Se risposta diversada « Non so » :

32^a. Perchè crede che l'America (diminuirebbe) (aumenterebbe) (manterrebbe gli aiuti al livello attuale)?

_____
_____
_____

55

---

33. Lei pensa che il completamento dell'attuale piano di riarmo dell'Italia farà aumentare o diminuire il suo tenore di vita, o crede che non ci sarà alcun cambiamento per Lei?

Aumentare	56-1
Diminuire	2
Nessun cambiamento	3
Non so	4

---

34. Se entrambe le cose non sono possibili, cosa Le pare che sia meglio in questo momento in Italia, riarmare secondo i programmi, o elevare il tenore di vita?

Riarmare	57-5
Elevare il tenore di vita	6
Non so	7

---

35. Se la Russia attaccasse la Germania Occidentale, crede Lei che l'Italia dovrebbe partecipare insieme ad altri Paesi alla lotta, a fianco della Germania, o tenersi fuori dal conflitto? 4

Partecipare	58-8
Tenersi fuori	9
Non so	X

---

36. Se l'Italia, entro i prossimi 12 mesi, si trovasse in guerra con la Russia, crede che l'Europa Occidentale e l'America riuscirebbero ad impedire l'occupazione dell'Italia, o no?

Riuscirebbero	59-1
Non riuscirebbero	2
Non so	3

---

37. Se la Russia tentasse di invadere l'Italia, che cosa crede che sarebbe meglio per il nostro Paese, combattere o fare qualche altra cosa? Che cosa?

Combattere	60-1
Altra cosa, e cioè	2
Non so	3

---

38. Potrebbe mostrarmi che cosa pensa del Comunismo, con l'indicare (come ha già fatto al principio dell'intervista) uno dei 10 quadratini di questo cartellino? (Porgere Scalometro).

61

+ 5	— 1
+ 4	— 2
+ 3	— 3
+ 2	— 4
+ 1	— 5
Non so	X

---

39. Se l'Italia si trovasse in guerra con la Russia, che cosa crede che farebbe la maggior parte dei comunisti italiani : tenterebbero di aiutare la Russia, o contribuirebbero alla difesa del nostro Paese?

Aiuterebbero la Russia	62-1
Contribuirebbero alla difesa del nostro Paese	2
Non aiuterebbero né gli uni né gli altri	3
Non so	4

Sesso :

Maschio	63-1
Femmina	2

04522

Età :	21-29	64-1
	30-44	2
	45-64	3
	65 e più	4
La professione sotto indicata è quella	dell'intervistato	66-1
	della persona che provvede al mantenimento della famiglia (se l'intervistato non ha un'occupazione)	2
Professione o occupazione :	Agricoltore conduttore	67-1
	Bracciante agricolo	2
	Dirigente, Professionista, Funzionario pubblico di grado elevato	
	Esercente, padrone di negozio	4
	Lavatore manuale indipendente (artigiano)	5
	Lavoratore manuale dipendente operaio qualificato o non qualificato)	6
	Impiegato (compresa polizia)	7
	Disoccupato in cerca di lavoro	8
	Pensionato	9
		X
Come impiega generalmente la mattina della domenica?		68
Religione		69
Scuola compiuta :	Nessuna scuola, elementari	70-1
	Media-inferiore	2
	Media-superiore (liceo, ecc.)	3
	Università	4
		71
Fra i vari partiti politici, qual'è il migliore per gente come Lei?		72
E' iscritto a qualche Sindacato?	Si	73-1
Se « Si », a quale?	No	2
	CGIL	3
	CSLI	4
		5
Condizione sociale :	Classe superiore	74-1
	Medio-superiore	2
	Media	3
	Poveri	4

Wij zijn bezig aan een opinie onderzoek over een aantal belangrijke onderwerpen. Niemand weet natuurlijk alle antwoorden. Ik zou graag Uw mening horen.

1 Wat is op 't ogenblik het belangrijkste probleem voor ons land?

8

Zoals U weet is er al veel gesproken over het vormen van een West Europese Unie, uitsluitend bestaande uit de landen van het Westelijk deel van Europa.

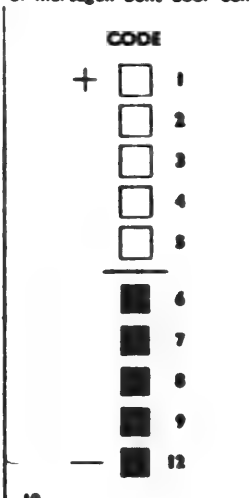
2 a. Bent U over het algemeen voor of tegen pogingen om West Europa te verenigen?

Voor	1
Tegen	2
Geen oordeel	3

9

---

2 b. (Geef hokjeskaart) Wilt U aangeven hoe sterk U hiervoor of hiertegen bent door één van de hokjes op dit kaartje aan te wijzen. De witte hokjes betekenen natuurlijk 'voor' en de zwarte hokjes 'tegen' Hoe hoger het witte hokje, dat U kiest hoe meer U ervoor bent. Hoe lager het zwarte hokje, hoe meer tegen.
Wijst U nu maar aan hoe sterk U voor of tegen een.
West Europese Unie bent .....
Hier codenummer aangewezen hokje .....



10

---

2 c. (Geef kaartje A) Dit is één van de vele voorstellen voor een West Europese Unie
Zoudt U ervoor of ertegen zijn dat Nederland deel uitmaakte van zo'n West Europese regering?

Voor	1
Tegen	2
Geen oordeel	3

11

2 d. In het belang van West Europa in zijn geheel zal zo'n regering wel eens besluiten moeten nemen, die soms ongunstig zijn voor Nederland en soms voor andere landen. Hiermede rekening houdend, zoudt U er dan voor of ertegen zijn, dat Nederland deel uitmaakte van zo'n Regering?

Voor	4
Tegen	5
Geen oord	6

12

2 e. Wat denkt U dat de voordelen voor ons land zouden zijn onder zo'n regering?

13

04523

2 b. En wat de nadelen voor ons land onder zo'n regering?

14

3 a. Hebt U wel eens gehoord van het Schuman Plan?

15

Wel	1
Niet	2

3 b. Weet U over welke industrieën het Schuman Plan gaat?

16

Steenkool staal ijzer (erts)	3
Zware industrieën	4
Alleen steenkool	5
Alleen staal, ijzer (erts)	6
Andere antwoorden	7
Geen antwoord	8

3 c. Bent U voor of tegen deelneming van Nederland aan het Schuman Plan?

17

Voor	1
Tegen	2
Geen oordeel	3

3 d. Weet U ook of West Duitsland lid is van het Schuman Plan of niet?

18

Ja, is lid	4
Geen lid	5
Geen antwoord	6

3 e. (Geef haartje B) Hier is nog even een korte samenvatting van het Schuman Plan. Bent U voor of tegen deelneming van Nederland aan dit plan?

19

Voor	7
Tegen	8
Geen oordeel	9

3 f. Waarom? (voor/tegen)

20

Nu enkele interessante vragen over andere landen:

4 a. Heeft Amerika na de oorlog dingen gedaan, die een gunstige indruk op U gemaakt hebben?
Wat?
En wat nog meer?
(Dring aan op volledig antwoord)

21

4 b. Heeft Amerika na de oorlog dingen gedaan, die een ongunstige indruk op U gemaakt hebben?
Wat?
En wat nog meer?

22

4 c. Wanneer U alles wat Amerika na de oorlog gedaan heeft samen neemt wat is dan Uw totaalindruk: meer an de gunstige of meer aan de ongunstige kant?

23

Meer gunstig	1
Meer ongunstig	2
In evenwicht gemengd	3
Geen oordeel	4

5 a. Wat zijn volgens U Amerika's doeleinden in de wereldpolitiek? (Nog meer)?

24

5 b. Wat is Uw mening over de invloed van Amerika op Nederland. Oefent Amerika in't algemeen teveel invloed uit, juist genoeg of te weinig? _____

Teveel	1
Juist goed	2
Te weinig	3
Geen oordeel	4
25	

5 c. Bij welke dingen?

_____

En waar nog meer? _____

_____

26

Nu over Rusland:

6 a. Heeft Rusland na de oorlog dingen gedaan, die een gunstige indruk op U gemaakt hebben?
Wat? _____

_____

En wat nog meer? _____

_____

(Dring aan op volledig antwoord)

27

6 b. Heeft Rusland na de oorlog dingen gedaan, die een ongunstige indruk op U gemaakt hebben?
Wat? _____

_____

En wat nog meer? _____

_____

28

6 c. Wanneer U alles wat Rusland na de oorlog gedaan heeft samen neemt, wat is dan Uw totaal indruk: meer aan de gunstige of meer aan de ongunstige kant? _____

Meer gunstig	1
Meer ongunstig	2
In evenwicht, gemengd	3
Geen oordeel	4
29	

6 d. Wat zijn volgens U Rusland's doeleinden in de wereldpolitiek? (Nog meer?)

_____

30

7 a. Maakt U zich zorgen over het eventueel uitbreken van een oorlog of niet? _____
(Indien wel:) Veel, tamelijk of weinig? _____

Veel zorgen	1
Tamelijk	2
Weinig	3
Niet	4
Geen antwoord	R
31	

7 b. Wat denkt U over het conflict tussen Oost en West. Is het een conflict alleen tussen Rusland en Amerika of gaat het ook ons aan? _____

Rusland en Amerika	5
Ook ons	6
Geen oordeel	7
32	

04524

8 a. Heeft, volgens U, de Nederlandse regering al de kant van het Westen gekozen of geen van beide kanten? .....

Westen	8
Geen kant	9
Geen oordeel	11
33	

8 b. Vindt U persoonlijk dat Nederland op het ogenblik aan de kant van het Westen, of aan de kant van het Oosten of aan geen enkele kant behoort te staan? .....

Westen	1
Oosten	2
Geen enkele kant	3
Geen oordeel	4
34	

8 c. En als het tot een oorlog zou komen tussen Rusland en Amerika, vindt U dan dat ons land partij moet kiezen of niet? (Indien wel:) Aan welke kant? .....

Partij van Rusland	5
Van Amerika	6
Niet kiezen	7
Geen oordeel	8
35	

8 d. Welk land heeft volgens U de meeste schuld aan het huidige conflict tussen Rusland en Amerika? (Rusland of Amerika?)

Rusland	9
Amerika	0
Allebei	11
Geen oordeel	12
36	

9 a. Bent U voor of tegen opbouw van het Nederlandse leger?

Voor	1
Tegen	2
Geen oordeel	3
37	

9 b. Vindt U dat Nederland op 't ogenblik genoeg doet aan zijn militaire paraatheid, of te veel of te weinig? .....

Te veel	4
Te weinig	5
Genoeg	6
Geen oordeel	7
38	

10. Nu zou ik graag willen weten wat het beste Uw mening over enkele landen weergeeft. (Kaart bnaart C). In hoeverre, denkt U, zouden wij in geval van oorlog kunnen vertrouwen op België als bondgenoot? Kies a.u.b. één van deze drie zinnetjes.

Doe de vragg over elk land hierender. Wijs bij noemen land op open plek in kaartje C.

	Veel vertrouwen	Tot op zekere hoogte	Helemaal niet	Geen oordeel
België	1	1	1	1
En				
Engeland	2	2	2	2
Frankrijk	3	3	3	3
W Duitsland	4	4	4	4
Italië	5	5	5	5
Luxemburg	6	6	6	6
Joego-Slavië	7	7	7	7
Ver Staten	8	8	8	8
Spanje	9	9	9	9
	39	40	41	42

11 a. Hebt U de indruk dat de herbewapening van 'West Europa volgens plan gaat, of sneller, of langzamer? .....

Sneller	1
Langzamer	2
Volgens plan	3
Geen oordeel	4
43	

11 b. (Indien langzamer:)
Hoe komt het denkt U, dat de herbewapening van W Europa langzamer gaat dan volgens de plannen?

44

11 c. Hebt U wel eens gehoord over plannen voor et vormen van een gemeenschappelijk West-Europees leger?

Wel	1
Niet	2

45

11 d. Bent Uvoor of tegen deelneming van Nederland aan een gemeenschappelijk West Europees leger?

Voor	3
Tegen	4
Geen oordeel	5

46

12 a. Wat is volgens U de beste manier om de verdediging van West Europa te versterken: dat ieder land zijn eigen leger opbouwt of dat een gemeenschappelijk West Europees leger wordt gevormd?

Eigen leger	6
West Europees leger	7
Beide	8
Geen oordeel	9

47

12 b. Weet U ook of volgens de plannen West-Duitsland deel zal uitmaken of geen deel zal uitmaken van het West Europese leger?

Wel deel	1
Geen deel	2
Geen oordeel	3

48

12 c. En zal Engeland er volgens de plannen deel van uitmaken of niet?

Wel	4
Niet	5
Geen oordeel	6

49

12 d. (Geef kaartje D)
Hier is een korte beschrijving van het West Europese leger Zoudt U ervoor of ertegen zijn dat Nederland deelneemt aan een dergelijk leger?

Voor	7
Tegen	8
Geen oordeel	9

50

12 e. Waarom? (voor,'tegen)

51

13 a. Bent U over het geheel genomen tevreden of ontevreden over wat Amerika doet aan de herbewapening van West Europa?

Tevreden	1
Ontevreden	2
Noch tevreden,'noch ontevreden	3
Geen oordeel	4

52

13 b. Waarom? (tevreden,'ontevreden)

53

13 c. Wat denkt U dat Amerika zou doen als het ontevreden was over de defensie inspanningen van West Europa de militaire hulp aan West Europa verkleinen vergroten of onveranderd laten?

Verkleinen	1
Vergroten	2
Zo laten	3
Geen oordeel	4

54

04525

13 d. Waarom denkt U dat Amerika dat zou doen?

55

14 a. Wat denkt U dat het gevolg zal zijn voor Uw eigen levensstandaard van de uitvoering van het tegenwoordige herbewapeningsprogramma in Nederland: Zal Uw levensstandaard erdoor omhoog gaan, omlaag gaan of zal het niets uitmaken?

Omhoog	1
Omlaag	2
Geen verschil	3
Geen oordeel	4

56

14 b. Als herbewapening volgens de plannen EN verbetering van de levensstandaard tegelijkertijd NIET mogelijk is wat moet op' t ogenblik dan voorgaan in ons land: herbewapening of verbetering der levensstandaard?

Herbewapening	5
Levensstandaard	6
Geen oordeel	7

57

15 a. Indien West-Duitsland zou worden aangevallen door Rusland, vindt U dan dat Nederland samen met andere landen behoort mee te doen aan de kant van West Duitsland of behoren wij er buiten te blijven?

Meedoen	8
Er buiten	9
Geen oordeel	11

58

15 b. Veronderstel dat ons land binnen de komende twaalf maanden in oorlog raakte met Rusland Denkt U dat W. Europa en Amerika in staat zouden zijn te verhinderen dat Rusland ons land bezette of niet?

In staat	1
Niet	2
Geen oordeel	3

59

15 c. Indien Rusland ons land probeerde binnen te dringen wat zou dan beter zijn voor ons land: vechten of iets anders doen?

(Indien iets anders:) Wat doen?

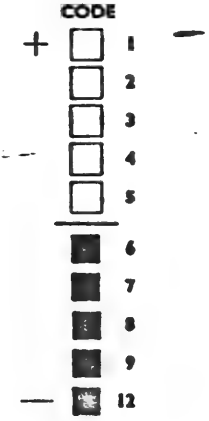
Vechten	1
Iets anders	2
Geen oordeel	3

60

16 a. (Hoef hokjeskaart) Wilt U aangeven hoe U staat tegenover het Communisme door een van de 10 hokjes op dit kaartje aan te wijzen?

Hieronder code no hokje

CODE



61

16 b. Als ons land in oorlog was met Rusland, wat denkt U dan dat de meeste Nederlandse Communisten zouden doen: proberen Rusland te helpen of meehelpen aan de verdediging van ons land? .....

Rusland helpen	1
Ons land helpen	2
Geen van beide	3
Geen oordeel	4
62	

Man	1	21-30 jaar	1	Ondervraagde woont in:	
Vrouw	2	30-45 jaar	2		
		45-65 jaar	3		
		65 jaar en ouder	4	d.l. GEMEENTE	
63			64		65

Tenslotte nog enige vragen over Uzelf, om na te gaan of de antwoorden, die wij verzameien, werkelijk uit alle groepen van het publiek komen. Wat is Uw beroep (Indien zelf geen beroep:) Wat het beroep van de kostwinner (bij gehuwde vrouwen:) van Uw man? (Zo volledig mogelijk noteren!)

.....

Dit is het beroep van ondervraagde zelf	1
Van man/kostwinner	2
66	
67	

VRAGEN : Hoe brengt U gewoonlijk Uw Zondagmorgen door?

.....

68

KERKGENOOTSCHAP .....

Room. Kath	1
Ned. Herv. e. a. Prot.	2
Gereformeerd	3
Geen kerkgen.	4
Geen antwoord	5
69	

Op welke onderwijsinstelling hebt U Uw laatste schooljaar doorgebracht? .....

Lagere school	1
ULO/MULO, Vakonderwijs	2
HBS, Gymnasium e. d.	3
Universiteit	4
Geen antwoord	5
70	

Ontvangt U/Uw man weekloon of maand-salaris? Of krijgt U Uw inkomen geheel of gedeeltelijk in andere vorm?

Weekloon	1
Maandsalaris	2
Anders	3
Geen antwoord	4

(Weekloon geef kaartje E maandsalaris geef kaartje F)

Hier heb ik een kaartje (E of F) met verschillende inkomens groepen erop. Het gaat hier om het BRUTO inkomen, dus voordat belastingen e. d. eraf getrokken zijn. Wilt U eens nakijken, bij welke letter het (gemiddeld) inkomen van Uw gezin staat? Welke letter? (Het TOTAAL-INKOMEN wordt bedoeld eventuele bijverdiensten dus meetellen).

Letter .....
(Duidelijk schrijven!)

71

04526

Welke politieke partij is het beste voor mensen zoals U?

K.V.P.	1
Arbeid	2
Ant. Rev.	3
Chr. Hist	4
V.V.D.	5
C.P.N.	6
St. Ger	7
Welter	8
Andere partij	9
Geen antwoord	0
72	

Bent U zelf lid van een vakvereniging?
(Indien wel:) Aangesloten bij welke bond?

Geen lid	1
Bij N.V.V.	2
K.A.B. (Kath.)	3
C.N.V. (Christ.)	4
E.V.C.	5
Andere bond	6
Geen antwoord	7
73	

Ondervraagde is:

Welgesteld	9
Middenklasse	8
Volksklasse B	7
Volksklasse A (laagste inkomens)	6
74	

Dit vraaggesprek is gehouden in

Groningen	1	1
Friesland	1	2
Drente	1	3
Overijsel	2	4
Gelderland	2	5
Utrecht	3	6
N Holland	3	7
Z Holland	3	8
Zeeland	3	9
N Brabant	4	11
Limburg	4	12
(Codeer beide kolommen)		
75/76		

Ik verklaar dit vraaggesprek nauwkeurig volgens de instructies van het Gallup- Instituut te hebben verricht op. Sept 1952
Handtekening en No Enqueteur : _____
Naam en adres Enqueteur _____

VRAGEN: Nog een laatste vraag: Het is de bedoeling over enige tijd nog eens zulke vragen te stellen. Mag ik dan bij U terug komen? Mag ik dan even Uw naam en adres noteren? (Dat blijft natuurlijk geheim).
Voor en achternaam ondervr: _____
Adres, woonplaats, telefoonno. _____

APPENDIX B

GROUP VARIATIONS IN INTEGRATIONIST SENTIMENTS

	FOR WEST EUROPEAN UNION						AGAINST WEST EUROPEAN UNION						UNDECIDED						No. of cases
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL	GB	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL	GB	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL	GB	in CSC
Sex:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Men	69	78	64	63	79	68	17	12	21	19	13	17	14	10	15	18	8	15	3152
Women	55	62	55	48	67	51	9	8	8	10	8	11	36	30	37	42	25	38	2799
Education:																			
No school/elem. school	55	66	49	43	65	57	14	10	18	17	12	13	31	24	33	40	23	30	3719
Second., trade school, etc.	77	84	70	76	82	73	11	9	14	11	10	14	12	7	16	13	8	13	1300
High school, university	82	85	79	83	88	63	10	11	10	12	7	17	8	4	11	5	5	20	888
Socio-Economic Status:																			
Upper middle & well-to-do	72	78	70	81	79	68	12	9	12	11	10	15	16	13	18	8	11	17	2014
Lower middle & poor	61	69	52	52	70	57	15	10	19	15	11	14	24	21	29	33	19	29	3851
Occupation:																			
Professionals/Executives	87	91	87	84	82	69	9	9	7	11	9	15	4	—	6	5	9	16	219
Small businessmen	74	82	68	76	82	60	12	9	14	9	14	18	14	9	18	15	4	22	273
White-collar workers	73	77	66	74	83	68	15	13	19	15	11	10	12	10	15	11	6	22	877
Independent artisans	67	87	59	63	77	64	17	10	14	20	16	17	16	3	27	17	7	19	226
Manual workers	62	74	47	46	78	56	20	12	31	30	11	15	18	14	22	24	11	29	1082
Farmers	61	66	61	60	66	61	13	14	14	11	16	7	26	20	25	29	18	32	555
Farmhands	39	77	40	30	75	44	18	6	30	19	10	14	43	17	30	51	15	42	240
City Size:																			
Less than 2,000	59	65	54	50	60	50	13	9	17	14	13	12	28	26	29	36	27	38	1069
2,000 — 5,000	61	72	65	49	64	69	12	11	13	14	8	12	27	17	22	37	28	19	756
5,001—20,000	62	72	54	56	70	60	14	10	20	14	11	10	24	18	26	30	19	30	1178
20,001—100,000	63	71	60	58	77	60	13	10	17	13	9	16	24	19	23	29	14	24	1258
100,001—250,000	71	72	80	60	75	62	13	11	9	20	11	15	16	17	11	20	14	23	480
Over 250,000	68	73	66	62	75	54	13	10	13	18	13	11	19	17	21	20	12	35	1210
Age:																			
21—29 years	62	73	56	57	73	57	16	14	15	18	11	17	22	13	29	25	16	26	1330
30—64 years	63	70	62	57	74	60	14	10	17	14	10	14	23	20	21	29	16	26	3850
65 years and over	56	58	55	50	69	56	8	7	9	10	11	12	36	35	36	40	20	32	622
Religion:																			
Catholics, regular	66	69	68	62	76	62	7	8	7	8	8	21	27	23	25	30	16	17	1842
Catholics, irregular	59	74	60	53	76	65	16	10	14	19	9	7	25	16	26	28	15	28	1791
Protestants, regular	69	63	85	—	75	60	6	5	10	—	9	15	25	32	5	—	16	25	422
Protestants, irregular	71	71	62	—	71	60	12	12	19	—	10	12	17	17	19	—	19	28	1120
None	55	78	47	30	72	53	31	15	35	16	16	30	14	7	18	9	12	17	562
Total population	63	70	60	57	74	58	13	10	16	14	14	15	24	20	24	29	16	27	

04527

	For West European Union	Against West European Union	Undecided	No. of cases
PARTY PREFERENCE: *				
West Germany:				
Socialists	76%	12%	12%...100%	394
Christian Democrats	84	5	11	388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	86	10	4	81
Other parties	70	17	13	97
No party preference stated	56	10	34	628
(Communists & Sympathizers)	76	15	9	74
France:				
Socialists	72%	13%	15%...100%	186
MRP (Catholic)	72	6	22	149
Radical Socialists ("Liberal")	84	6	10	106
Farmers and Independents	75	9	16	125
Gaullists	74	11	15	92
Communists	11	72	17	113
Other parties	76	15	9	66
No party preference stated	50	11	39	508
(Communists & Sympathizers)	41	43	16	226
Italy:				
Anti-Communist Socialists, Republicans	83%	5%	12%...100%	176
Christian Democrats	66	6	28	420
Liberals	81	10	9	57
Monarchists	65	14	21	71
Neo-Fascists	71	23	6	72
Pro-Communist Socialists	40	36	24	86
Communists	14	57	29	151
No party preference stated	47	9	44	437
(Communists & Sympathizers)	36	40	24	278
Netherlands:				
Labor (Socialists)	82%	6%	12%...100%	447
Catholic People's Party	76	8	16	337
Christian Historicals (Protestant Liberal-Conservative)	70	15	15	143
Liberals	83	9	8	106
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist-Conservative)	72	8	20	143
Other parties	54	38	8	84
No party preference stated	61	12	27	253
(Communists & Sympathizers)	62	27	11	121
Great Britain:				
Labour (Socialists)	57%	14%	29%...100%	715
Liberals	65	16	19	142
Conservatives	65	13	22	486
No party preference stated	50	11	39	137
(Communists & Sympathizers)	66	18	16	109

* Communist party adherents were not separately listed in West Germany, Netherlands and Great Britain because the number of cases were too few for reliable indications. To help cover the gap a category—Communist plus Communist sympathizers—was introduced throughout in the party comparisons. Communist sympathizers were ascertained via a "scalometer" query on attitude toward Communism the results of which will be discussed in Section II of the present series.

	For West European Union	Against West European Union	Undecided	No. of cases
REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES: *				
West Germany:				
Bavaria	68%	14%	18%...100%	307
Hesse	68	6	26	146
Wuerttemberg-Baden	70	8	22	134
North Rhine-Westphalia	68	9	23	439
Lower Saxony	77	6	17	228
Schleswig-Holstein	81	8	11	87
Baden	83	7	10	40
Rheinland-Palatinate	61	6	33	97
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	69	29	2	41
Bremen-Hamburg	76	14	10	69
France:				
Paris and surrounding	65%	13%	22%...100%	307
North East	64	12	24	325
North West	55	20	25	236
South West	57	16	27	177
South East	57	18	25	299
Italy:				
North	60%	14%	26%...100%	723
Central	49	17	34	371
South and Islands	53	15	32	511
Netherlands:				
North	72	10	18	168
East	70	9	21	226
West	75	12	13	861
South	72	7	21	248
Great Britain:				
South England (including London)	64%	16%	20%...100%	479
The Midlands	59	11	30	394
Wales	57	10	33	116
Northern England	57	15	28	367
Scotland	57	14	29	147

* For fuller characterization of regions see Composition of Samples in Appendix A.

04528

	FOR A WEST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT EVEN IF SOMETIMES DISADVANTAGEOUS						AGAINST A WEST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT IF SOMETIMES DISADVANTAGEOUS						UNDECIDED GENERALLY OR UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES					
	CEC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CEC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CEC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
Sex:																		
Men	56%	71%	48%	45%	69%	49%	23%	18%	26%	28%	18%	31%	21%	11%	26%	27%	13%	20%
Women	43	55	30	29	55	34	14	12	16	17	14	25	43	33	46	54	31	41
Education:																		
No school/elem. school	40	59	32	26	53	39	21	16	25	24	17	27	39	25	43	50	30	34
Second., trade school, etc.	63	75	51	57	72	52	17	13	20	20	17	27	20	12	29	23	11	21
High school, university	68	80	65	62	82	40	17	13	16	20	14	40	15	7	19	18	4	20
Socio-Economic Status:																		
Upper middle & well-to-do	60	73	53	63	71	46	17	13	18	18	17	30	23	14	29	19	12	24
Lower middle & poor	47	61	37	34	58	39	20	16	25	23	16	28	33	23	38	43	26	33
Occupation:																		
Professionals/Executives	75	87	68	72	77	48	12	9	11	14	14	36	13	4	21	14	9	16
Small businessmen	59	77	49	50	68	41	18	15	19	19	22	30	23	8	32	31	10	29
White-collar workers	63	75	52	58	73	45	21	13	27	24	15	26	16	12	21	18	12	29
Independent artisans	49	77	41	42	67	41	25	15	22	30	17	30	26	8	37	28	16	29
Manual workers	52	68	30	36	64	41	26	17	39	36	19	28	22	15	31	28	17	31
Farmers	45	60	41	38	64	34	17	21	14	18	18	29	38	19	45	44	18	37
Farmhands	23	66	22	14	52	25	31	17	46	31	13	25	46	17	32	55	35	50
City Size:																		
Less than 2,000	46	55	38	39	48	54	20	17	23	18	25	17	34	28	39	43	27	29
2,000—5,000	47	60	48	32	61	23	18	17	16	21	11	35	35	23	36	47	28	42
5,001—20,000	50	69	43	39	54	40	16	12	21	18	13	24	34	19	36	43	33	36
20,001—100,000	51	71	46	40	68	43	20	14	22	24	15	28	29	15	32	36	17	29
100,001—250,000	56	62	65	36	59	41	18	15	11	30	20	32	26	23	24	34	21	27
Over 250,000	54	69	44	39	67	39	21	14	25	28	19	27	25	17	31	33	14	34
Age:																		
21—29 years	50	66	45	36	64	40	21	16	19	27	17	27	29	18	36	37	19	33
30—64 years	50	63	44	39	62	42	20	15	24	22	17	29	30	22	32	39	21	29
65 years and over	46	58	41	33	56	35	15	11	17	17	10	26	39	31	42	50	34	39
Religion:																		
Catholics, regular	52	65	52	42	68	44	13	14	13	12	11	33	35	21	35	46	21	23
Catholics, irregular	43	62	43	35	60	48	24	19	21	30	11	21	33	19	36	35	29	31
Protestants, regular	57	55	68	—	58	40	13	12	5	—	22	35	30	33	27	—	20	25
Protestants, irregular	63	64	50	—	64	42	15	15	22	—	14	26	22	21	28	—	22	32
None	41	68	31	21	61	31	39	17	43	70	22	39	22	15	26	9	17	30
Total population	49	63	43	38	62	41	20	15	22	23	16	28	31	22	35	39	22	31

	For a West European government even if sometimes disadvantageous	Against a West European government if sometimes disadvantageous	Undecided generally or under such circumstances	No. of cases
PARTY PREFERENCE:				
West Germany:				
Socialists	66 %	20 %	14 %...100 %	394
Christian Democrats	80	9	11	388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	77	14	9	81
Other parties	55	25	20	97
No party preference stated	51	14	35	428
(Communists & Sympathizers)	60	31	9	74
France :				
Socialists	54 %	21 %	25 %...100 %	186
MRP (Catholic)	61	7	32	149
Radical Socialists (" Liberal ")	62	10	28	106
Farmers and Independents	55	15	30	125
Gaullists	55	18	27	92
Communists	3	80	17	113
Other parties	53	27	20	66
No party preference stated	34	18	48	308
(Communists & Sympathizers)	24	53	23	226
Italy:				
Anti-Communist Socialists, Republicans	61 %	16 %	23 %...100 %	176
Christian Democrats	48	12	40	420
Liberals	61	18	21	57
Monarchists	41	31	28	71
Neo-Fascists	42	37	21	72
Pro-Communist Socialists	22	46	32	86
Communists	7	62	31	151
No party preference stated	28	15	57	437
(Communists & Sympathizers)	20	46	34	278
Netherlands:				
Labor (Socialists)	74 %	10 %	16 %...100 %	447
Catholic People's Party	64	11	25	337
Christian Historicals (Protestant Liberal-Conservative)	62	18	20	143
Liberals	72	18	10	106
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist Conservative)	55	24	21	143
Other parties	42	42	16	84
No party preference stated	48	18	34	253
(Communists & Sympathizers)	50	32	18	121
Great Britain:				
Labour (Socialists)	41 %	26 %	33 %...100 %	715
Liberals	46	26	28	142
Conservatives	42	32	26	486
No party preference stated	31	26	43	137
(Communists & Sympathizers)	43	35	22	109

04529

	For a West European government even if sometimes disadvantageous	Against a West European government if sometimes disadvantageous	Undecided generally or under such circumstances	No. of cases
REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:				
West Germany:				
South	56 %	23 %	21 %...100 %	307
Hesse	51	15	34	146
Württemberg-Baden	65	8	27	134
North-Rhine-Westphalia	66	14	20	439
Lower Saxony	69	12	19	228
Schleswig-Holstein	71	9	20	87
Baden	68	12	20	48
Rhineland-Palatinate	61	12	27	97
Württemberg-Hohenzollern	71	27	2	41
Bremen, Hamburg	73	17	10	69
France:				
Paris and surroundings	42 %	26 %	32 %...100 %	307
North East	48	17	35	325
North West	41	22	37	236
South West	44	23	33	177
South East	43	22	35	299
Italy:				
North	44 %	20 %	36 %...100 %	723
Central	31	23	46	271
South and Islands	33	26	41	511
Netherlands:				
North	67 %	15 %	18 %...100 %	168
East	59	13	28	236
West	63	19	18	861
South	60	10	30	248
Great Britain:				
South England (including London)	41 %	34 %	25 %...100 %	479
The Midlands	43	27	30	394
Wales	39	21	40	116
Northern England	41	23	36	367
Scotland	34	32	34	147

GROUP VARIATIONS IN *LOSS* OF INTEGRATIONIST SUPPORT WHEN REALISM INJECTED

	Per cent of population group					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
Sex:						
Men	13%	7%	16%	18%	10%	19%
Women	12	7	17	18	12	17
Education:						
No school/elem. school	13	6	17	17	12	18
Second., trade school, etc.	14	9	19	19	10	21
High school, university	14	5	14	21	6	23
Socio-Economic Status:						
Upper middle & well-to-do	12	5	17	18	8	22
Lower middle & poor	14	8	15	18	12	18
Occupation:						
Professionals/Executives	12	4	19	12	5	21
Small businessmen	15	5	19	26	14	19
White-collar workers	10	2	14	16	10	23
Independent artisans	18	10	18	21	10	23
Manual workers	10	6	17	10	14	15
Farmers	16	6	20	22	2	27
Farmhands	16	11	18	16	23	19
City size:						
Less than 2,000	13	10	16	11	12	4
2,000— 5,000	14	12	17	17	3	46
5,001— 20,000	12	3	11	17	16	20
20,001—100,000	12	1	14	18	9	17
100,001—250,000	15	10	15	24	16	21
Over 250,000	14	4	22	23	8	18
Age:						
21—29 years	12	7	11	21	9	17
30—64 years	13	7	18	18	12	18
65 years and over	10	—	14	17	13	21
Religion:						
Catholics, regular	14	4	16	20	8	18
Catholics, irregular	16	12	17	18	16	17
Protestants, regular	12	8	17	—	17	20
Protestants, irregular	18	7	12	—	7	18
None	13	10	16	9	11	22
Total population	14	7	17	19	12	17

045630

GROUP VARIATIONS IN *LOSS* OF INTEGRATIONIST SUPPORT WHEN REALISM INJECTED

	Per cent of population group
PARTY PREFERENCE:	
West Germany:	
Socialists	10%
Christian Democrats	4
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	9
Other parties	15
No party preference stated	5
(Communists & Sympathizers)	16
France:	
Socialists	18%
MRP (Catholic)	11
Radical Socialists ("Liberal")	22
Peasants and Independents	20
Gaullists	19
Communists	8
Others parties	23
No party preference stated	16
(Communists & Sympathizers)	17
Italy:	
Anti-Communist Socialists, Republicans	22%
Christian Democrats	18
Liberals	20
Monarchists	24
Neo Fascists	29
Pro-Communist Socialists	18
Communists	7
No party preference stated	19
(Communists & Sympathizers)	16
Netherlands:	
Labor (Socialists)	8%
Catholic People's Party	12
Christian Historicals (Protestant; Liberal-Conservative)	8
Liberals	11
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist/Conservative)	17
Other parties	12
No party preference stated	13
(Communists & Sympathizers)	12
Great Britain:	
Labour (Socialists)	16%
Liberals	19
Conservatives	23
No party preference stated	19
(Communists & Sympathizers)	23

GROUP VARIATIONS IN *LOSS* OF INTEGRATIONIST SUPPORT WHEN REALISM INJECTED

	Per cent of population group
REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:	
West Germany:	
Bavaria	12%
Hesse	17
Wuerttemberg-Baden	5
North Rhine/Westphalia	2
Lower Saxony	8
Schleswig-Holstein	10
Baden	15
Rhineland-Palatinate	—
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	2
Bremen, Hamburg	3
France:	
Paris and surroundings	23%
North East	16
North West	14
South West	13
South East	14
Italy:	
North	16%
Central	18
South and Islands	20
Netherlands:	
North	5%
East	11
West	12
South	12
Great Britain:	
South England (Including London)	23%
The Midlands	16
Wales	18
Northern England	16
Scotland	23

APPENDIX C — GROUP VARIATIONS IN SCHUMAN PLAN SUPPORT

	FOR SCHUMAN PLAN						AGAINST SCHUMAN PLAN						UNDECIDED						NOT ASKED AS DEMONSTRATE NO REAL AWARENESS OF PLAN					
	JCSC	W.G.	Fr.	Fr.	N.L.	U.S.	JCSC	W.G.	Fr.	Fr.	N.L.	U.S.	JCSC	W.G.	Fr.	Fr.	N.L.	U.S.	JCSC	W.G.	Fr.	Fr.	N.L.	U.S.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sex:																								
Men	42	38	53	38	47	19	16	23	16	6	8	19	11	12	14	7	12	13	31	27	17	49	33	49
Women	22	17	37	14	27	9	4	5	5	2	2	7	9	9	14	4	9	8	65	69	44	80	62	76
Education:																								
No school/elem. school	23	22	34	13	23	12	11	14	13	5	5	11	8	9	14	4	8	9	58	55	39	78	64	68
Second., trade school, etc.	50	41	58	46	51	23	10	16	13	2	5	15	11	15	12	7	15	15	29	28	17	45	29	47
High school, university	59	49	64	58	69	15	8	16	8	2	6	25	13	14	15	10	6	19	20	21	13	30	19	41
Socio-Economic Status:																								
Upper middle & well-to-do	52	41	57	49	50	18	8	13	9	1	5	17	12	10	14	10	11	20	28	36	20	40	34	45
Lower middle & poor	29	25	37	24	32	12	10	15	15	4	5	12	9	10	13	5	10	8	52	50	35	67	53	68
Occupation:																								
Professionals/Executives	62	53	65	65	80	20	6	15	6	—	—	21	16	19	15	15	9	18	16	13	14	20	11	41
Small businessmen	52	52	65	40	45	14	7	11	6	4	6	14	10	10	11	7	12	10	31	27	18	49	37	62
White-collar workers	50	42	55	55	54	16	10	15	14	2	5	17	14	13	16	11	14	14	26	30	15	32	27	53
Independent artisans	36	29	47	30	44	19	11	21	10	7	2	11	10	11	14	6	12	10	43	39	29	57	42	60
Manual workers	30	28	34	26	35	12	21	23	26	14	8	13	10	11	14	6	11	10	39	38	26	54	46	65
Farmers	35	30	49	27	33	12	7	14	10	*	5	14	7	8	13	3	16	15	51	48	28	70	46	59
Farmhands	15	22	27	10	36	6	6	6	24	3	4	11	6	17	8	4	4	5	73	55	41	83	56	78
City Size:																								
Less than 2,000	33	24	43	17	27	17	10	11	11	—	—	4	10	10	13	5	5	37	47	55	33	78	68	42
2,000—5,000	30	26	52	23	13	13	9	13	15	4	3	10	7	5	11	4	13	2	54	56	22	69	71	75
5,001—20,000	31	25	45	27	33	12	8	15	13	4	2	13	8	11	18	3	11	12	53	49	24	66	54	63
20,001—100,000	37	30	51	31	44	13	9	17	13	5	5	14	8	10	11	5	11	10	46	43	25	59	40	63
100,001—250,000	36	24	67	26	41	16	9	14	7	4	4	13	13	16	10	13	13	10	42	46	16	57	42	61
Over 250,000	36	38	39	30	41	14	12	18	11	4	8	13	14	11	18	11	9	12	38	33	32	55	42	61
Age:																								
21—29 years	30	28	40	24	38	17	10	14	11	7	4	11	12	12	17	7	11	10	48	46	32	62	47	62
30—64 years	35	29	49	29	39	13	10	15	13	2	4	14	11	10	14	6	11	11	44	46	24	63	46	62
65 years and over	30	23	42	21	32	12	7	12	4	4	8	9	8	9	13	2	8	9	55	56	41	73	52	70
Religion:																								
Catholics, regular	38	28	55	33	44	11	3	8	2	1	2	23	8	10	11	4	7	8	51	54	32	62	47	58
Catholics, irregular	32	25	44	22	44	16	10	20	11	6	5	15	11	13	15	7	8	10	47	42	30	65	43	59
Protestants, regular	34	25	74	—	41	13	8	10	—	—	3	11	8	8	5	—	10	15	50	57	21	—	46	61
Protestants, irregular	30	29	47	—	29	13	14	16	14	—	4	12	11	10	11	—	13	11	45	45	28	—	54	64
None	35	27	36	31	38	17	27	40	31	26	11	17	11	5	14	—	11	9	27	28	19	43	40	57
Total population	32	28	46	27	39	13	9	15	12	4	5	13	11	11	14	6	12	11	48	46	28	63	44	63

[redacted]
04531

	For Schuman Plan	Against Schuman Plan	Undecided	Not asked as demonstrate no real awareness of plan	No. of cases
PARTY PREFERENCE:					
West Germany:					
Socialists	24%	24%	12%	40%...100%	394
Christian Democrats	42	7	9	42	388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	49	15	10	26	81
Other parties	28	21	10	41	97
No party preference stated	18	12	10	60	628
(Communists & Sympathizers)	23	23	12	42	74
France:					
Socialist	60%	11%	12%	17%...100%	186
MRP (Catholic)	65	—	7	28	149
Radical Socialists ("Liberal")	65	5	10	20	106
Farmers and Independents	61	6	10	23	125
Gaullist	62	9	13	16	92
Communists	3	63	7	27	113
Other parties	39	17	11	13	66
No party preference stated	33	6	21	40	508
(Communists & Sympathizers)	20	40	10	22	226
Italy:					
Anti-Communist Socialists, Republicans	46%	2%	10%	42%...100%	176
Christian Democrats	30	1	3	66	420
Liberals	63	—	7	30	57
Monarchists	27	1	4	68	71
Neo-Fascists	38	4	1	57	72
Pro-Communist Socialists	20	14	9	57	86
Communists	11	22	8	59	151
No party preference stated	18	*	5	77	437
(Communists & Sympathizers)	17	17	8	58	278
Netherlands:					
Labor (Socialist)	39%	4%	10%	47%...100%	447
Catholic People's Party	43	3	6	48	337
Christian Historicals (Protestant/Liberal-Conservative)	35	6	12	47	143
Liberals	48	4	14	34	106
Anti-Revolutionaries (Calvinist/Conservative)	36	—	12	52	143
Other parties	26	23	12	39	84
No party preference stated	31	5	14	50	253
(Communists & Sympathizers)	29	17	13	41	121
Great Britain:					
Labour (Socialists)	13%	13%	9%	65%...100%	715
Liberals	22	16	15	47	142
Conservatives	13	13	13	61	486
No party preference stated	7	13	7	73	137
(Communists & Sympathizers)	11	14	8	67	109

*Less than one half of one per cent.

	For Schuman Plan	Against Schuman Plan	Undecided	Not asked as unaware of Plan	No. of cases
REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:					
West Germany:					
Bavaria	21 %	15 %	9 %	55 %...100 %	307
Hesse	21	15	10	54	146
Wuerttemberg-Baden	22	10	13	55	134
North Rhine/Westphalia	28	16	10	46	440
Lower Saxony	33	15	11	41	229
Schleswig-Holstein	30	14	13	43	88
Baden	20	23	12	45	40
Rheinland-Palatinate	27	7	11	55	97
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	56	10	5	29	41
Bremen, Hamburg	46	16	4	34	69
France:					
Paris and surroundings	45 %	11 %	13 %	31 %...100 %	307
North East	52	9	11	28	335
North West	46	12	13	29	226
South West	47	12	17	24	177
South East	41	15	17	27	299
Italy:					
North	30 %	4 %	7 %	59 %...100 %	723
Central	30	4	6	60	371
South and Islands	22	3	4	71	511
Netherlands:					
North	32 %	4 %	13 %	51 %...100 %	168
East	32	4	7	57	226
West	39	6	12	43	861
South	41	1	8	50	248
Great Britain:					
South England (including London)	16 %	14 %	9 %	61 %...100 %	479
The Midlands	12	14	9	65	294
Wales	20	15	9	56	116
Northern England	11	11	13	65	357
Scotland	11	11	18	60	147

04532

	FOR SCHUMAN PLAN AFTER BRIEF DESCRIPTION						AGAINST SCHUMAN PLAN AFTER BRIEF DESCRIPTION						UNDECIDED ABOUT PLAN AFTER BRIEF DESCRIPTION					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
Sex:																		
Men	62%	55%	62%	69%	74%	46%	22%	30%	22%	13%	9%	36%	16%	15%	16%	18%	17%	18%
Women	51	46	56	52	58	39	11	15	11	6	5	26	38	40	33	42	37	35
Education:																		
No school/elem. school	49	45	48	51	57	42	17	22	21	11	8	28	34	33	31	38	35	30
Second., trade school, etc.	71	62	72	76	75	49	15	25	16	8	7	33	14	13	12	16	18	18
High school, university	77	69	77	81	85	36	11	19	10	7	7	47	12	12	13	12	8	17
Socio-Economic status:																		
Upper middle & well-to-do	68	54	69	81	75	45	12	23	12	4	7	30	20	23	19	15	18	25
Lower middle & poor	54	49	51	58	63	42	16	22	21	10	7	31	30	29	28	32	30	27
Occupation:																		
Professionals/Executives	80	68	80	89	97	44	10	26	6	3	—	36	10	6	14	8	3	20
Small businessmen	72	67	73	78	73	48	11	18	11	4	12	30	17	15	16	18	15	22
White-collar workers	67	61	66	75	75	44	17	21	18	13	8	35	16	18	16	12	17	21
Independent artisans	66	50	65	73	70	46	17	42	14	9	5	34	17	8	21	18	25	20
Manual workers	50	50	44	54	69	44	28	30	35	23	9	30	22	20	21	23	22	26
Farmers	59	47	62	66	69	34	12	28	15	5	7	27	29	25	23	29	24	39
Farmhands	44	61	41	39	76	33	19	14	32	18	12	28	37	25	27	43	12	39
City Size:																		
Less than 2,000	52	48	55	61	65	67	18	21	17	7	3	12	30	31	28	32	32	21
2,000—5,000	55	52	57	59	53	44	15	23	19	7	5	23	30	25	24	34	42	33
5,001—20,000	56	49	62	59	59	44	14	21	16	9	4	30	30	30	22	32	37	26
20,001—100,000	60	51	60	63	70	40	17	24	19	12	7	30	23	25	21	25	23	30
100,001—250,000	60	47	82	60	67	42	18	25	12	14	6	32	22	28	6	26	27	26
Over 250,000	61	55	61	64	71	45	15	22	16	9	11	34	24	23	23	27	18	21
Age:																		
21—29 years	57	55	57	58	69	43	16	21	16	13	7	37	27	24	27	29	24	20
30—54 years	58	50	61	63	67	44	17	23	19	9	7	30	25	27	20	28	26	26
65 years and over	52	40	58	56	57	35	13	23	9	7	9	27	35	37	33	37	34	38
Religion:																		
Catholics, regular	64	53	71	67	70	42	7	16	5	3	3	37	29	31	24	30	27	21
Catholics, irregular	57	46	59	58	68	53	17	31	15	14	9	21	26	23	26	28	23	26
Protestants, regular	54	45	79	—	68	45	13	17	5	—	6	29	33	38	16	—	26	26
Protestants, irregular	52	51	58	—	63	42	22	24	25	—	6	31	26	25	17	—	31	27
None	48	45	43	39	67	41	36	35	41	44	14	35	16	20	16	17	19	24
Total population	57	50	60	61	67	43	15	22	17	10	7	31	28	28	23	29	26	26

	For Schuman Plan after brief description	Against Schuman Plan after brief description	Undecided about plan after brief description	No. of cases
PARTY PREFERENCE:				
West Germany:				
Socialists	47 %	33 %	20 %... 100 %	394
Christian Democrats	68	16	16	388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	69	24	7	81
Other parties	49	26	25	97
No party preference stated	38	19	43	628
(Communists & Sympathizers)	49	35	16	74
France:				
Socialists	71 %	17 %	12 %... 100 %	186
MRP (Catholic)	77	4	19	149
Radical Socialists ("Liberals")	76	7	17	106
Farmers and Independents	73	9	18	125
Gaullists	76	12	12	93
Communists	12	76	12	113
Other parties	64	24	12	66
No party preference stated	51	12	37	388
(Communists & Sympathizers)	38	48	14	226
Italy:				
Anti-Communist Socialists, Republicans	82 %	6 %	12 %... 100 %	176
Christian Democrats	69	3	28	420
Liberals	93	2	5	57
Monarchists	72	6	22	71
Neo-Fascists	78	10	12	72
Pro-Communist Socialists	48	25	27	86
Communists	25	42	33	151
No party preference stated	52	4	44	437
(Communists & Sympathizers)	37	32	31	278
Netherlands:				
Labor (Socialists)	74 %	5 %	21 %... 100 %	447
Catholic People's Party	68	5	27	337
Christian Historicals (Protestant Liberal-Conservative)	60	6	34	143
Liberals	74	9	17	106
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist Conservative)	68	5	27	143
Other parties	51	32	17	84
No party preference stated	57	7	36	253
(Communists & Sympathizers)	51	26	23	121
Great Britain:				
Labour (Socialists)	43 %	30 %	27 %... 100 %	715
Liberals	49	28	23	142
Conservatives	43	34	23	486
No party preference stated	31	30	39	137
(Communists & Sympathizers)	42	26	32	109

045533

	For Schuman Plan after brief description	Against Schuman Plan after Brief description	Undecided about Plan after brief description	No. of cases
REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:				
West Germany:				
Bavaria	44 %	28 %	28 %...100 %	307
Hesse	40	24	36	146
Wuerttemberg-Baden	55	19	26	134
North Rhine/Westphalia	49	21	30	440
Lower Saxony	52	23	25	229
Schleswig-Holstein	59	11	30	88
Berlin	50	33	17	40
Rheinland-Palatinate	48	20	32	97
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	73	22	5	41
Bremen, Hamburg	65	20	15	69
France:				
Paris and surroundings	44 %	15 %	19 %...100 %	307
North East	61	16	23	325
North West	58	17	25	236
South West	56	19	25	177
South East	55	18	27	299
Italy:				
North	63	10	27	723
Central	56	12	32	271
South and Islands	61	8	31	511
Netherlands:				
North	66 %	5 %	29 %...100 %	168
East	63	6	31	236
West	67	9	24	861
South	66	3	31	248
Great Britain:				
South England (including London)	43 %	33 %	24 %...100 %	479
The Midlands	45	30	25	394
Wales	46	24	30	116
Northern England	40	30	30	367
Scotland	35	35	30	147

POTENTIAL NET GAINS IN SUPPORT OF SCHUMAN PLAN ⊙

	PER CENT OF POPULATION GROUPS					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N. L.	G. B.
Sex:						
Men	14%	4%	3%	24%	26%	10%
Women	22	18	13	34	28	11
Education:						
No school/elem. school	20	15	6	32	31	13
Second., trade school, etc.	16	12	11	24	22	11
High school, university	15	17	11	18	15	1
Socio-Economic Status:						
Upper middle & well-to-do	12	3	9	29	19	14
Lower middle & poor	19	17	8	28	29	11
Occupation:						
Professionals/Executives	14	4	15	21	17	9
Small businessmen	16	8	8	28	22	18
White-collar workers	10	13	7	9	18	10
Independent artisans	24	—1	14	41	23	4
Manual workers	13	15	1	19	33	15
Farmers	19	3	1	34	34	9
Farmhands	16	31	6	14	32	10
City Size:						
Less than 2,000	11	13	6	27	29	42
2,000— 5,000	19	16	1	32	38	18
5,001— 20,000	19	18	14	17	24	15
20,001—100,000	15	14	3	25	24	11
100,001—250,000	15	12	10	24	24	7
Over 250,000	22	13	17	29	27	10
Age:						
21-29 years	21	20	12	28	28	•
30-64 years	16	13	6	27	25	15
65 years and over	16	6	11	32	24	5
Religion:						
Catholics, regular	22	17	13	32	25	17
Catholics, irregular	18	10	11	28	20	31
Protestants, regular	15	13	—	—	24	14
Protestants, irregular	14	14	—	—	32	10
None	4	13	—3	—10	26	6

• Less than one half of one per cent.

⊙ In the interest of simplicity in the overall discussion the chart of increase in support for the CSC with complete dissemination of basic information was based upon gross gain in support, i.e. increase in the proportion who say approve of Schuman Plan. In population group comparisons, however, since charting has not been deemed necessary a more complicated index—net gain—can be used. This index is based upon increase in support minus increase in opposition.

045534

POTENTIAL NET GAINS IN SUPPORT OF SCHUMAN PLAN

	Per cent of population group
PARTY PREFERENCE:	
West Germany:	
Socialists	14 %
Christian Democrats	17
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	11
Other parties	16
No party preference stated	13
(Communists & Sympathisers)	14
France:	
Socialists	5 %
MRP (Catholic)	8
Radical Socialists (" Liberal ")	9
Farmers and Independents	9
Gaullists	11
Communists	4
Other parties	2
No party preference stated	12
(Communists & Sympathisers)	2
Italy:	
Anti-Communist Socialists, Republicans	32 %
Christian Democrats	37
Liberals	28
Monarchists	40
Neo-Fascists	34
Pro-Communist Socialists	17
Communists	6
No party preference stated	30
(Communists & Sympathisers)	5
Netherlands:	
Labour (Socialists)	34 %
Catholic People's Party	23
Christian Historicals (Protestant, Liberal-Conservative)	25
Liberals	21
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinists/Conservative)	27
Other parties	16
No party preference stated	24
(Communists & Sympathisers)	13
Great Britain:	
Labour (Socialists)	13 %
Liberals	15
Conservatives	9
No party preference stated	7
(Communists & Sympathisers)	19

	Per cent of population groups
REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:	
West Germany:	
Bavaria	10 %
Hesse	10
Wuerttemberg-Baden	24
North Rhine/Westphalia	16
Lower Saxony	11
Schleswig-Holstein	26
Baden	20
Rheinland-Palatinate	8
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	5
Bremen, Hamburg	15
France:	
Paris and surroundings	17 %
North East	2
North West	7
South West	2
South East	11
Italy:	
North	27 %
Central	18
South and Islands	34
Netherlands:	
North	33 %
East	29
West	25
South	23
Great Britain:	
South England (including London)	8 %
The Midlands	17
Wales	17
Northern England	10
Scotland	*

* Less than one half of one per cent.

APPENDIX D: GROUP VARIATIONS IN REACTIONS TO AMERICA'S POSTWAR ACTIONS

"Taking all the things America has done since the war together, is your overall impression more favorable or more unfavorable?"

	MORE FAVORABLE						MORE UNFAVORABLE						BOTH, NEITHER/NOR, MIXED						DON'T KNOW					
	%/CSC	%/W.G.	%/Fr.	%/It.	%/N.L.	%/G.B.	%/CSC	%/W.G.	%/Fr.	%/It.	%/N.L.	%/G.B.	%/CSC	%/W.G.	%/Fr.	%/It.	%/N.L.	%/G.B.	%/CSC	%/W.G.	%/Fr.	%/It.	%/N.L.	%/G.B.
Sex:																								
Men	59	68	49	56	69	47	16	10	21	18	13	18	19	17	25	17	13	28	6	5	5	9	5	7
Women	59	62	52	61	66	39	8	7	9	9	8	15	18	17	23	14	13	26	15	14	16	16	13	20
Education:																								
No school/elem. school	54	63	41	51	66	40	13	8	18	16	10	17	19	17	26	16	13	27	14	12	15	17	11	16
Second school, trade school, etc.	68	72	60	70	72	50	11	9	13	11	11	12	16	16	22	11	12	30	5	3	5	8	5	8
High school, university	67	70	64	71	59	54	10	11	10	9	17	14	20	16	23	17	21	26	3	3	3	3	3	6
Socio-Economic Status:																								
Upper middle and well-to-do	64	68	58	72	70	55	10	10	11	7	10	10	20	17	25	14	13	26	6	5	6	7	7	9
Lower middle and poor	57	65	44	56	66	40	13	8	20	15	11	18	18	17	23	16	13	27	12	10	13	13	10	15
Occupation:																								
Professionals/executives	74	77	71	74	77	59	6	4	7	6	6	14	18	19	21	14	14	20	2	—	1	6	3	7
Small businessmen	66	71	57	73	57	48	11	15	11	4	25	8	17	11	28	12	14	36	6	3	4	11	4	8
White-collar-workers	65	76	50	66	73	48	13	7	18	14	11	15	18	14	27	16	10	30	4	3	5	4	6	7
Independent artisans	60	74	47	59	63	43	14	8	18	15	16	19	18	18	27	15	16	31	8	—	8	11	5	7
Manual workers	52	65	32	39	64	39	19	10	34	29	12	18	20	17	26	20	17	29	9	8	8	12	7	14
Farmers	59	56	56	63	59	47	9	10	10	7	10	7	19	22	25	13	18	27	13	12	9	17	13	19
Farmhands	46	61	32	46	80	50	22	5	24	26	6	11	16	17	22	15	8	14	16	17	22	13	6	25
City Size:																								
Less than 2,000	57	63	48	68	81	67	11	9	14	6	3	4	19	15	25	12	16	4	13	13	13	14	—	25
2,000—5,000	56	56	44	63	65	44	14	13	20	10	12	12	17	21	24	11	8	21	13	10	12	16	15	33
5,001—20,000	59	71	40	58	67	60	13	8	18	15	5	8	17	15	30	14	13	22	11	6	12	13	15	10
20,001—100,000	59	65	55	55	71	37	13	8	16	15	11	17	18	17	21	18	12	32	10	10	8	12	6	14
100,001—250,000	61	63	66	53	63	38	12	8	12	18	9	21	19	19	20	19	18	26	8	10	2	10	10	15
Over 250,000	61	70	55	57	66	46	13	5	16	17	17	17	19	18	23	17	12	25	7	7	6	9	5	12
Age:																								
21-29 years	58	63	49	56	65	44	14	9	19	17	10	15	19	20	23	16	16	27	9	8	9	11	9	14
30-64 years	59	65	50	59	69	42	13	9	17	13	11	18	19	17	25	16	12	28	9	9	8	12	8	12
65 years and over	59	63	54	60	69	45	9	9	7	10	10	12	15	14	21	10	10	23	17	14	18	20	11	10
Religion:																								
Catholics, regular	67	66	62	70	77	48	6	7	5	6	5	12	16	17	23	12	6	25	11	10	10	12	12	15
Catholics, irregular	53	63	51	51	66	34	16	14	14	19	8	18	20	16	25	18	16	28	11	7	10	12	10	20
Protestants, regular	66	68	42	—	74	57	8	8	11	—	6	10	11	7	26	—	13	22	15	17	21	—	7	11
Protestants, irregular	64	64	50	—	69	43	8	7	20	—	10	16	18	19	22	—	13	28	10	10	8	—	8	13
None	38	53	39	26	56	32	34	22	39	48	22	23	21	22	24	13	17	28	7	3	7	13	5	17
Total population	58	65	50	58	67	43	13	9	16	14	11	16	18	17	24	15	13	27	11	9	10	13	9	14

04535

PARTY PREFERENCE:	More favorable	More unfavorable	Both, Neither, nor, Mixed	Don't know	No. of cases
West Germany:					
Socialist	72%	10%	13%	5% .. 100%	394
Christian Democrats	72	7	14	7	388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	76	7	16	1	81
Other parties	64	15	13	8	97
No party preference stated	54	8	22	16	628
(Communists and sympathizers)	38	15	19	8	74
France:					
Socialist	80	14	24	4	186
MRP (Catholic)	70	3	18	9	149
Radical Socialist (" Liberal ")	65	6	24	5	106
Farmers and Independents	64	3	28	5	125
Gaullist	77	5	12	6	92
Communist	6	79	8	7	113
Other parties	48	17	35	3	66
No party preference stated	42	12	29	17	508
(Communists and sympathizers)	26	47	22	5	226
Italy:					
Anti-Communist Socialists, Republicans	71	7	19	3	176
Christian-Democrats	81	2	7	10	420
Liberals	79	5	12	4	57
Monarchists	68	14	13	5	71
Neo-Fascists	49	21	22	8	72
Pro-Communist Socialists	16	39	33	12	86
Communists	10	64	16	10	151
No party preference stated	54	7	17	22	437
(Communists and sympathizers)	22	47	20	11	278
Netherlands:					
Labor (Socialist)	73	9	13	5	447
Catholic People's Party	76	4	8	12	337
Christian Historicals (Protestant/ Liberal-Conservative)	72	6	14	8	143
Liberals	70	7	20	3	106
Anti-Revolutionaries (Calvinist/ Conservative)	77	6	11	6	143
Other parties	43	45	8	4	84
No party preference stated	47	19	18	16	253
(Communists and sympathizers)	44	32	18	6	121
Great Britain:					
Labour (Socialist)	33	23	29	15	715
Liberals	60	8	28	4	142
Conservatives	55	11	23	11	486
No party preference stated	30	9	30	23	137
(Communists and sympathizers)	31	36	20	13	109

REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:	More favorable	More unfavorable	Both, Neither, nor, Mixed	Don't know	No. of cases
West Germany:					
Bavaria	60%	13%	19%	8%...100%	307
Hesse	57	9	19	15	146
Wuerttemberg-Baden	62	8	18	12	134
Nord-Rhine-Westphalia	67	8	16	9	439
Lower Saxony	72	7	11	10	228
Schleswig-Holstein	72	6	14	8	87
Baden	65	7	20	8	48
Rheinland-Palatinate	54	11	20	15	97
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	76	7	17	—	41
Bremen, Hamburg	62	4	22	12	69
France:					
Paris and surroundings	53	16	25	6	307
North East	48	16	28	11	225
North West	51	14	25	10	226
South West	51	15	23	11	177
South East	49	16	23	12	299
Italy:					
North	60	13	15	12	723
Central	50	17	15	18	271
South and Islands	61	14	15	10	811
Netherlands:					
North	65	11	14	10	168
East	66	8	17	9	226
West	66	14	13	7	861
South	74	4	9	13	248
Great Britain:					
South England (including London)	37	18	30	15	479
The Midlands	41	17	30	12	394
Wales	59	7	17	17	116
Northern England	47	17	23	13	367
Scotland	45	18	25	12	147

04536

APPENDIX E: GROUP VARIATIONS IN ATTITUDES TO AMERICAN INFLUENCE

" What is your opinion about America's influence in (name of country): Does America in general have too much influence, about the right amount, or too little? "

	TOO MUCH						RIGHT AMOUNT						TOO LITTLE						DON'T KNOW					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sex:																								
Men	48	28	49	44	46	50	38	49	31	33	35	38	4	5	4	4	2	2	18	18	16	19	17	10
Women	23	13	33	25	31	41	35	40	32	31	35	34	2	1	2	2	1	1	40	46	30	42	33	24
Education:																								
No school/elem. school	30	19	43	33	34	47	33	43	27	25	33	32	2	2	2	2	2	2	35	36	28	40	31	19
Second school, trade school, etc.	36	24	41	38	44	44	43	52	38	43	38	44	4	4	5	5	1	2	17	20	16	14	17	10
High school, university	37	28	39	38	50	41	44	51	39	46	36	46	5	7	4	5	1	2	14	14	18	11	13	11
Socio-Economic Status:																								
Upper middle and well-to-do	34	27	36	31	42	40	43	49	39	51	37	45	4	5	4	4	2	4	19	19	21	14	19	11
Lower middle and poor	31	19	47	35	37	47	34	44	25	29	34	33	3	3	2	3	2	1	32	34	26	33	27	19
Occupation:																								
Professionals/executives	36	32	42	32	46	40	45	53	34	53	31	48	5	4	7	3	—	2	14	11	17	12	23	10
Small businessmen	35	32	40	29	51	55	39	39	38	42	27	29	8	15	4	7	2	2	18	14	18	22	20	14
White-collar workers	37	24	44	41	46	46	43	55	32	45	38	42	4	2	5	6	2	2	16	19	19	8	14	10
Independent artisans	41	24	51	41	51	53	36	60	31	31	33	25	4	3	4	4	2	2	19	13	14	24	14	20
Manual workers	40	25	59	49	47	48	34	45	23	21	34	33	3	4	3	2	2	2	23	26	15	28	17	17
Farmers	30	22	33	30	41	39	38	47	36	37	33	44	2	—	2	3	—	2	30	31	29	30	26	15
Farmhands	40	28	51	41	33	31	23	36	16	20	29	36	3	3	—	3	2	—	34	33	33	36	36	33
City Size:																								
Less than 2,000	28	17	39	26	27	21	35	40	31	34	57	50	3	3	2	4	—	4	34	40	28	36	16	25
2,000—5,000	30	23	45	27	37	33	38	50	29	34	25	31	2	1	1	2	2	2	30	26	25	37	36	34
5,001—20,000	33	23	52	33	33	41	35	46	22	33	28	38	2	1	4	3	3	2	30	30	22	31	36	19
20,001—100,000	33	18	37	40	37	48	38	50	38	29	40	35	3	4	3	3	1	2	26	28	22	28	22	15
100,001—250,000	31	21	34	45	37	48	38	43	44	21	33	34	6	4	11	8	4	2	25	32	11	26	26	16
Over 250,000	38	25	45	40	48	45	37	44	31	37	36	38	3	5	3	3	1	1	22	26	21	20	15	16
Age:																								
21—29 years	41	20	41	56	44	43	32	51	31	17	34	37	8	3	3	16	2	3	19	26	25	11	20	17
30—64 years	40	21	43	59	38	48	31	45	32	13	35	36	7	3	4	16	2	1	22	31	21	12	25	15
65 years and over	35	16	35	60	29	38	28	36	32	10	33	33	4	2	3	10	2	2	33	46	30	20	36	27
Religion:																								
Catholics, regular	25	16	33	24	33	44	41	46	37	40	34	29	2	1	3	3	1	4	32	37	27	33	32	23
Catholics, irregular	39	25	40	44	31	46	31	42	33	26	33	28	3	5	3	3	5	5	27	28	24	27	31	21
Protestants, regular	22	12	53	—	36	38	40	43	31	—	38	44	2	2	—	—	2	1	36	43	16	—	24	17
Protestants, irregular	24	22	36	—	37	47	46	47	41	—	38	36	3	3	6	—	2	1	27	28	17	—	23	16
None	58	35	63	74	52	50	22	28	19	13	30	30	3	12	2	—	2	2	17	25	16	13	16	18
Total population	32	20	42	35	39	46	36	45	32	32	35	35	3	3	3	3	2	2	29	32	23	30	24	17

PARTY PREFERENCE:	Too much	Right/too little	Don't know	No. of cases:
West Germany:				
Socialists	24%	52%	3%..100%	394
Christian Democrats	16	59	25	388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	27	58	15	81
Other parties	15	63	22	97
No party preference stated	20	36	44	628
(Communists and sympathizers)	31	56	13	74
France:				
Socialists	48	37	15	186
MRP (Catholic)	31	48	21	149
Radical Socialists ("Liberal")	28	53	19	106
Farmers and Independents	31	47	22	125
Gaullists	25	64	11	92
Communists	88	4	8	113
Other parties	55	30	15	66
No party preference stated	39	27	34	888
(Communists and sympathizers)	71	16	13	226
Italy:				
Anti-Communist Socialists, Republicans	45	39	16	176
Christian-Democrats	17	54	29	430
Liberals	28	58	14	57
Monarchists	35	37	28	71
Neo-Fascists	61	28	11	72
Pro-Communist Socialists	16	72	12	86
Communists	77	6	17	151
No party preference stated	24	29	47	457
(Communists and sympathizers)	68	10	22	270
Netherlands:				
Labor (Socialists)	38	46	16	447
Catholic People's Party	31	36	33	337
Christian Historicals (Protestant/Liberal-Conservative)	34	42	24	143
Liberals	42	46	12	106
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist/Conservative)	32	40	28	143
Other parties	67	15	18	84
No party preference stated	46	22	32	253
(Communists and sympathisers)	67	20	13	121
Great Britain:				
Labour (Socialists)	52	29	19	715
Liberals	45	44	11	142
Conservatives	37	48	15	486
No party preference stated	44	32	24	137
(Communists and sympathizers)	62	30	8	109

04537

REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:	Too much	Right amount	Too little	Don't know	No. of cases
West Germany:					
Bavaria	30 %	33 %	3 %	34 %	307
Hesse	23	39	1	37	146
Wuerttemberg-Baden	19	47	2	32	134
Nord-Rhine-Westphalia	19	45	3	33	439
Lower Saxony	12	50	6	32	228
Schleswig-Holstein	19	54	2	25	87
Baden	15	60	2	23	40
Rhineland-Palatinate	21	44	1	32	97
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	17	76	2	5	41
Bremen-Hamburg	16	42	9	33	69
France:					
Paris and surroundings	45	29	4	22	307
North East	42	35	2	21	325
North West	33	36	3	28	236
South West	45	29	5	21	177
South East	43	29	2	26	299
Italy:					
North	31	35	5	29	723
Central	42	27	2	29	271
South and Islands	37	30	2	31	511
Netherlands:					
North	39	31	4	26	168
East	31	35	2	32	236
West	45	36	1	18	861
South	29	32	3	38	248
Great Britain:					
South England (including London)	49	34	2	15	479
The Midlands	47	36	3	14	394
Wales	39	34	1	26	116
Northern England	45	37	2	16	367
Scotland	40	35	—	25	147

APPENDIX F: GROUP VARIATIONS IN REACTIONS TO RUSSIA'S POSTWAR ACTIONS

"Taking all the things Russia has done since the war together is your overall impression more favorable or more unfavorable?"

	MORE FAVORABLE						MORE UNFAVORABLE						BOTH, NEITHER/NOR, MIXED						DON'T KNOW					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sex:																								
Men	11	3	15	17	5	4	70	88	59	58	79	71	10	4	16	11	7	16	9	5	10	14	9	9
Women	6	2	9	10	2	3	67	82	56	55	76	68	9	4	16	9	6	10	18	12	19	26	16	19
Education:																								
No school/elem. school	8	3	16	17	4	3	65	83	47	48	72	67	10	4	19	10	8	13	17	10	18	25	16	17
Second school, trade school, etc.	7	2	10	9	4	3	74	89	66	71	83	73	11	5	15	10	4	16	8	4	9	10	9	8
High school, university	6	4	6	8	2	2	78	88	74	74	87	81	9	4	11	10	7	10	7	4	9	8	4	7
Socio-Economic Status:																								
Upper middle and well-to-do	8	6	9	7	2	2	73	84	66	77	85	78	9	4	13	7	4	12	10	6	12	9	9	8
Lower middle and poor	9	2	15	15	4	4	67	85	50	54	74	67	9	4	18	10	8	13	15	9	17	21	14	16
Occupation:																								
Professionals/executives	6	9	7	2	3	2	76	83	70	75	88	78	7	—	12	8	3	15	11	8	11	15	6	5
Small businessmen	7	5	7	9	6	*	73	88	64	68	80	76	10	3	16	9	8	18	10	4	13	14	6	6
White-collar workers	8	1	12	13	4	3	75	89	62	69	84	76	9	5	15	10	5	11	8	5	11	8	7	10
Independent artisans	9	3	8	12	—	3	65	89	59	59	86	85	14	—	21	14	7	11	12	8	12	15	7	1
Manual workers	14	4	27	26	5	4	65	86	41	42	70	64	10	4	20	12	14	15	11	6	12	20	11	17
Farmers	6	—	7	8	2	2	70	93	65	64	75	78	10	4	18	6	7	5	14	3	10	22	16	15
Farmhands	24	—	33	28	2	3	46	83	30	40	86	67	8	3	13	8	—	8	22	14	24	24	12	22
City Size:																								
Less than 2,000	7	1	12	7	5	—	71	85	57	72	90	75	9	3	16	7	—	4	13	11	15	14	5	21
2,000—5,000	7	1	10	11	7	4	67	87	53	56	70	67	8	4	16	8	6	4	18	8	21	25	17	25
5,001—20,000	10	3	12	16	1	2	66	85	54	55	80	75	10	5	19	11	3	13	14	7	15	18	16	10
20,001—100,000	11	4	15	16	3	3	65	84	62	53	81	68	10	3	12	12	9	12	14	9	11	19	7	17
100,001—250,000	10	10	11	12	2	6	70	80	68	52	75	64	7	4	9	11	9	16	13	6	12	25	14	14
Over 250,000	9	3	11	14	5	2	69	85	56	64	74	74	11	5	20	10	7	12	11	7	13	12	14	12
Age:																								
21-29 years	9	2	12	15	3	2	68	88	55	58	80	64	10	2	21	9	6	16	13	8	12	18	11	18
30-64 years	9	3	13	14	3	4	68	84	59	57	77	70	10	5	14	11	7	13	13	8	14	18	13	13
65 years and over	8	3	7	14	4	2	68	83	59	59	75	70	8	1	16	5	4	10	16	13	18	22	17	18
Religion:																								
Catholics, regular	4	1	4	6	2	2	76	89	76	67	86	84	7	3	8	9	2	6	13	7	12	18	10	8
Catholics, irregular	13	3	10	18	1	—	57	84	53	50	76	64	14	6	20	12	8	8	16	7	17	20	15	28
Protestants, regular	1	1	—	—	1	1	79	79	63	—	87	84	3	2	16	—	2	4	17	18	21	—	10	11
Protestants, irregular	4	3	17	—	3	3	84	86	69	—	76	69	4	3	11	—	7	14	8	8	3	—	14	14
None	28	17	35	30	9	12	45	70	35	23	65	62	15	8	19	4	13	13	12	5	11	23	13	13
Total population	9	3	12	14	3	3	68	85	57	57	77	69	9	4	16	10	7	13	14	8	15	19	13	13

209

[redacted]
04538

PARTY PREFERENCE:	More favorable	More unfavorable	Both, Neither/nor, Mixed	Don't know	No. of cases:
West Germany:					
Socialists	4%	87%	4%	5%...100%	394
Christian Democrats	2	93	2	3	388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	2	91	2	5	81
Other parties	6	89	3	2	97
No party preference stated	3	77	5	15	628
(Communists and sympathizers)	13	73	11	3	74
France:					
Socialists	7	62	22	9	186
MRP (Catholic)	3	78	14	5	149
Radical Socialists ("Liberal")	4	71	18	7	106
Farmers and Independents	5	73	9	13	125
Gaullists	3	84	5	8	92
Communists	88	1	8	3	113
Other parties	11	53	24	12	66
No party preference stated	5	52	18	25	508
(Communists and sympathizers)	50	23	20	7	226
Italy:					
Anti-Communist Socialists, Republicans	4	74	11	11	176
Christian-Democrats	5	79	5	11	420
Liberals	4	82	10	4	57
Monarchists	4	78	4	14	71
Neo-Fascists	3	80	10	7	72
Pro-Communist Socialists	50	8	22	20	86
Communists	71	7	12	10	151
No party preference stated	5	45	12	38	437
(Communists and sympathizers)	52	13	16	19	278
Netherlands					
Labor (Socialists)	2	80	8	10	447
Catholic People's Party	2	84	3	11	337
Christian Historicals (Protestant/Liberal-Conservative)	1	81	8	10	143
Liberals	2	85	6	7	106
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist/Conservative)	1	89	1	9	143
Others parties	25	60	7	8	84
No party preference stated	3	59	12	26	253
(Communists and sympathizers)	21	32	31	16	121
Great Britain:					
Labour (Socialists)	4	62	17	17	715
Liberals	1	78	14	7	142
Conservatives	1	81	8	10	486
No party preference stated	2	54	13	31	137
(Communists and sympathizers)	22	38	24	16	109

REGION WITHIN COUNTRIES:	More favorable	More unfavorable	Both Neither Nor Mixed	Don't know	No. of cases
West Germany					
Bavaria	1 %	86 %	5 %	8 % ... 100 %	307
Hesse	3	78	2	17	146
Wuerttemberg-Baden	3	80	4	13	134
Nord-Rhine-Westphalia	4	86	4	6	439
Lower Saxony	3	86	3	8	228
Schleswig Holstein	3	89	2	6	87
Baden	2	88	10	8	40
Rheinland-Palatinate	3	83	5	9	97
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	—	95	2	3	41
Bremen, Hamburg	4	85	1	10	89
France:					
Paris and surroundings	11	60	18	11	307
North East	8	63	11	18	325
North West	12	61	15	12	236
South West	12	52	20	14	177
South East	17	51	18	14	299
Italy:					
North	13	58	10	19	723
Central	19	46	11	24	271
South and Islands	13	61	9	17	511
Netherlands:					
North	3	78	7	12	168
East	2	74	10	14	236
West	4	76	7	13	861
South	2	84	2	12	248
Great Britain:					
South England (Including London)	4	67	14	15	479
The Midlands	3	67	14	16	394
Wales	4	65	13	18	116
Northern England	1	74	11	14	367
Scotland	5	73	12	10	147

045539

APPENDIX G: GROUP VARIATIONS IN ASSIGNING MAJOR SHARE OF BLAME FOR PRESENT CONFLICT

" In the present conflict between Russia and U.S., which country do you think is more to blame—Russia or the United States? "

	RUSSIA						U.S.						BOTH						DON'T KNOW					
	Total	Cath.	Prot.	Non-Rel.	Labor	Non-Lab.	Total	Cath.	Prot.	Non-Rel.	Labor	Non-Lab.	Total	Cath.	Prot.	Non-Rel.	Labor	Non-Lab.	Total	Cath.	Prot.	Non-Rel.	Labor	Non-Lab.
Sex:																								
Men	44	53	39	38	53	46	6	3	6	9	4	7	29	26	33	30	29	21	21	18	22	23	14	26
Women	41	48	39	31	50	48	6	3	6	9	4	7	29	26	33	30	29	21	24	23	22	30	17	24
Education:																								
No school/elem. school	38	49	30	27	50	47	10	4	14	15	6	9	30	29	36	28	29	25	22	18	20	30	15	19
Second. school, trade school, etc.	48	56	45	43	54	51	6	3	9	7	4	6	35	29	37	37	33	30	11	12	9	13	9	13
High school, university	52	56	54	49	50	55	5	4	6	3	5	5	34	31	30	41	36	28	9	9	10	7	9	12
Socio-Economic Status:																								
Upper middle and well-to-do	51	48	51	55	53	53	6	4	7	3	5	5	30	34	29	31	31	27	13	14	13	11	11	15
Lower middle and poor	40	51	29	31	50	47	9	4	14	13	5	9	32	28	39	32	31	26	19	17	18	24	14	18
Occupation:																								
Professionals/executives	50	51	53	45	57	59	6	6	4	8	3	5	33	34	25	41	37	24	11	9	18	6	3	12
Small business-men	49	53	51	43	53	51	6	5	11	3	4	5	32	32	26	38	27	30	13	10	12	16	16	14
White-collar workers	46	57	35	42	56	47	8	4	11	9	5	6	36	27	42	43	30	29	10	12	12	6	9	18
Independent artisans	36	47	31	34	35	53	9	—	8	12	9	10	41	42	49	37	47	25	14	11	12	17	9	12
Manual workers	38	49	26	18	47	47	14	6	26	23	9	10	35	34	38	36	33	26	13	11	10	23	11	17
Farmers	48	58	44	46	57	56	5	4	6	5	7	2	28	23	35	25	23	27	19	15	15	24	13	15
Farmhands	29	56	19	26	48	36	21	—	24	24	—	6	25	33	38	21	27	25	25	11	19	29	25	33
City Size:																								
Less than 2,000	47	52	40	54	62	67	7	3	12	6	—	8	29	27	33	21	30	8	17	18	15	19	8	17
2,000—5,000	38	48	27	35	55	38	7	4	10	10	6	8	33	32	45	26	28	14	22	16	18	29	11	40
5,001—20,000	40	49	35	34	54	51	9	5	10	12	3	3	30	32	38	28	24	22	21	14	17	26	19	24
20,001—100,000	42	52	45	31	55	50	10	4	11	14	4	8	33	26	33	37	32	24	15	18	11	18	9	18
100,001—250,000	46	49	56	26	52	42	7	5	11	10	4	12	30	26	26	42	27	31	17	20	7	22	17	15
Over 250,000	41	52	36	32	44	50	8	4	11	11	8	7	35	34	33	39	38	31	16	10	20	18	10	12
Age:																								
21-29 years	40	53	34	31	49	39	9	3	11	14	7	7	34	29	37	35	33	36	17	15	18	20	11	18
30-64 years	43	51	40	35	52	50	8	4	12	11	4	9	32	29	35	32	31	25	17	16	13	22	13	16
65 years and over	45	48	45	37	55	48	5	3	5	8	5	7	26	26	30	21	24	20	24	23	20	34	16	25
Religion:																								
Catholics, regular	51	56	56	43	63	60	2	3	1	3	3	6	28	25	28	30	23	24	19	16	15	24	11	10
Catholics, irregular	34	48	35	28	52	36	12	5	9	16	6	11	36	32	39	35	29	30	18	15	17	21	13	23
Protestants, regular	51	48	45	—	63	59	1	1	—	—	2	6	30	29	50	—	23	17	18	22	5	—	12	18
Protestants, irregular	48	48	44	—	50	48	5	5	17	—	4	7	31	31	22	—	32	27	16	16	17	—	14	18
None	26	43	21	14	34	39	28	15	35	45	12	22	34	30	32	27	43	23	12	12	12	14	11	16
Total population	43	51	39	34	51	48	7	4	11	11	5	8	33	29	35	32	31	26	17	16	15	23	13	18

PARTY PREFERENCE:	Russia	U.S.	Both	Don't know	No. of cases:
West Germany:					
Socialists	55%	6%	22%	7%...100%	394
Christian Democrats	67	2	21	10	388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	56	5	32	7	81
Other parties	51	8	21	20	97
No party preference stated	37	3	33	27	620
(Communists and sympathizers)	36	24	28	12	74
France:					
Socialists	42	6	43	9	186
MRP (Catholic)	63	1	25	11	149
Radical Socialists ("Liberal")	54	3	34	9	106
Farmers and Independents	59	1	26	14	125
Gaullists	69	2	26	3	92
Communists	1	84	12	3	113
Other parties	51	5	35	9	69
No party preference stated	27	5	42	26	508
(Communists and sympathizers)	15	47	31	7	526
Italy:					
Anti-Communists Socialists, Republicans	33	2	46	19	176
Christian-Democrats	58	2	22	18	420
Liberals	47	2	40	11	57
Monarchists	51	3	22	24	71
Neo-Fascists	37	6	50	7	72
Pro-Communist Socialists	4	29	52	15	86
Communists	2	75	11	12	151
No party preference stated	23	2	35	40	437
(Communists and sympathizers)	7	48	29	16	278
Netherlands:					
Labor (Socialists)	50	4	34	12	447
Catholic People's Party	62	4	22	12	337
Christian Historicals (Protestant/ Liberal-Conservative)	61	2	29	8	143
Liberals	46	—	43	11	106
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist/ Conservative)	71	1	15	13	143
Other parties	36	31	30	3	84
No party preference stated	32	6	41	21	253
(Communists and sympathizers)	11	26	53	10	121
Great Britain:					
Labour (Socialists)	39	13	30	18	715
Liberals	55	3	26	16	142
Conservatives	63	2	21	14	486
No party preference stated	37	4	28	31	137
(Communists and sympathizers)	31	31	25	13	109

04540

REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:	Russia	U.S.	Both	Don't know	No. of cases
West Germany:					
Bavaria	55%	4%	27%	14% ... 100%	307
Hesse	35	6	43	16	146
Wurttemberg-Baden	39	10	30	21	134
North-Rhine-Westphalia	53	5	27	15	439
Lower Saxony	52	2	24	22	228
Schleswig-Holstein	70	—	15	15	87
Baden	55	5	28	12	40
Rheinland-Palatinate	31	5	45	19	97
Wurttemberg-Hohenzollern	44	2	52	2	41
Bremen-Hamburg	59	—	28	13	69
France:					
Paris and surroundings	38	11	33	18	307
North East	41	9	37	13	325
North West	44	10	31	15	236
South West	34	11	42	13	177
South East	36	13	33	18	299
Italy:					
North	33	10	35	22	723
Central	28	15	31	26	271
South and Islands	39	12	28	21	511
Netherlands:					
North	58	4	22	16	168
East	51	3	32	14	236
West	47	7	35	11	861
South	61	3	22	14	248
Great Britain:					
South England (including London)	45	9	28	18	479
The Midlands	49	7	27	17	394
Wales	48	5	16	31	116
Northern England	52	8	26	14	367
Scotland	48	10	24	18	147

APPENDIX H: GROUP VARIATIONS IN OPINIONS WHETHER LOCAL COMMUNISTS WOULD COMMIT TREASON IN WAR TIME

" If your country were at war with Russia what do you think most (name of country) Communists would do: try to help Russia or help defend our country? "

	RUSSIA						OUR COUNTRY						HELP NEITHER SIDE *						DON'T KNOW					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
Sex:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men	57	66	53	52	81	57	13	17	10	13	3	18	8	—	11	12	7	10	22	17	26	23	9	15
Women	48	52	43	42	80	55	12	15	9	13	3	14	6	—	11	9	6	7	34	33	37	36	11	24
Education:																								
No school/elem. school	51	57	42	45	79	54	12	16	9	11	4	16	6	—	11	9	6	9	31	27	38	35	11	21
Second. school, trade school, etc.	59	64	56	49	82	58	12	17	11	13	2	18	10	—	12	16	8	8	19	19	21	22	8	16
High school, university	60	73	57	54	86	63	13	13	10	18	1	17	9	—	11	12	4	5	18	14	22	16	9	15
Socio-Economic Status:																								
Upper middle and well-to-do	58	66	53	53	85	59	10	13	8	17	1	14	9	—	12	11	7	9	23	21	27	19	7	18
Lower middle and poor	52	58	44	46	78	54	13	16	11	12	4	16	6	—	11	11	6	8	29	26	34	31	12	22
Occupation:																								
Professionals/executives	63	89	53	51	88	62	11	2	14	17	—	16	9	—	11	14	9	8	17	9	22	18	3	14
Small businessmen	58	74	45	53	86	67	12	15	10	12	—	14	6	—	9	8	10	6	24	11	36	27	4	13
White-collar workers	51	62	52	52	85	56	13	17	10	17	2	17	7	—	10	17	6	9	19	21	28	14	7	18
Independent artisans	57	71	51	53	83	60	15	21	14	14	5	18	7	—	8	9	7	10	21	8	27	24	5	12
Manual workers	55	62	42	45	81	52	15	18	10	14	5	18	5	—	11	10	6	9	25	20	37	31	8	21
Farmers	57	67	56	53	77	49	9	11	6	9	2	14	8	—	11	9	8	15	26	22	27	29	13	22
Farmhands	42	72	49	34	71	56	11	—	8	14	—	11	11	—	16	12	4	11	36	28	27	40	25	22
City Size:																								
Less than 2,000	53	59	48	49	87	29	13	14	12	11	—	13	7	—	13	16	8	21	27	27	27	24	5	37
2,000—5,000	47	51	45	43	76	52	12	17	3	13	2	11	7	—	13	10	10	6	34	32	39	34	12	31
5,001—20,000	54	61	52	48	77	54	10	19	3	9	1	16	6	—	8	10	6	10	30	20	37	33	16	20
20,001—100,000	54	63	45	47	85	58	12	13	9	15	3	16	8	—	12	11	6	8	26	24	34	27	6	18
100,001—250,000	60	58	50	62	84	60	13	14	7	21	4	17	4	—	14	2	4	7	23	28	29	15	8	16
Over 250,000	56	62	51	48	77	50	14	19	12	14	5	17	7	—	9	13	7	11	23	19	28	25	11	22
Age:																								
21-29 years	55	60	50	45	83	55	13	18	10	15	3	19	7	—	10	12	6	9	25	22	30	28	8	17
30-64 years	54	61	48	48	81	56	11	15	9	13	3	17	7	—	12	11	6	8	28	24	31	28	10	19
65 years and over	49	46	51	49	68	53	11	15	9	8	4	11	5	—	8	5	9	9	35	39	32	38	19	27
Religion:																								
Catholics, regular	55	62	52	49	85	52	11	16	17	11	4	28	7	—	12	9	4	6	27	22	29	31	7	14
Catholics, irregular	48	61	46	46	80	49	14	20	11	14	1	21	10	—	11	12	9	7	28	19	32	28	10	23
Protestants, regular	57	49	47	—	89	59	11	16	—	—	—	11	2	—	11	—	4	11	30	35	42	—	7	19
Protestants, irregular	63	60	56	—	82	56	12	14	8	—	2	16	1	—	14	—	6	9	24	26	22	—	10	19
None	57	68	51	52	70	53	10	12	11	9	6	16	9	—	9	17	10	23	24	20	29	22	14	8
Total population	54	59	48	47	80	56	12	16	10	13	3	16	6	—	11	11	7	9	28	25	31	29	10	19

* Not coded for West Germany.

04541

PARTY PREFERENCE:	Russia	Our country	Help neither side	Don't know		No. of cases:
West Germany:						
Socialists	66%	17%	—	17%	...100%	394
Christian Democrats	63	21	—	16		388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	75	10	—	15		81
Other parties	61	13	—	26		97
No party preference stated	51	13	—	36		628
(Communists and sympathizers)	46	28	—	26		74
France:						
Socialists	52	18	13	17		186
MRP (Catholic)	48	8	13	31		149
Radical Socialists ("Liberal")	55	9	14	22		106
Farmers and Independents	54	6	14	26		125
Gaullists	63	11	9	17		92
Communists	41	11	11	37		113
Other parties	53	8	10	29		69
No party preference stated)	43	7	9	41		508
(Communists and sympathizers)	44	16	9	31		226
Italy:						
Anti-Communist Socialists Republicans	57	15	12	16		176
Christian Democrats	57	13	9	21		420
Liberals	61	7	14	18		57
Monarchists	59	17	7	17		71
Neo-Fascists	61	13	13	13		72
Pro-Communist Socialists	29	22	19	30		86
Communists	48	9	9	34		151
No party preference stated	36	10	10	44		437
(Communists and sympathizers)	43	15	12	30		278
Netherlands:						
Labor (Socialists)	80	3	7	10		447
Catholic People's Party	84	3	6	7		337
Christian Historicals (Protestant/Liberal-Conservative)	84	1	6	9		143
Liberals	86	4	5	5		106
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist/Conservative	90	1	3	6		143
Other parties	62	11	16	11		84
No party preference stated	71	3	7	19		253
(Communists and sympathizers)	63	11	11	15		121
Great Britain:						
Labour (Socialists)	54	18	9	19		715
Liberals	62	15	6	17		142
Conservatives	57	15	10	18		486
No party preference stated	48	11	5	34		137
(Communists and sympathizers)	42	29	8	21		109

REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:	Russia	Our country	Help neither side	Don't know	No. of cases:
West Germany:					
Bavaria	64 %	12 %	—	24 % ... 100 %	307
Hesse	54	16	—	30	146
Wuerttemberg-Baden	52	12	—	36	134
Nord-Rhine-Westphalia	59	19	—	22	429
Lower Saxony	52	16	—	32	228
Schleswig-Holstein	67	17	—	16	87
Baden	65	15	—	20	40
Rheinland-Palatinate	46	26	—	28	97
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	93	7	—	—	41
Bremen, Hamburg	78	12	—	10	69
France:					
Paris and surroundings	49	13	8	30	307
North East	48	7	13	32	225
North West	49	8	11	32	236
South West	44	13	12	31	177
South East	50	8	13	29	299
Italy:					
North	48	11	12	29	723
Central	45	12	10	33	271
South and Islands	49	15	10	26	511
Netherlands:					
North	86	71	3	10	168
East	79	2	8	11	236
West	80	4	6	10	861
South	80	2	9	9	248
Great Britain:					
South England (Including London)	57	16	10	17	479
The Midlands	57	14	9	20	394
Wales	55	16	10	19	116
Northern England	55	19	7	19	367
Scotland	45	17	9	29	147

04542

APPENDIX I: GROUP VARIATIONS IN ATTITUDES TOWARD COMMUNISM

" Will you indicate how you feel about Communism by once more pointing to one of the ten squares on this card? " (Scalogram)

	POSITIVE						NEGATIVE						DON'T KNOW					
	CDC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CDC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CDC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
Sex:																		
Men	16%	5%	21%	23%	10%	6%	71%	87%	62%	65%	86%	86%	13%	8%	17%	12%	4%	8%
Women	9	4	14	13	6	7	73	81	68	66	86	83	18	15	18	22	8	10
Education:																		
No school/elem. school	13	4	21	22	9	8	69	81	57	57	85	83	18	15	22	21	6	9
Second school, trade school, etc.	11	8	15	12	6	5	80	86	73	78	88	88	9	6	12	10	6	7
High school, university	10	5	11	11	7	7	82	90	78	83	90	88	8	5	11	6	3	5
Socio-Economic Status:																		
Upper middle and well-to-do	10	6	12	9	6	5	79	86	74	83	90	89	11	8	14	8	4	6
Lower middle and poor	13	4	20	20	9	7	71	83	60	63	84	84	16	13	20	17	7	9
Occupation:																		
Professionals/executives	8	—	11	12	—	4	83	93	77	80	94	94	9	7	12	8	6	2
Small businessmen	11	6	13	13	12	6	78	88	70	76	88	91	11	6	17	11	—	3
White-collar workers	11	2	19	13	6	8	80	90	66	82	90	83	9	8	15	5	4	9
Independent artisans	13	—	12	19	7	6	76	90	72	72	86	90	11	10	16	9	7	4
Manual workers	19	7	31	36	13	8	66	83	45	43	81	83	15	10	24	21	6	9
Farmers	11	6	17	9	10	12	74	86	67	74	85	76	15	8	16	17	5	12
Farmhands	32	3	35	38	8	8	46	86	46	37	88	84	22	11	19	25	4	8
City Size:																		
Less than 2,000	13	7	18	12	6	—	70	76	64	73	89	96	17	17	18	15	5	4
2,000 — 5,000	12	6	15	16	7	10	71	85	63	63	86	71	17	9	22	21	7	19
5,001 — 20,000	14	4	20	19	5	6	72	85	60	65	88	85	14	11	20	16	7	9
20,001 —100,000	14	3	14	22	7	7	72	81	71	63	88	86	14	16	15	15	5	7
100,001—250,000	10	5	16	16	7	8	80	87	78	65	87	82	10	8	6	19	6	10
Over 250,000	12	5	15	18	12	7	73	82	64	69	81	84	15	13	21	13	7	9
Age:																		
21-29 years	15	8	16	22	6	10	72	82	66	64	90	78	13	10	18	14	4	12
30-64 years	13	5	18	18	8	7	72	82	63	66	85	86	15	13	19	16	7	7
65 years and over	11	2	17	13	10	3	70	76	68	61	81	83	19	22	15	26	9	14
Religion:																		
Catholics, regular	6	4	6	9	—	6	81	84	83	76	98	88	13	12	11	15	2	6
Catholics, irregular	18	8	16	25	6	10	64	79	63	58	89	77	18	13	21	17	5	13
Protestants, regular	3	2	—	—	7	5	83	82	79	—	88	91	14	16	21	—	5	4
Protestants, irregular	15	4	22	—	9	7	74	84	58	—	85	84	11	12	20	—	6	9
None	36	12	45	55	17	15	50	83	35	36	74	73	14	5	20	9	9	12
Total population	12	5	16	18	9	6	72	80	42	65	85	85	16	15	18	17	6	9

PARTY PREFERENCE:	Positive	Negative	Don't know	No. of cases
West Germany:				
Socialists	6 %	87 %	7 % ... 100 %	394
Christian Democrats	3	91	6	388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	4	94	2	81
Other parties	8	87	5	97
No party preference stated	4	74	22	426
France:				
Socialists	20	67	13	186
MRP (Cahtolic)	3	90	7	149
Radical Socialists ("Liberal")	10	82	8	106
Farmers and Independents	6	85	9	125
Gaullists	5	92	3	92
Communists	86	10	4	113
Other parties	20	70	10	66
No party preference stated	10	57	33	508
Italy:				
Anti-Communist Socialists Republicans	9	88	3	176
Christian Democrats	5	85	10	420
Liberals	5	92	3	57
Monarchists	4	92	4	71
Neo-Fascists	6	90	4	72
Pro-Communist Socialists	80	12	8	86
Communists	82	10	8	151
No party preference stated	10	55	35	437
Netherlands:				
Labor (Socialists)	8	85	7	447
Catholic People's Party	1	96	3	337
Christian Historicals (Protestant Liberal-Conservative)	12	84	4	143
Liberals	6	91	3	106
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist Conservative)	3	92	5	143
Other parties	36	59	5	84
No party preference stated	10	77	13	253
Great Britain:				
Labour (Socialists)	9	81	10	715
Liberals	3	91	6	142
Conservatives	4	91	5	486
No party preference stated	10	72	18	137

005443

REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:	Positive	Negative	Don't know	No. of cases:
West Germany:				
Bavaria	3 %	86 %	11 %	100 % 307
Hesse	6	75	19	146
Wuerttemberg-Baden	5	82	13	134
Nord-Rhine-Westphalia	6	80	14	439
Lower Saxony	2	89	9	228
Schleswig-Holstein	—	92	8	87
Baden	15	77	8	40
Rhineland-Palatinate	8	65	27	97
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	—	100	—	41
Bremen-Hamburg	3	91	8	69
France:				
Paris and surroundings	16	66	18	307
North East	13	69	18	325
North West	16	69	15	236
South West	21	58	21	177
South East	18	61	21	299
Italy:				
North	19	65	16	723
Central	24	55	21	271
South and Islands	15	70	15	511
Netherlands:				
North	5	91	4	168
East	8	83	9	236
West	11	82	7	861
South	2	96	2	248
Great Britain:				
South England (including London)	7	84	9	479
The Midlands	7	84	9	394
Wales	2	90	8	116
Northern England	11	81	8	367
Scotland	4	87	9	147

APPENDIX J: GROUP VARIATIONS IN SUPPORT OF EDC

" Are you for or against (name of country) taking part in a common West European army? "

	FOR						AGAINST						DON'T KNOW					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
Sex:																		
Men	54%	58%	48%	51%	71%	51%	31%	33%	33%	31%	16%	27%	15%	9%	19%	18%	13%	22%
Women	38	37	42	33	54	34	26	40	18	18	13	21	36	23	40	49	33	45
Education:																		
No school/elem. school	36	42	30	29	54	40	33	40	32	29	15	21	31	18	38	42	31	39
Second. school, trade school, etc.	62	63	58	63	72	53	22	28	22	19	16	28	16	9	20	18	12	19
High school, university	68	68	68	69	82	48	20	23	18	20	10	33	12	9	14	11	8	19
Socio-Economic Status:																		
Upper middle and well-to-do	60	54	57	70	73	49	22	35	21	15	12	23	18	11	22	15	15	28
Lower middle and poor	42	47	35	38	59	40	31	37	32	27	16	24	27	16	33	35	25	36
Occupation:																		
Professionals/executives	69	66	74	66	77	50	19	32	11	18	11	28	12	2	15	16	12	22
Small businessmen	58	59	57	58	67	48	24	32	24	16	21	25	18	9	19	26	12	27
White-collar workers	60	63	47	65	77	47	27	27	32	26	14	22	13	10	21	9	9	31
Independent artisans	49	61	49	45	65	53	31	34	29	31	21	17	20	5	22	24	14	30
Manual workers	41	49	26	33	62	42	41	39	50	43	19	24	18	12	24	24	19	34
Farmers	48	48	44	50	71	39	22	38	21	17	11	19	30	14	35	33	18	42
Farmhands	26	44	27	21	65	28	39	39	41	40	6	17	35	17	32	39	29	55
City Size:																		
Less than 2,000	40	44	38	39	57	33	32	35	29	24	11	17	28	21	33	37	32	50
2,000 — 5,000	43	41	47	40	49	46	30	42	25	23	15	15	27	17	28	37	36	39
5,001 — 20,000	45	51	39	42	61	43	29	39	28	23	9	18	26	10	33	35	30	39
20,001 —100,000	47	48	48	43	66	41	28	36	28	27	14	25	25	16	24	30	20	34
100,001—250,000	54	55	67	41	58	45	26	29	16	33	15	26	20	16	17	26	27	29
Over 250,000	52	54	51	47	69	41	27	36	23	25	20	23	21	10	26	28	11	36
Age:																		
21-29 years	44	46	42	42	68	38	29	37	26	29	14	31	27	17	32	29	18	31
30-64 years	46	48	48	43	63	45	30	39	28	25	15	23	24	13	24	32	22	32
65 years and over	40	41	40	36	49	32	21	30	18	17	15	20	39	29	42	47	36	48
Religion:																		
Catholics, regular	53	52	56	48	68	54	18	32	12	15	5	31	29	16	32	37	27	15
Catholics, irregular	42	45	44	38	60	41	31	39	26	33	13	12	27	16	30	29	27	47
Protestants, regular	52	44	63	—	68	44	28	36	16	—	10	19	20	20	21	—	22	37
Protestants, irregular	50	49	47	—	62	43	34	36	36	—	16	22	16	15	17	—	22	35
None	33	25	28	30	60	36	51	65	54	57	26	41	16	10	18	13	14	23
Total population	46	48	45	42	63	42	29	37	26	25	15	24	25	15	29	33	22	34

0544

PARTY PREFERENCE:	For	Against	Don't know	No. of cases
West Germany:				
Socialists	48 %	42 %	10 % . . . 100 %	394
Christian Democrats	67	24	9	388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	66	30	4	81
Other parties	44	36	20	97
No party preference stated	34	41	25	628
(Communists and sympathizers)	43	49	8	74
France:				
Socialists	52	24	24	186
MRP (Catholic)	64	10	26	149
Radical Socialists (" Liberal ")	68	9	23	106
Farmers and Independents	59	19	22	125
Gaullists	80	23	17	92
Communists	1	93	6	113
Other parties	31	35	14	66
No party preference stated	36	22	42	508
(Communists and sympathizers)	23	61	16	226
Italy:				
Anti-Communist Socialists Republicans	61	17	22	176
Christian Democrats	57	8	35	420
Liberals	68	16	16	57
Monarchists	54	17	29	71
Neo-Fascists	49	40	11	72
Pro-Communist Socialists	16	62	22	86
Communists	5	79	16	151
No party preference stated	32	18	50	437
(Communists and sympathizers)	16	64	20	278
Netherlands:				
Labor (Socialists)	70	13	17	447
Catholic People's Party	66	7	27	337
Christian Historicals (Protestant/Liberal-Conservative)	68	8	24	143
Liberals	74	15	11	106
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist/Conservative)	71	10	19	143
Other parties	39	47	14	84
No party preference stated	46	22	32	253
(Communists and sympathizers)	39	41	20	121
Great Britain:				
Labour (Socialists)	40	25	35	715
Liberals	51	18	31	142
Conservatives	45	22	33	486
No party preference stated	34	23	43	137
(Communists and sympathizers)	39	29	32	109

REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:	For	Against	Don't know	No. of cases
West Germany:				
Bavaria	41 %	44 %	15 % ... 100 %	307
Hesse	42	43	15	146
Wuerttemberg-Baden	48	28	24	134
Nord-Rhine-Westphalia	49	39	12	439
Lower Saxony	49	28	23	228
Schleswig-Holstein	65	20	15	87
Baden	60	30	10	40
Rheinland-Palatinate	43	36	21	97
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	39	59	2	41
Bremen, Hamburg	62	32	6	89
France:				
Paris and surroundings	50	26	24	307
North East	45	23	32	325
North West	47	29	24	236
South West	39	32	29	177
South East	43	26	31	299
Italy:				
North	44	25	31	723
Central	38	27	35	271
South and Islands	42	23	35	511
Netherlands:				
North	65	14	21	168
East	58	15	27	236
West	64	18	18	861
South	64	4	32	348
Great Britain:				
South England (Including London)	43	30	27	479
The Midlands	45	21	34	294
Wales	44	17	39	116
Northern England	39	20	41	367
Scotland	38	26	36	147

04545

APPENDIX K: GROUP VARIATIONS IN TRUST IN THE UNITED STATES AS A MILITARY ALLY

	A GREAT DEAL						ONLY UP TO A POINT						COULDN'T TRUST AT ALL						NO OPINION					
	Ger.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	Ger.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	Ger.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.	Ger.	W.G.	Fr.	It.	N.L.	G.B.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sex:																								
Men	68	58	63	56	71	78	21	27	28	18	17	15	9	7	5	13	7	2	22	24	12	27	15	9
Women	54	45	66	43	66	74	19	26	17	15	15	15	5	5	5	5	4	2	22	24	12	37	15	9
Education:																								
No school/elem. school	49	48	59	40	66	77	21	27	19	16	14	14	8	7	9	10	7	3	22	18	13	34	13	6
Second. school, trade school, etc.	68	69	69	64	73	86	19	22	20	16	17	11	4	4	4	6	5	1	9	5	7	14	5	2
High school, University	71	62	74	72	67	86	18	27	16	16	25	11	5	5	5	4	6	1	6	6	5	8	2	2
Socio-Economic Status:																								
Upper middle and well-to-do	69	62	72	68	72	84	18	26	16	15	18	10	5	6	5	4	5	2	8	6	7	13	5	4
Lower middle and poor	51	50	58	47	67	78	23	27	24	17	15	14	8	6	8	9	6	2	18	17	10	27	12	6
Occupation:																								
Professionals/executives	69	66	72	74	68	85	19	28	21	9	26	11	5	2	3	8	—	2	7	4	4	9	6	2
Small businessmen	67	62	67	72	78	82	19	29	17	16	10	14	5	5	8	1	8	2	9	4	8	11	4	2
White-collar workers	66	64	65	67	75	84	18	24	18	16	16	12	6	4	5	9	5	2	10	8	12	8	4	2
Independent artisans	51	50	57	48	52	88	26	29	27	25	26	6	9	18	10	6	12	4	14	3	6	21	10	2
Manual workers	49	51	50	35	65	76	25	30	21	22	19	15	11	8	15	19	8	3	15	11	14	24	8	6
Farmers	61	58	70	56	62	81	18	27	18	15	18	7	5	6	5	4	8	2	16	9	7	25	12	10
Farmhands	41	50	59	34	69	70	18	25	33	15	21	11	16	3	8	20	2	—	25	22	—	31	8	19
City Size:																								
Less than 2,000	56	47	64	61	73	83	22	25	20	16	22	8	7	7	6	8	3	—	15	21	10	15	2	9
2,000— 5,000	52	50	64	47	65	75	21	27	22	14	11	10	7	6	7	6	7	—	20	17	7	33	17	15
5,001—20,000	58	59	65	52	69	88	18	25	16	15	15	6	5	5	5	7	2	1	19	11	14	26	14	5
20,001—100,000	55	53	68	47	72	81	19	28	14	18	15	11	8	6	6	10	5	2	18	13	12	25	8	6
100,001—250,000	57	48	74	56	67	76	23	31	16	12	20	16	8	7	7	15	5	3	12	14	3	17	8	5
Over 250,000	57	56	60	49	66	74	22	25	21	20	17	19	7	6	9	8	9	2	14	13	10	23	8	5
Age:																								
21-29 years	54	51	60	49	71	76	23	31	20	18	18	15	7	6	6	9	5	3	16	12	14	24	6	6
30-64 years	56	53	65	51	69	80	21	26	19	16	15	13	7	7	7	8	6	2	16	14	9	25	10	5
65 years and over	57	49	68	50	60	77	16	18	16	13	16	12	5	4	5	6	7	1	22	29	11	31	17	10
Religion:																								
Catholics, regular	63	53	78	58	75	82	17	25	15	13	12	10	3	5	*	3	2	2	17	17	7	26	11	6
Catholics, irregular	53	49	64	44	66	62	21	29	19	20	18	18	9	8	6	12	3	7	17	14	11	24	13	13
Protestants, regular	53	45	58	—	73	83	27	29	26	—	18	9	4	6	—	—	2	2	16	20	16	—	7	6
Protestants, irregular	57	54	58	—	70	80	24	25	31	—	14	13	6	7	3	—	7	2	13	14	8	—	9	5
None	46	48	42	35	59	70	20	25	20	13	21	21	19	10	23	30	11	4	15	17	15	22	9	5
Total population	57	52	64	50	68	79	20	27	19	16	16	13	7	6	7	9	6	2	16	15	10	25	10	6

PARTY PREFERENCE:	A great deal	Only up to a point	Couldn't trust at all	No opinion		No. of cases
West Germany:						
Socialists	51 %	34 %	7 %	8 %	100 %	394
Christian Democrats	67	20	3	10		388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	64	26	4	6		81
Other parties	56	24	8	12		97
No party preference stated	41	26	8	25		628
(Communists & sympathizers)	45	23	17	15		74
France:						
Socialists	72	21	3	4		186
MRP (Catholic)	87	9	1	3		149
Radical Socialists (" Liberal ")	82	14	2	2		186
Farmers and Independents	77	18	1	4		125
Gaullists	86	11	1	2		92
Communists	10	18	51	21		113
Other parties	66	17	6	11		66
No party preference stated	60	23	4	13		908
(Communists & sympathizers)	35	22	29	14		226
Italy:						
Anti-Communist Socialists, Republicans	67	23	3	7		176
Christian-Democrats	69	10	1	20		430
Liberals	68	21	2	9		57
Monarchists	63	18	4	15		71
Neo-Fascists	65	22	5	8		72
Pro-Communist Socialists	14	33	26	27		86
Communists	13	14	39	34		151
No party preference stated	36	14	6	44		437
(Communists & sympathizers)	20	18	31	31		278
Netherlands:						
Labor (Socialists)	75	14	4	7		447
Catholic People's Party	73	12	2	13		337
Christian Historicals (Protestant, Liberal-Conservative)	73	18	—	9		143
Liberals	72	16	10	2		106
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist, Conservative)	73	19	—	8		143
Other parties	38	21	29	12		84
No party preference stated	53	20	10	17		253
(Communists & sympathizers)	44	18	26	12		121
Great Britain:						
Labour (Socialists)	76	15	4	5		715
Liberals	80	16	1	3		142
Conservatives	88	8	1	3		486
No party preference stated	65	18	—	17		137
(Communists & sympathizers)	67	19	7	7		109

045 49

REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:	A great deal	Only up to a point	Couldn't trust at all	No opinion	No. of cases
West Germany:					
Bavaria	41 %	37 %	8 %	14 % ... 100 %	307
Hesse	37	33	8	22	146
Wuerttemberg-Baden	49	25	3	23	134
Nord-Rhine-Westphalia	59	23	6	12	439
Lower Saxony	62	16	4	18	228
Schleswig-Holstein	69	15	2	14	87
Baden	50	30	13	7	40
Rhineland-Palatinate	39	29	12	20	97
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	51	42	7	—	41
Bremen-Hamburg	58	22	6	14	69
France:					
Paris and surroundings	60	20	11	9	307
North East	71	16	3	10	325
North West	64	22	8	6	236
South West	70	14	6	10	177
South East	60	20	10	10	299
Italy:					
North	53	17	8	22	723
Central	41	18	9	32	271
South and Islands	51	15	8	26	511
Netherlands:					
North	72	16	3	9	168
East	70	14	3	13	236
West	66	17	8	9	861
South	74	14	2	10	248
Great Britain:					
South England (including London)	78	13	3	6	479
The Midlands	82	14	2	2	394
Wales	78	10	3	9	116
Northern England	80	11	2	7	367
Scotland	77	19	1	3	147

APPENDIX L: WEST GERMAN GROUP VARIATIONS IN TRUST OF FRANCE AS A MILITARY ALLY

WEST GERMANY:	A great deal as an ally	Only up to a point as an ally	Couldn't trust at all as an ally	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	9%	37%	44%	10%	100% 800
Women	5	29	35	31	788
Education:					
No school, elem. school	6	30	40	24	1217
Second. school, trade school, etc.	10	43	37	10	211
High school, university	6	43	47	4	160
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper middle and well-to-do	8	38	46	8	224
Lower middle and poor	7	32	39	22	1364
Occupation:					
Professionals/executives	7	51	36	6	47
Small business-men	12	43	36	9	66
White-collar workers	6	43	40	11	204
Independent artisans	8	31	58	3	36
Manual workers	6	33	47	14	410
Farmers	7	34	42	17	88
Farmhands	11	39	33	17	36
City Size:					
Less than 2,000	5	33	36	26	461
2,000- 5,000	6	28	46	20	226
5,001- 20,000	6	31	47	16	239
20,001-100,000	11	38	35	16	229
100,001-250,000	9	31	41	19	130
Over 250,000	7	38	38	17	275
Age:					
21-29 years	4	34	48	14	294
30-64 years	7	34	40	19	1052
65 years and over	12	26	26	36	158
Religion:					
Catholics, regular	8	31	38	23	465
Catholics, irregular	6	31	46	17	262
Protestants, regular	6	31	30	33	157
Protestants, irregular	6	36	41	17	639
None	2	40	40	18	40
Party Preference:					
Socialist	4	35	51	10	394
Christian Democrats	12	40	32	16	388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	14	45	36	5	81
Other parties	9	33	37	21	97
No party preference stated	5	26	39	30	628
(Communists and sympathizers)	7	38	42	13	74
Region:					
Bavaria	6	30	46	18	307
Hesse	7	27	41	25	146
Wuerttemberg-Baden	7	27	40	26	134
Nord-Rhine-Westphalia	9	36	37	18	439
Lower Saxony	7	38	31	24	228
Schleswig Holstein	6	51	27	16	87
Baden	5	25	60	10	40
Rheinland-Palatinate	1	25	47	27	97
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	2	15	78	5	41
Bremen-Hamburg	13	39	31	17	69
Total population	7	33	40	22	1588

04547

APPENDIX M: FRENCH GROUP VARIATIONS IN TRUST OF WEST GERMANY AS A MILITARY ALLY

	A great deal as an ally	Only up to a point as an ally	Couldn't trust at all as an ally	No opinion	No. of cases
FRANCE:					
Sex:					
Men	10%	34%	36%	20%...100%	748
Women	8	33	36	23	597
Education:					
No school/elem. school	7	25	43	25	719
Second. school, trade school, etc.	8	43	32	17	275
High school university	14	45	25	16	332
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper middle and well-to-do	11	39	31	19	547
Lower middle and poor	8	30	40	22	712
Occupation:					
Professionals/executives	18	44	28	10	74
Small businessmen	12	48	25	15	84
White-collar workers	7	39	31	23	212
Independent, artisans	14	29	43	14	49
Manual workers	7	26	48	19	212
Farmers	10	32	35	23	187
Farmhands	11	11	67	11	37
City Size:					
Less than 2,000	7	28	46	19	484
2,000- 5,000	8	31	35	26	144
5,001- 20,000	6	34	33	27	143
20,001-100,000	11	35	31	23	212
100,001-200,000	17	43	32	8	82
Over 200,000	12	40	26	22	280
Age:					
21-29 years	7	34	35	24	257
30-44 years	10	34	36	20	834
45 years and over	9	33	34	24	190
Religion:					
Catholics, regular	10	41	29	20	424
Catholics, irregular	9	33	36	22	611
Protestants, regular	16	16	52	16	19
Protestants, irregular	14	28	44	14	36
None	7	23	48	22	179
Party Preference:					
Socialists	10	38	34	18	186
MRP (Catholic)	11	44	26	19	149
Radical Socialists (" Liberal ")	5	42	37	16	106
Farmers and Independents	14	38	33	15	125
Gaullists	17	41	29	13	92
Communists	2	10	71	17	113
Other parties	21	35	27	17	66
No party preference stated	7	31	35	27	508
(Communists and sympathizers)	3	20	60	17	226
Region:					
Paris and surroundings	11	37	31	21	307
North East	12	35	35	18	325
North West	8	33	40	19	236
South West	5	35	35	25	177
South East	7	27	40	26	299
Total population	9	33	36	42	1345

APPENDIX N: GROUP VARIATIONS IN ATTITUDES ABOUT REARMAMENT AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING (Party Preference Only)

" Do you think carrying out the present rearmament program in (name of country) will make your standard of living go up, go down, or won't it make any difference ? "
" If both cannot be done at the same time, what do you think is more important to do now: to rearm according to plans or to improve the standard of living ? "

PARTY PREFERENCE:	Rearm	Don't know	Improve living: standard of living would go up; no difference; no opinion	Improve living: standard of living would go down		No. of cases:
West Germany:						
Socialists	13%	6%	58%	23%	100%	394
Christian Democrats	29	10	48	13		388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	33	5	47	15		81
Other parties	30	8	42	20		97
No party preference stated	12	16	54	18		628
(Communists and sympathizers)	13	8	37	42		74
France:						
Socialists	12	15	28	45		186
MRP (Catholic)	34	27	17	22		149
Radical Socialists (" Liberal ")	29	23	21	27		106
Farmers and Independents	33	20	19	28		125
Gaullists	37	18	24	21		92
Communists	2	2	15	81		113
Other parties	32	15	11	42		66
No party preference stated	16	22	23	39		308
(Communists and sympathizers)	10	6	21	63		226
Italy:						
Anti-Communist Socialists Republicans	20	21	37	22		176
Christian-Democrats	28	31	29	12		420
Liberals	40	16	25	19		57
Monarchists	30	31	28	11		71
Neo-Fascists	41	22	22	15		72
Pro-Communist Socialists	2	19	31	48		86
Communists	3	8	20	69		151
No party preference stated	10	37	34	19		437
(Communists and sympathizers)	5	13	26	56		278
Netherlands:						
Labor (Socialists)	34	12	20	34		447
Catholic People's Party	38	18	24	20		337
Christian Historicals (Protestant/ Liberal-Conservative)	44	10	21	25		143
Liberals	52	8	15	25		106
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist, Conservative)	60	15	12	13		143
Other parties	25	4	17	54		84
No party preference stated	21	23	24	32		253
(Communists and sympathizers)	7	7	25	61		121
Great Britain:						
Labour (Socialists)	36	12	24	28		715
Liberals	51	13	15	21		142
Conservatives	62	14	13	11		486
No party preference stated	37	31	20	12		137
(Communists and sympathizers)	30	9	18	43		109

045718

APPENDIX O: GROUP VARIATION

"Do you personally think that (name of country) should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East, or not be on either side?"
"Do you favor (name of country) guilding up its military forces at this time, or are you against it?"
"If both cannot be done at the same time, what do you think is more important to do now: to rearm according to plans or to improve the standard of living"?

	Neutralists not for rearmanent						Neutralists for rearmament				
	CSC	WG.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.	CSC	WG.	Fr.	It.	NL.
Sex:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men	31	29	37	30	15	8	14	9	13	19	8
Women	42	39	46	46	20	18	14	8	14	20	13
Education:											
No school/elem. school	42	37	52	47	20	15	13	8	11	18	12
Second. school, trade school	27	28	33	23	14	6	15	6	17	22	8
High school, university	20	20	20	18	12	13	16	12	17	20	4
Socio-Economic Status:											
Upper middle and well-to-do	27	25	32	16	21	11	14	9	14	19	11
Lower middle and poor	39	35	47	41	11	14	12	8	14	19	8
Occupation:											
Professionals,'executives	32	25	41	30	23	12	14	7	7	20	41
Small business men	43	31	45	57	29	16	14	19	14	8	31
White-collar workers	20	24	17	20	20	9	15	4	19	6	52
Independent artisans	23	26	27	20	10	8	20	8	14	24	41
Manual workers	31	29	37	31	31	10	15	8	14	27	24
Farmers	45	34	52	46	28	15	15	8	15	19	25
Farmhands	23	22	40	19	28	8	23	7	13	25	44
City Size:											
Less than 2,000	42	37	47	44	3	4	10	8	10	16	13
2,000— 5,000	38	37	44	35	19	17	12	6	11	18	12
5,001— 20,000	34	28	47	37	15	10	15	11	13	18	13
20,001—100,000	36	34	38	40	16	14	14	7	14	20	8
100,001—250,000	34	38	22	42	22	15	13	12	13	19	12
Over 250,000	29	28	33	32	20	13	17	8	21	24	9
Age:											
21—29 years	35	36	41	36	14	13	16	6	15	24	12
30—64 years	36	33	40	38	18	13	13	9	14	18	9
65 years and over	39	36	42	40	20	17	12	12	11	15	13
Religion:											
Catholics, regular	30	30	25	33	34	12	17	7	19	20	37
Catholics, irregular	42	35	47	41	31	16	15	12	11	19	28
Protestants, regular	34	34	53	—	25	8	17	9	5	—	49
Protestants, irregular	35	36	42	—	24	14	10	7	8	—	29
None	40	38	48	48	21	20	15	10	13	17	25
Total Population	36	34	40	38	17	13	13	8	14	19	10

• Less than one half of one per cent.

For joining West, not for rearmament					For joining West, for qualified rearmament					For joining West and unqualified rearmament					For joining East				
WG.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.	CSC	WG.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.	CSC	WG.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.	CSC	WG.	Fr.	It.	NL.	GB.
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
18	10	6	12	6	21	24	17	22	28	23	19	20	17	18	36	37	3	•	6	5	1	1
24	10	10	14	8	15	18	15	12	24	13	12	11	13	10	29	27	2	•	2	2	•	•
22	10	9	15	8	17	21	13	14	27	18	10	12	8	7	25	27	3	•	6	5	1	1
17	13	8	11	5	22	23	16	25	26	22	23	26	18	20	41	40	2	•	3	2	•	•
20	7	4	11	8	24	24	23	24	27	8	31	24	31	33	45	52	1	—	2	1	1	—
26	10	6	13	7	22	22	21	23	27	15	23	18	21	35	27	48	1	—	2	1	1	1
21	9	8	11	7	18	21	13	17	25	19	15	15	11	11	45	27	2	•	6	4	•	•
22	17	10	8	10	19	25	17	19	13	19	18	21	15	19	13	38	2	—	3	2	2	2
25	8	7	17	5	14	19	14	11	8	19	8	6	8	8	15	25	7	—	11	9	—	—
23	6	6	11	6	26	26	26	29	14	9	26	23	28	39	3	57	1	—	4	—	—	—
16	11	4	21	8	26	18	22	33	18	22	22	32	26	18	10	32	•	—	—	1	—	—
18	14	7	17	6	27	12	23	21	21	19	12	13	12	12	7	39	•	—	—	2	—	—
22	5	8	13	7	14	21	10	11	20	18	9	14	7	9	13	27	7	1	11	7	1	•
19	11	5	11	7	23	28	16	26	11	21	19	24	17	20	6	40	4	•	3	5	•	—
20	12	13	8	9	16	19	14	17	22	13	15	16	14	10	54	56	1	—	3	—	—	—
21	7	10	20	9	20	24	19	19	22	19	13	12	15	12	27	26	3	—	4	6	—	—
26	8	7	13	4	20	20	21	18	28	19	16	15	5	18	30	39	2	—	6	2	1	—
22	8	8	12	8	20	24	18	17	30	19	15	13	17	11	33	31	3	—	5	4	1	1
15	9	7	11	6	24	28	23	15	24	16	16	7	27	16	31	33	1	—	6	1	—	•
20	10	7	13	9	18	20	13	19	23	17	21	23	20	15	34	25	2	1	3	3	1	—
21	10	9	12	6	19	25	15	16	27	14	14	12	14	11	35	29	3	—	5	4	•	—
21	10	8	13	7	19	20	16	18	25	18	17	17	16	15	34	33	2	•	4	3	1	•
19	11	9	14	11	19	20	15	19	32	20	15	13	19	12	21	27	2	—	2	5	—	1
23	11	11	13	8	22	26	23	21	7	11	17	14	22	15	9	46	—	—	—	•	—	2
20	10	6	11	2	17	19	16	16	20	14	13	14	14	13	10	32	3	•	2	5	—	2
21	21	—	8	11	20	25	10	—	8	16	11	11	11	—	10	40	—	—	—	—	—	—
20	14	—	16	7	18	19	8	—	19	18	18	18	22	—	12	32	—	—	6	—	—	•
25	6	—	13	7	11	7	7	4	30	15	12	13	8	9	8	21	13	7	18	22	3	2
21	10	8	13	7	19	22	16	18	26	18	16	15	16	14	33	32	2	•	4	3	1	•

045149

PARTY PREFERENCE:	Neutralists not for rearmament	Neutralists for rearmament	For joining West, not for rearmament	For joining West, for qualified rearmament	For joining West and unqualified rearmament	For joining East	No. of cases:
West Germany:							
Socialists	40%	6%	21%	22%	11%	•	394
Christian Democrats	14	7	23	30	26	—	388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	17	11	21	22	29	—	81
Other parties	26	11	18	19	24	2	97
No party preference stated	45	10	21	16	8	•	628
(Communists and sympathizers)	51	5	15	15	11	3	74
France:							
Socialists	46	11	15	18	9	1	186
MRP (Catholic)	22	18	10	25	25	—	149
Radical Socialists (" Liberal ")	27	16	12	22	23	—	106
Farmers and Independent	25	13	12	26	24	—	125
Gaullists	17	14	5	32	32	—	92
Communists	51	3	1		1	44	113
Other parties	38	18	5	17	20	2	66
No party preference stated	53	15	10	10	12	•	508
(Communists and sympathizers)	52	7	5	7	7	22	226
Italy:							
Anti-Communist Socialists, Republicans	26	23	8	27	16	—	176
Christian-Democrats	23	16	13	24	24	•	420
Liberals	14	18	5	28	35	—	57
Monarchists	22	31	7	20	20	—	71
Neo-Fascists	12	39	10	21	15	3	72
Pro-Communist Socialists	62	22	2	6		8	86
Communists	63	7		1	1	28	151
No party preference stated	53	18	8	14	7		437
(Communists and sympathizers)	57	16	2	4	4	17	278
Netherlands:							
Labor (Socialists)	14	10	19	29	28	•	447
Catholic People's Party	9	9	11	37	34	—	337
Christian Historicals (Protestant/Liberal-Conservative	10	13	10	27	40	—	143
Liberals	15	9	9	20	47	—	106
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist/Conservative)	8	8	3	22	59	—	143
Other parties	41	5	11	12	24	7	84
No party preference stated	36	16	14	17	17	•	253
(Communists and sympathizers)	41	8	17	21	7	6	121
Great Britain:							
Labour (Socialists)	17	32	7	20	23	1	715
Liberals	4	30	11	20	35	—	142
Conservatives	6	24	6	16	48	•	486
No party preference stated	27	34	6	12	21	—	137
(Communists and sympathizers)	36	26	5	14	16	3	109

• Less than one half of one per cent.

REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:	Neutralists not for rearmament	Neutralists for rearmament	For joining West, not for rearmament	For joining West, for qualified rearmament	For joining West and unqualified rearmament	For joining East	No. of cases:
West Germany:							
Bavaria	36%	12%	19%	21%	12%	*...100%,	307
Hesse	49	11	12	18	10	—	146
Wuerttemberg-Baden	44	1	25	20	10	—	134
Nord-Rhine-Westphalia	28	9	27	24	11	1	439
Lower Saxony	30	7	22	18	23	—	228
Schleswig-Holstein	24	6	16	25	29	—	87
Baden	34	12	17	25	12	—	40
Rheinland-Palatinate	44	2	14	27	13	—	97
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	25	5	41	27	2	—	41
Bremen, Hamburg	19	13	15	12	41	—	89
France:							
Paris and surroundings	31	19	11	16	18	5	307
North East	45	11	11	17	12	4	325
North West	38	11	9	20	19	3	236
South West	40	18	7	15	17	3	177
South East	47	11	9	13	14	6	299
Italy:							
North	37	18	9	20	13	3	723
Central	45	18	6	13	14	4	271
South and Islands	35	21	8	17	15	4	511
Netherlands:							
North	22	7	15	24	31	1	168
East	16	13	10	31	30	—	226
West	19	10	13	25	32	1	861
South	9	11	13	31	36	*	248
Great Britain:							
South England (including London)	13	28	5	18	35	1	479
The Midlands	13	31	9	16	31	*	394
Wales	18	27	5	19	31	—	116
Northern England	13	31	7	21	28	*	367
Scotland	15	28	12	13	32	—	147

* Less than one half of one per cent.

04550

APPENDIX P: GROUP VARIATIONS

" And if it should come to a war between Russia and the U.S., do you think this country should take any side or not take a side ? Which side "
" Suppose West Germany (in West Germany: " Italy ") were attacked by Russia, do you think (name of country) should help fight together with other countries on the side of West Germany or should we keep out ?"
" In case Russia tried to invade (name of country), what do you think would be better for our country to do: to fight or to do something else ? (If something else:) What else ? "

	Would defend own country, US, and neighbor						Would defend own country, US, but not neighbor					
	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL.	G.Bt.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL.	G.Bt.
Sex:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men	33	36	30	25	64	55	15	22	6	15	11	10
Women	21	18	26	16	49	35	19	28	10	15	16	16
Education:												
No school/elem. school	22	24	19	13	51	42	19	25	8	13	15	14
Second. school, trade, school, etc.	37	38	34	28	63	52	17	26	8	21	12	12
High school, university	44	41	45	41	69	57	14	22	8	15	6	10
Socio-Economic Status:												
Upper middle and well-to-do	38	30	37	43	53	59	13	26	8	15	15	11
Lower middle and poor	25	27	21	17	67	41	17	25	7	15	9	14
Occupation:												
Professionals/executives	33	34	34	24	61	62	16	27	9	17	13	12
Small business men	20	25	14	10	65	37	15	31	8	11	6	16
White-collar workers	50	49	46	48	63	61	13	19	6	15	9	9
Independent artisans	32	44	45	22	59	40	17	15	6	24	12	17
Manual workers	27	29	25	18	44	55	15	16	12	18	12	9
Farmers	19	28	14	17	57	40	9	24	4	7	9	13
Farmhands	34	39	31	32	69	50	17	23	4	18	10	15
City Size:												
Less than 2,000	27	26	29	17	81	59	14	21	9	17	10	8
2,000— 5,000	24	26	19	23	50	45	17	28	7	14	17	22
5,001— 20,000	24	23	25	19	58	48	21	33	11	17	15	16
20,001—100,000	26	25	29	18	60	47	15	27	7	13	9	10
100,001—250,000	30	20	44	25	55	43	16	25	2	16	14	12
Over 250,000	35	38	30	27	54	38	14	19	6	16	15	17
Age:												
21—29 years	25	29	22	20	55	40	16	24	7	15	15	14
30—64 years	28	27	31	20	58	46	17	25	7	15	11	13
65 years and over	27	25	27	25	52	48	17	24	13	12	19	14
Religion:												
Catholics, regular	31	30	39	24	65	57	18	26	12	17	14	4
Catholics, irregular	25	30	28	19	56	39	12	20	6	14	13	8
Protestants, regular	35	23	26	--	75	55	20	25	11	—	10	14
Protestants, irregular	29	26	17	—	53	45	24	27	5	—	15	14
None	21	23	15	9	45	35	8	22	4	4	11	12
Total population	27	27	28	21	5	45	16	25	8	15	13	13

* Less than one half of one per cent.

IN "CRISIS MORALE"

Would defend own country, neighbor, but not US						Would defend own country only						Would not defend own country, US or neighbor						Would fight together with Russia					
CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL.	G.B.	CSC	W.G.	Fr.	It.	NL.	G.B.
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
8	6	13	8	7	17	14	12	14	21	4	13	26	23	31	26	13	5	4	1	6	5	1	•
7	4	9	6	7	14	17	16	16	24	7	24	34	34	37	37	20	11	2	•	2	2	1	•
6	5	8	6	7	14	17	15	16	23	6	21	34	31	43	40	20	9	2	•	6	5	1	•
10	3	15	9	8	20	14	12	14	20	5	14	20	19	26	19	11	2	2	2	3	3	1	•
11	10	16	7	9	15	13	7	11	21	2	8	18	20	19	16	12	10	•	—	1	•	2	—
11	6	13	9	7	11	12	11	12	17	6	10	25	25	28	16	19	9	1	2	2	•	•	•
7	5	10	7	9	16	17	14	17	23	4	21	32	29	39	34	11	8	2	•	6	4	•	•
6	2	9	8	5	19	17	13	15	24	7	5	26	22	30	26	11	12	2	2	3	1	3	—
8	5	11	6	6	14	10	8	6	19	2	19	38	31	47	41	21	14	9	—	14	13	—	—
13	9	17	9	14	15	9	4	14	14	3	7	14	19	14	14	11	8	1	—	3	—	—	•
9	4	6	9	12	25	17	11	12	23	4	15	23	26	29	21	11	3	2	—	2	1	2	—
12	10	12	13	16	16	9	8	6	18	5	20	36	37	43	32	23	—	1	—	2	1	—	—
7	7	10	4	7	16	16	14	16	17	8	23	41	27	44	47	18	7	8	•	12	8	1	•
9	6	17	9	8	15	16	11	14	19	4	14	21	21	32	18	9	6	3	•	2	4	•	•
7	5	10	3	3	4	15	15	12	28	—	21	34	32	36	32	6	4	3	1	4	3	—	4
8	4	17	7	6	6	16	14	10	23	7	17	32	27	43	30	20	10	3	1	4	3	—	—
8	7	4	8	7	12	16	15	13	21	3	14	29	21	40	32	17	10	2	1	7	3	•	—
9	7	11	7	8	14	18	13	20	23	8	21	29	28	29	33	14	8	3	—	4	6	1	•
6	2	12	4	10	19	17	15	16	20	7	17	30	38	20	33	14	9	1	—	6	2	—	•
9	5	15	7	7	19	13	12	16	18	4	20	27	25	30	28	18	6	2	1	3	4	2	—
10	7	15	7	9	15	18	12	19	24	6	23	28	26	31	30	14	8	3	2	6	4	1	—
6	4	10	7	7	16	15	14	14	21	6	18	32	30	34	33	17	7	2	•	4	4	1	•
8	5	10	6	5	11	15	17	12	21	4	15	31	29	37	30	20	12	2	—	1	6	—	•
8	5	13	7	7	16	19	17	14	25	5	14	23	22	21	27	9	7	1	•	1	•	•	2
8	4	12	7	7	15	18	18	16	20	8	30	33	27	36	34	16	8	4	1	2	6	—	—
7	5	26	—	4	10	9	12	5	—	3	13	29	35	32	—	7	8	—	—	—	—	1	—
6	5	14	—	10	16	11	11	14	—	7	18	29	30	42	—	15	7	1	1	8	—	•	•
9	5	10	9	7	14	9	5	10	13	6	24	42	40	45	52	28	15	11	5	16	13	3	—
8	5	12	7	7	15	16	14	14	22	6	18	30	28	34	31	16	8	3	1	4	4	1	1

04551

PARTY PREFERENCE:	Would defend own country, US, and neighbor	Would defend own country, US, but not neighbor	Would defend own country, neighbor, but not US	Would defend own country only	Would not defend own country, US or neighbor	Would fight together with Russia	No. of cases:
West Germany:							
Socialists	23%	28%	5%	17%	27%	—	394
Christian Democrats	43	29	4	12	11	1	388
FDP (Conservative-Liberal)	49	25	5	5	14	2	81
Other parties	29	25	12	9	22	3	97
No party preference stated	17	21	4	15	43	•	628
(Communists and sympathizers)	25	13	4	—	33	25	74
France:							
Socialists	31	6	15	16	32	—	186
MRP (Catholic)	40	16	16	13	15	•	149
Radical Socialists (" Liberal ")	41	8	14	15	22	—	106
Farmers and Independents	44	6	12	14	24	—	125
Gaullists	51	15	15	11	8	—	92
Communists	—	—	2	5	49	44	113
Other parties	32	5	20	10	33	—	66
No party preference stated	20	7	9	18	46	•	508
(Communists and sympathizers)	12	3	8	9	49	19	226
Italy:							
Anti-Communist Socialists, Republicans	24	21	13	20	22	—	176
Christian-Democrats	33	21	8	21	17	—	420
Liberals	44	23	5	21	7	—	57
Monarchists	29	29	5	23	14	—	71
Neo-Fascists	26	14	14	21	12	3	72
Pro-Communist Socialists	3	5	7	17	62	6	86
Communists	4	•	2	7	53	34	151
No party	11	11	5	27	46	•	437
(Communists and sympathizers)	4	5	4	14	54	19	278
Netherlands:							
Labor (Socialists)	58	16	8	5	13	—	447
Catholic People's Party	63	14	7	5	11	•	337
Christian Historicals (Protestant/Liberal-Conservative)	69	11	6	6	7	1	143
Liberals	63	9	10	6	12	•	106
Anti-Revolutionists (Calvinist/Conservative)	74	9	6	4	7	•	143
Other parties	38	5	6	8	36	7	84
No party preference stated	36	14	8	7	34	1	253
(Communists and sympathizers)	33	7	10	12	31	7	121
Great Britain:							
Labour (Socialists)	38	11	18	23	10	•	715
Liberals	52	14	21	12	1	—	142
Conservatives	58	15	11	11	5	•	486
No party preference stated	28	15	13	28	16	—	137
(Communists and sympathizers)	25	4	15	35	16	5	109

• Less than one half of one per cent.

REGIONS WITHIN COUNTRIES:	Would defend own country, US, and neighbor	Would defend own country, US, but not neighbor	Would defend own country, neighbor, but not US	Would defend own country only	Would not defend own country, US, or neighbor	Would fight together with Russia	No of cases:
West Germany:							
Bavaria	24%	26%	6%	18%	26%	*...100%	307
Hesse	19	24	1	14	41	1	146
Wuerttemberg-Baden	25	25	6	6	36	2	134
Nord-Rhine-Westphalia	29	27	4	13	26	1	439
Lower Saxony	33	18	5	14	30	—	228
Schleswig Holstein	39	30	7	5	19	—	87
Baden	24	32	5	5	34	—	40
Rheinland-Palatinate	18	21	6	29	26	—	97
Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern	20	47	7	17	7	2	41
Bremen, Hamburg	39	17	6	10	28	—	69
France:							
Paris and surroundings	31	7	15	14	29	4	307
North East	26	8	10	17	35	4	325
North West	36	6	11	10	33	4	236
South West	28	9	15	13	32	3	177
South East	23	8	9	16	38	6	299
Italy:							
North	21	14	7	23	31	4	723
Central	17	10	5	23	39	6	271
South and Islands	22	20	7	20	28	3	511
Netherlands:							
North	59	8	8	4	21	—	168
East	60	11	9	4	15	1	236
West	54	15	7	6	17	1	861
South	61	13	8	6	12	*	248
Great Britain:							
South England (including London)	49	12	14	18	7	*	479
The Midlands	45	11	17	19	8	—	394
Wales	38	23	8	19	12	—	116
Northern England	44	14	18	20	4	*	367
Scotland	40	12	14	16	17	1	147

* Less than one of one per cent.

04552

CONFIDENTIAL
SECURITY INFORMATION

Printing Branch
Office of the United States Special Representative in Europe

045553

CONFIDENTIAL
SECURITY INFORMATION

024554

RIAS COVERAGE AND PROGRAMMING AS EVALUATED BY EAST ZONE LISTENERS

Report No. 170
Series No. 2
February 10, 1953

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REPORTS AND ANALYSIS STAFF

01555

INTRODUCTION

The present study was undertaken to assist RIAS, the American station in Berlin, in an evaluation of its East Zone programming by means of interviewing recently arrived East Germans who listened to RIAS before their flight into West Berlin. Their comments point up weaknesses and underline strong points of the RIAS program structure. Five hundred and seven former Soviet Zone residents (201 youth, 306 adults) were interviewed in West Berlin refugee camps between October 9th and November 14th, 1952.

As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. High quality work is assured by the nature of the contract with this organization and by the fact that its operatives have had several years of full-time experience in the most modern techniques of research.

It must be realized that because of the highly selective sample (East Zoners who chose to flee to the West), proportions of response to some questions in the survey cannot be taken as representative of what East Germans, generally, think about radio stations and programs offered them. The very fact that these people elected to leave their homes in the Russian Zone, and that they succeeded in the attempt, indicates that they are different from those who stayed at home. Reasons given for their emigration from East Germany are to be found in the Appendix. Their political attitudes and related feelings about Western efforts to inform them (through such media as RIAS) may possibly differ from those of many still living in East Germany. How often they listened to RIAS and what they think of its programs is undoubtedly inflated - in the direction of more frequent exposure and approval - from the norm of East Zone residents. Nonetheless, their appraisal of RIAS can provide important guidance to program planners who are continually trying to reach people who are themselves potential "refugees" - either in thought or in action. These limitations do not discount the value of what these ex-RIAS listeners have to say, but only is to advise caution in the interpretation of percentages reported in this study.

Earlier studies of RIAS' effectiveness behind the Soviet frontier of Germany have consistently shown a very high listenership to the station, as reported by Germans living in the East Zone at the time of interviewing. Their comments and estimates of the extent of listening to RIAS can be compared with the data to be presented in this report.+

+ See the following RAS reports:

No. 132	April 10, 1952	East Zone Farmers' Reactions to RIAS Farm Broadcasts - With Sidelights on the Extent of VOA Listenership (RESTRICTED
No. 109	Nov 10, 1951	Attitudes of East German Youth - A Series of Reports Based Upon Studies Conducted During the Berlin Youth Festival - IV. Radio Evaluations and Recommendations of East Zone Youth
No. 100	Sept 27, 1951	Program Tastes of West German and West Berlin Radio Listeners
No. 90	July 25, 1951	Attitudes Behind the Iron Curtain - A Survey Approach to East German Thinking - IV. Radio Listening in the East Zone.

HIGHLIGHTS

RIAS OUTRANKS ALL OTHER WESTERN STATIONS ... in popularity among East Germans. Eight in ten adult East Zone refugees (and three-fourths of the youth) either listened more often to RIAS than to any other Western station or listened only to it. NWDR (Hamburg, Cologne, Berlin) supplements RIAS as a carrier of information and entertainment from the West to Germans living behind the Soviet boundary. But it does not by any means enjoy as large an audience as RIAS.

FREQUENT INTERFERENCE MARS RIAS RECEPTION ... according to four in ten of the former East Germans interviewed. An additional one quarter of the refugees say that interference sometimes occurred. Details of frequency and times of marred reception are considered in the text.

NEWS AND POLITICAL PROGRAMS ... are key attractions among all segments of the RIAS audience, youth and their elders alike. The special attention which the station pays to East Zone events in its news coverage is the main reason given by adults for preferring RIAS to other Western stations. Among youth, RIAS' music is the principal attraction.

ACCURATE REPORTING ON EAST ZONE CONDITIONS ... in RIAS' political programs is the main reason they are valued so highly.

PROGRAM PLANNERS AT RIAS ARE WELL-INFORMED ... about East Zone developments, according to over eight in ten adults (9 in 10 youths). This appraisal is given color and meaning by the many specific instances brought up.

EVEN MORE NEWS ABOUT EAST ZONE DEVELOPMENTS ... would increase the value of the political programs according to the East Zone refugees interviewed.

MORE INFORMATION TO COUNTERACT EAST GERMAN PROPAGANDA ... should be broadcast by RIAS, in the opinion of four in ten listeners. No other single program suggestion was given by as large a proportion.

YOUTH PROGRAMS AND POLITICAL INFORMATION PROGRAMS ... designed to meet deficiencies in East German instruction are the leading recommendation of the younger East Zone listeners. Their comments reveal the underlying theme of youth's interest in hearing "the other side of the story" from that told them by the regime.

FAIRY TALES ... should be broadcast by RIAS in order to meet a sharp need in the lives of East Zone children. No other suggestion is made as often by both young and old as that the station can fill a void in the education and entertainment of children under ten years of age. Today there is a dearth of legendary stories known to Germans of earlier generations, and East Germans are eager to have their children hear them - unadulterated by political twists.

I. SOME GENERAL PATTERNS OF LISTENING TO RIAS

04558

RIAS AND NWDR HEARD BY LARGE PROPORTION OF FORMER EAST GERMANS

Virtually all of the adults and youths interviewed in West Berlin refugee camps say that they used to listen to RIAS while still living in the Soviet Zone, and three-fourths of them also tuned to the Western outlet, NWDR. No East Zone station gets an audience as large as RIAS and NWDR, as the table below indicates.

"Did you listen to the radio when still living in the East Zone? Which Western radio stations did you listen to at that time?"

"Which Eastern radio stations did you listen to when still living in the East Zone?"**

WESTERN STATIONS	Adults	Youth	EAST ZONE STATIONS	Adults	Youth
RIAS	99%	100%	Leipzig	55%	58%
NWDR	81	71	Radio Berlin	35	48
BBC	16	5	Deutschlandsender	10	21
Others: . . .	36	38	Other: . . .	19	29
Didn't listen to any of them	-	-	Didn't listen to any of them	19	5
No opinion	-	1	No opinion	-	-
	232%Q	215%Q		138%Q	161%Q
No. of cases -	(306)	(201)	No. of cases -	(306)	(201)

It is very difficult to estimate how inflated RIAS and NWDR listening figures are when projected to all of the East German population. There can be little doubt that the uniqueness of the refugees resulted in a higher-than-average interest in Western radio programs before they fled to the West. However, the extremely large proportion of listeners suggests that even among the general East German population RIAS enjoys a large listenership. Earlier studies already mentioned bear out this statement. Of course, nothing about frequency of listening to RIAS was obtained in this question, and even very infrequent listeners would be counted here as listeners.

RIAS IS MOST-LISTENED-TO WESTERN STATION ...

This group's devotion to RIAS is indicated in the finding that eight in ten adults (and three-fourths of the youth) either listened more often to RIAS than to any other Western station or listened solely to it. One in ten adults and nearly twice as many youth said they listened most to NWDR.

RIAS and NWDR, then, are virtually alone as providers of broadcast information and entertainment from the West to Germans living behind the Soviet boundary.

That short-wave broadcasting by RIAS serves a useful purpose is suggested by the fact that nearly one quarter of the former East German residents interviewed heard RIAS programs by short-wave.

** The two questions were not asked successively. They are presented together here only to permit easier comparison.

Q Some respondents gave more than one answer.

AT WHAT TIMES DO EAST GERMANS LISTEN TO RIAS? ...

As is usually found in general radio listening studies, the three peak periods of tuning-in are in the early morning, mid-day and evening hours.O The highest incidence of RIAS listening in the morning falls between 6:00 and 7:30 hours, when over 20 of every one hundred adults and youths interviewed said they listen to RIAS. Listening drops rapidly after 8:30 in the morning, and picks up again at about 11:00 a.m. By noon, 22 per cent of the refugees said they listened to RIAS regularly, and almost 3 in ten were listening between 12:30 and 13:00, the high point of daytime listening. Listening tapers off gradually from one o'clock till two and remains relatively steady during the mid-afternoon hours, with a little over one in ten people listening more or less regularly to RIAS at that time. An examination of the profile chart at the end of this section shows the strong and progressive increase in listening, beginning at five in the afternoon, reaching its high point between 19:30 and 20:30 in the evening, when six in 10 adults and one half of the youth interviewed say they were regular RIAS listeners.**

BARRIERS TO RIAS LISTENING ...

Despite the fact that almost all refugees say they listened to RIAS when they lived in the East Zone, most of them (when queried on the point) said that there were difficulties preventing their hearing the station at times.

Transmission of RIAS broadcasts suffers to a very considerable extent because of interference of various kinds. Nearly four in ten of those interviewed say that programs are <u>often</u> marred by interference, and another one-quarter say that it <u>sometimes</u> occurred.

"And was the reception clear as a rule or was there any interference? Often or sometimes?" (Asked if "RIAS" or "NWDR" were listened to at all).

	RIAS		NWDR	
	Adults	Youth	Adults	Youth
Reception clear	41%	34%	45%	52%
Sometimes interference	22	26	29	28
Often interference	37	39	26	19
No answer	-	1	*	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

O The question was, "And when, that is, at what hours during weekdays, did you listen to RIAS with a certain regularity?"

** Percentages representing youth's listening periods are in the Appendix.

Virtually all Western station listeners in the sample were dependent upon house current for the operation of their receiving sets. Only 4 per cent of those interviewed had been able to use their sets in event of power failure (by using batteries). The importance of this factor becomes apparent when it is found that 85 per cent of the ex-RIAS listeners said that their electric power had been interrupted at their former place of residence in East Germany.

"Did these interruptions always occur at the same time or was the time varinble? (When did these interruptions of electric power occur?)" (Asked if interruption of electric power claimed).

	Adults	Youth
Always at the same time	33%	33%
Changed from week to week	21	16
Changed continually	45	48
Changed from day to day	-	2
No opinion/No answer	1	1
	100%	100%
No. of cases =	(260)	(170)

Most of the regular interruptions occurred, according to the East Germans interviewed, between 6 and 9 o'clock in the evening, with somewhat more of them naming 7 to 8 o'clock, p.m., than any other time.

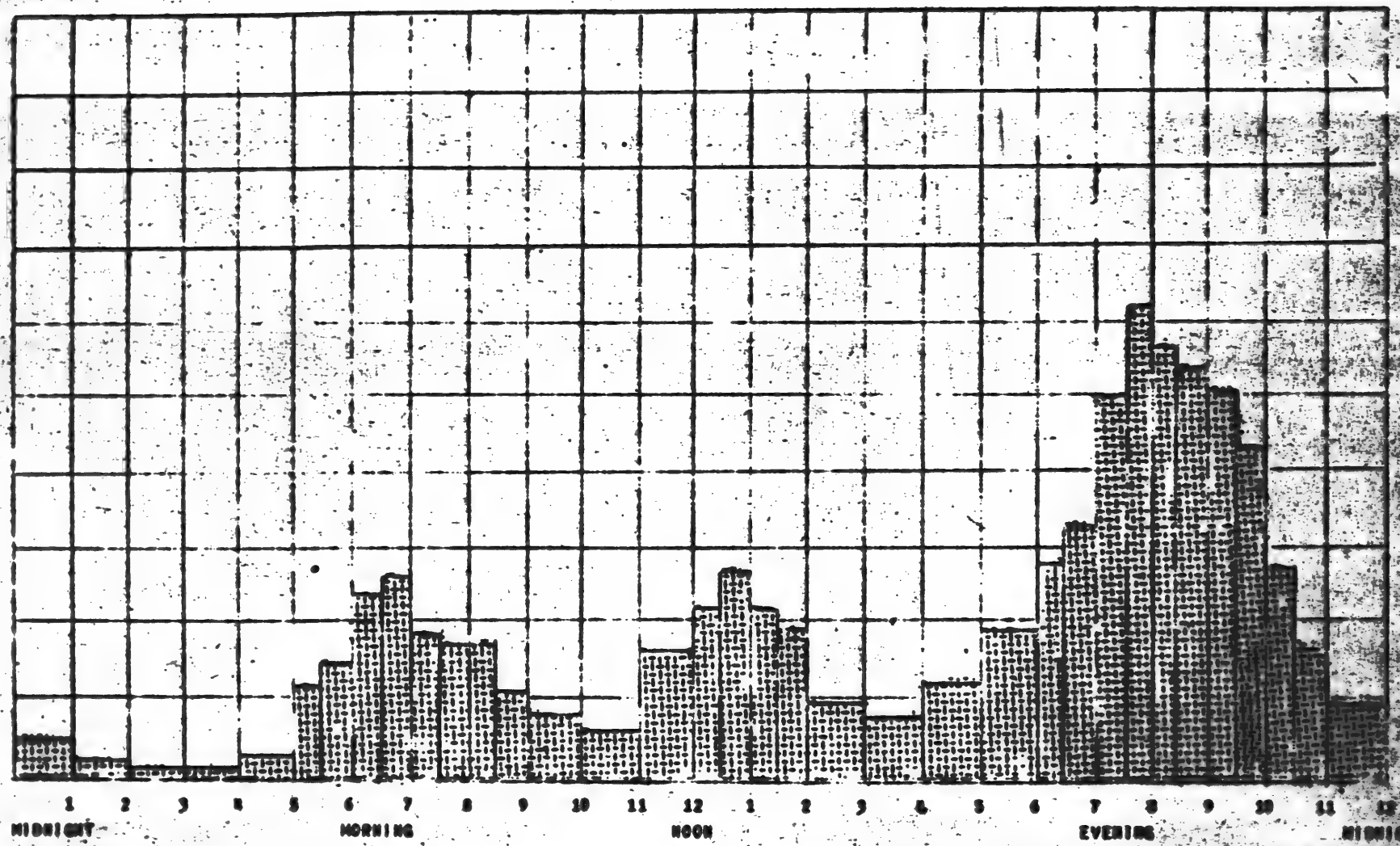
04561

II. FORMER EAST ZONE RIAS LISTENERS APPRAISE THE STATION

04562

ADULT REGULAR WEEKDAY LISTENING TO RIAS, BERLIN

(REPORTED BY EAST ZONE REFUGEES)



(12% LISTENED IRREGULARLY)

LISTENING PERIODS DURING AVERAGE WEEKDAY

WHY DO PEOPLE LISTEN TO RIAS? ...

Motivation for listening to RIAS was approached in two ways: by noting what kinds of programs people listened to regularly, and by the more direct approach of asking those who listened more often to RIAS than to other Western stations why they did so.

The most popular RIAS program fare for East Zone adults appears to be its news and political programs. Two-thirds of adults interviewed named news and political commentaries as RIAS programs they listened to regularly when possible, and the same proportion named political programs. These programs get a high vote from former East German youth as well, with six in ten saying that they listened to RIAS' political programs whenever possible. Nearly as many named news and political commentaries.

The special attention RIAS pays to the East Zone in its programming is the reason mainly given by adults for listening to RIAS more often than other Western stations.

The principal difference between youth and adults in regularity of listening and program preferences is that a higher proportion of youth regularly tried to hear dance music and jazz on RIAS, and more of them preferred RIAS because of its music programs than for any other reason. Yet, in both groups---young and old---an interest in listening to RIAS' political material is unmistakably apparent.

No more youth than adults tried to tune in regularly on RIAS programs designed for youth and children. Only 12 per cent of the youth (all of whom said they used to listen to RIAS) reported listening as regularly as possible to such programs. Of course, some of this program fare is for children and not for youth of the age interviewed. At any rate, it will be clear from reading data on program listening and on youth programming in particular (last section of this report) that youth are reached in many other ways by RIAS.

"Which programs broadcast by RIAS did you listen to regularly when possible? (Anything else?)"

ADULTS		YOUTH	
News and political commentaries	67%	Light music & entertainment	73%
Political programs	65	Political programs	68
Light music and entertainment	54	News and political commentaries	55
Dance music, jazz	30	Dance music, jazz	54
Special programs (women's, farmers', etc.)	17	Information programs	21
Information programs	16	Theater programs	18
Theater programs	14	Sports programs	15
Sports programs	11	Youth programs	12
Youth programs	11	Special programs	9
Classical music, opera	7	Classical music, opera	8
Econ. programs, press reviews	3	Econ. programs, press reviews	4
Others	16	Others	26
	311%		359%
No. of cases =	(306)	No. of cases =	(201)

@ Most respondents gave more than one answer.

04564

"Why did you listen to RIAS most often?"

ADULTS		YOUTH	
RIAS pays special att'n to East Zone	36%	RIAS music programs	37%
RIAS better informed than others	28	RIAS pays special att'n to East Zone	27
Like RIAS programs better	25	RIAS better informed than others	23
Reception was good	22	Reception was good	22
RIAS music programs	19	RIAS programs varied, topical	20
RIAS' true, objective reports	18	Like RIAS programs better	16
RIAS programs varied, topical	14	RIAS' true, objective reports	13
RIAS "informer" shows	7	RIAS "informer" shows	4
RIAS classical music programs	1		
RIAS operetta music	1		
Others	9	Others	13
No opinion/No answer	1	No opinion/No answer	1
	180%		176%
No. of cases -	(209)	No. of cases -	(105)

@ Most respondents gave more than one answer

WHAT SPECIFIC RIAS DAILY PROGRAMS ARE LISTENED TO? ...

Six RIAS programs which are broadcast 6 times a week were compared for audience size. Here are the results of this comparison:

	5 - 6 times a week	3 - 4 times a week	1 - 2 times a week	2 - 3 times a month	Less often or only once	Not heard/ Not known	
Adults:							
Berlin Speaks to the Zone	47%	29%	14%	3%	2%	5%	...100%
Current News Show (Zeit im Funk)	15	18	16	3	16	32	
Everyday Life in the Zone (Alltag der Zone)	15	14	14	2	11	44	
The Work-day in the Zone (Werktag in der Zone)	12	10	9	2	11	56	
School programs (Schulfunk)	4	12	17	9	18	40	
And Today? (Und Heute?)	3	5	7	2	7	76	
Youth:							
Berlin Speaks to the Zone	34%	32%	21%	4%	4%	5%	...100%
Current News Show (Zeit im Funk)	15	19	17	10	8	31	
Everyday Life in the Zone (Alltag in der Zone)	9	15	16	4	6	50	
School programs (Schulfunk)	8	15	24	10	23	20	
And Today? (Und Heute?)	2	7	1	2	6	82	
The Workday in the Zone (Werktag in der Zone)	3	3	8	3	9	74	

It has already been noted that high on the list of reasons given for listening most often to RIAS is that it pays special attention to the East Zone. This fact is underlined when one examines the amount of regular listening to "Berlin Speaks to the Zone." No other daily program listed above enjoys such popularity. Nearly one-half of adults who once lived in the East Zone say they heard the program 5 or 6 times a week, and one-third of the youth interviewed listened as often. Only 5 per cent of all people interviewed had never heard of the program.

04565

One-third of both youth and adults listened to the current news program "Zeit im Funk" at least 4 times a week. This program contains human interest material of news significance. "Everyday Life in the Zone" was heard by over one-fourth of those interviewed at least 4 times a week. This program contains information about activities in the East Zone, including information on Communist "informers" and predictions on future East German government activities.

The program "And Today?" has a very limited audience among both youth and adults. Only 15 per cent of the adults and 10 per cent of youth reported listening to this daily show as often as once a week. The content of this program is similar to "Zeit im Funk" with the important difference that it includes much more serious material. (The program had been on the air at the same time (10:15 p.m.) since April, 1951---six months longer than was the case with the less serious news program, "Zeit im Funk").

AUDIENCES TO SOME OTHER PROGRAMS BROADCAST DURING THE WEEK ...

The following table shows relative listening to programs broadcast less regularly than every day, but at least twice a week:

	5 - 6 times a week	3 - 4 times a week	1 - 2 times a week	2 - 3 times a month	Less often or only once	Not heard/ Not known
Adults:						
The Colorful Palette* (Die Bunte Palette)	-%	21%	24%	5%	11%	39%...100%
Eastern Mirror** (Ostspiegel)	5	9	14	4	9	59
Voice of Women** (Stimme der Frau)	-	11	15	5	16	53
For Parents and Teachers@ (Fuer Eltern und Erzieher)	-	4	19	6	14	57
University of the Air (Funkuniversitaet)	-	7	1	7	1	84
Youth:						
The Colorful Palette* (Die Bunte Palette)	-%	13%	29%	6%	11%	41%...100%
Eastern Mirror** (Ostspiegel)	2	6	8	2	9	73
Voice of the Women** (Stimme der Frau)	-	8	12	5	16	59
For Parents and Teachers@ (Fuer Eltern und Erzieher)	-	4	22	9	20	45
University of the Air (Funkuniversitaet)	-	-	6	2	8	84

@ Broadcast 2 times a week
* Broadcast 3 times a week
** Broadcast 4 times a week

HOW MANY LISTEN TO LESS FREQUENT PROGRAMS? ...

RIAS programs that are broadcast once a week (or less, as indicated) are shown on the following pages in order of their regular audience size. Of course, some successive percentage differences are not great, but the relative popularity of many types can be seen.

The comedy team of "Pinsel und Schnorchel" (known for their sharp political jests) enjoy the most regular listenership among adults, and rank second among youth. Earlier references to the popularity of dance music and "hit tunes" among East German youth are borne out here. The program listened to regularly by more young people than any other is "Hit Parade"---"Schlager der Woche."

Two political programs having no "entertainment" character, but which are serious reviews of current political news and related developments are "The Week in Bonn" and "About All-German Problems." Both are high on the list of most-listened-to RIAS shows. Mayor Reuter's "fireside" program, "Where the Shoe Pinches," also does very well. Nearly half of the adults (and three in ten youth), say they heard him at least twice a month.

A word about music programs: "Hit Parade" tops the list among youth, it has been noted; it is in second place among adults---with three-fourths of them having heard it at least half the time. One-half of adults and 67 per cent of youth heard it every week. At the other extreme of popularity in terms of audience size are programs featuring classical and semi-classical music, which is to be expected.

A folk-song program, "Lieder der Heimat," was listened to every week by three in ten former East Germans interviewed. And almost half of them listened at least twice a month to this weekly show.

One factor must be faced in the analysis of program listening: the possibility of inflation of <u>actual</u> listening. While preceding tables show only a very slight tendency to claim listenership to programs more often than they were on the air, there appears to be considerable inflation in certain of the programs now being considered. For example, large percentages of people say they listened more often to "The Islanders" and to "The Berlin Atmosphere" than was possible. Other hidden inflations may also exist. It has been noted that the people in this sample were inclined more favorably towards the West, and observers of interviewing noted that sometimes respondents---in their fervor to claim RIAS listening---appeared not to be able to substantiate some of their listening claims. Any roster of programs submitted to respondents to elicit <u>general</u> (and not very recent) listening is likely to pick up some inflation. On the other hand, only a few people claimed to have heard the "phony" program, "Look Into the Future," inserted as a trick choice. At any rate, relative ratings of program listening have validity, and the inflation factor is not necessarily serious. One, however, should be aware of it.

For list of RIAS personalities who are well- and little-known by RIAS East German ex-listeners, see Appendix.

"Hardly anybody can listen to all programs broadcast by a radio station. But which of these programs of RIAS were known to you when you still lived in the East Zone?"

	Once a week	2 - 3 times a month	Less often	Only once	Not heard/ Not known	
Adults:						
Pinsel und Schnorchel	66%	15%	4%	1%	14%	...100%
Hit Parade (Schlager der Woche)	52	24	10	*	14	
*The Insulaners (Die Insulaner)	41	27	6	*	26	
*The Berlin Atmosphere (Berliner Luft)	39	29	7	1	24	
The Week in Bonn	36	15	11	1	37	
@It Happened in Berlin	31	24	8	*	37	
About All-German Problems (Ueber gesamtdeutsche Fragen)	30	26	16	1	27	
Radio Drama (Das grosse Hoerspiel)	28	29	14	1	28	
Songs of Home (Lieder der Heimat)Folk Songs	31	19	16	-	34	
Where the Shoe Pinches (Wo uns der Schuh drueckt) Reuter's Fireside Chat	27	20	11	3	39	
@Coffee Circle (Kaffeetafel)	24	15	8	*	53	
West Berlin Senate (Abgeordnetenhaus in West Berlin)	20	15	20	1	44	
European Hour (Europaeische Stunde)	19	12	17	1	51	
@Lemke's Widow (Lemkes selige Witwe)	18	10	6	1	65	
Stories over the Radio (Funkerzaehlung)	14	16	15	1	54	
Music Critics at the Mike (Musikkritiker am Mikrophon)	12	13	16	2	57	
Bach Cantatas	13	8	14	3	62	
The Musical Alphabet (Das klingende Alphabet)	11	8	12	1	68	
Music, Lingua Franca (Musik, Sprache der Welt)	11	7	13	1	68	
Church News	11	7	14	1	67	
Musicians and Poets	10	7	12	3	68	
Countries and People (Laender und Menschen)	8	12	12	2	66	
Serenades	7	12	17	2	62	
Symphony	8	10	25	3	54	
*We go to the Theater	8	9	13	1	69	
Discussion of Current Issues (Gespraech der Zeit)	7	10	12	1	70	
Music of the 20th Century	5	10	15	1	69	
Modern Man (Der Mensch unserer Zeit)	4	9	11	3	73	
That's How I See the Age We Live In (So sehe ich meine Zeit)	3	4	6	1	84	
Look Into the Future (Der Ausblick) PROGRAM DOES NOT EXIST; A "PENNY"	2	4	6	1	87	
Composers Talk About Themselves (Komponisten ueber sich selbst)	1	4	10	2	83	

* Broadcast once a month.
@ Broadcast every 2 weeks.

	Once a week	2 - 3 times a month	Less often	Only once	Not heard/ Not known
Youth:					
Hit Parade (Schlager der Woche)	67%	21%	8%	1%	3%...100%
Pinsel und Schnorchel	64	12	3	*	21
**The Berlin Atmosphere (Berliner Luft)	37	28	14	1	20
**The Islanders (Die Insulaner)	30	27	9	2	32
Radio Drama (Das grosse Hoerspiel)	30	26	18	2	24
OIt Happened in Berlin	30	25	10	2	33
OCoffee Circle (Kaffeetafel)	28	19	10	*	43
Songs of Home (Lieder der Heimat) Folk Songs	27	18	16	1	38
About All-German Problems (Ueber gesamtdeutsche Fragen)	19	18	20	3	40
The Week in Bonn	20	15	14	2	49
Music Critics at the Mike (Musikkritiker am Mikrophon)	17	15	19	2	47
Stories over the Radio (Funkerzaehlung)	15	15	14	-	56
Where the Shoe Pinches (Wo uns der Schuh drueckt) Reuter's Fireside Chat	15	15	13	2	55
Musicians and Poets	14	9	14	1	62
European Hour (Europaeische Stunde)	12	12	10	2	64
Countries and People (Laender und Menschen)	11	9	16	*	64
The Musical Alphabet (Das klingende Alphabet)	9	9	11	2	69
Church News	8	9	1	22	60
OLemke's Widow (Lemkes selige Witwe)	9	6	5	1	79
Music, Lingua Franca (Musik, Sprache der Welt)	7	11	12	1	69
Symphony	7	9	22	3	59
West Berlin Senate (Abgeordnetenhaus in West Berlin)	7	8	15	2	68
**We Go to the Theater	6	9	15	*	70
Discussion of Current Issues (Gespraech der Zeit)	6	8	9	*	77
That's How I See the Age We Live In (So sehe ich meine Zeit)	5	8	5	*	82
Bach Cantatas	4	10	13	1	72
Music of the 20th Century	5	7	20	2	66
Modern Man (Der Mensch unserer Zeit)	4	9	16	2	69
Serenades	4	4	17	3	72
Composers Talk About Themselves (Komponisten ueber sich selbst)	4	3	9	*	84
Look Into the Future (Der Ausblick) PROGRAM DOES NOT EXIST; A "PHONY"	2	3	3	-	92

* Less than one half of one per cent.
** Broadcast once a month.
O Broadcast every 2 weeks.

ARE THERE ENOUGH POLITICAL PROGRAMS ON RIAS' EVENING SCHEDULE? ...

While one-half of both youth and adults were satisfied with the number of political programs available in the evening hours over RIAS, a sizeable minority think there are too few. It might be well to keep the following figures in mind when reading through later sections of this report dealing with program suggestions. It would seem that political program output might be stepped up in the evenings to accomodate the one-fourth to one-third of listeners who would like more, being cautious not to broadcast too many political programs and risk offending the majority who think the schedule is about right as it now is.

"Do you think the evening program of RIAS offers too many or too few political broadcasts?"

	Adults	Youth
Too many	7%	15%
Too few	33	25
Right as it is	54	55
No opinion/No answer	6	5
	100%	100%
No. of cases -	(306)	(201)

EAST GERMANS COMMENT ON RIAS' POLITICAL PROGRAMS ...

Former East Germans place a high value on RIAS' political and news shows; this has been made amply clear. Why is this true?

Respondents were asked to compare the political output of RIAS with that of the other principal carrier of Western broadcast information---NWDR.

"And which of the political programs were of greater use to you: those of RIAS or those of NWDR?"

	Adults	Youth
RIAS	61%	50%
NWDR	1	2
Both the same	9	5
No opinion	29	43
	100%	100%
No. of cases -	(306)	(201)

The single reason most often given for attributing more usefulness to RIAS political programs is that the statements give a more accurate idea about actual conditions in the East Zone. This service to East Germans is named by over twice as many people as give a second reason (that RIAS newscasts are more detailed and accurate). RIAS' attention to what goes on in East Germany clearly pays off in terms of audience receptiveness.

"In what respect have the political programs of RIAS been of greater use to you?"

	Adults	Youth
RIAS gives us a more accurate idea about the actual conditions in the East Zone, brings warning messages and advice, names spies:	36%	26%

We could trust their reports on what's actually going on in the East Zone, we found out that simply everything is kept from us; RIAS broadcast all those programs for the East Zone, it warned people of informers, it gave commentaries on current developments, while NWDR mentioned things only briefly in its news; RIAS was more concerned about the situation in the East Zone, it broadcast a lot of things that are hushed up by government authorities over there, things they don't want us to know;

(Cont'd on next page)

04570

(Cont'd from preceding page) Adults Youth

because their broadcasts are directed at the people in the East Zone, they were informative for us, in that way we learned of the latest developments, things we'd never have found out in the Zone; because it attends to a greater extent to the interests of the people who live in the East Zone, just take the program "Berlin speaks to the Zone", in that way we hear of news that is important for us, of which we would never hear otherwise; because RIAS published more material about the East Zone that was very informative to me, the messages warning us of spies were of special value to us; they brought more things that were of interest to us, they described conditions in the East Zone, true-to-life reports, and, above all, they named informers; RIAS was more keyed to conditions as they existed in our Zone, it was better informed, too, we learned about important things through RIAS, for instance, who was an informer and what action the Communists planned to take, in that way we knew when to be on our guard; various informative reports, we were given advice as to what to do about high-handed Communist measures; because RIAS warned us of informers, NWDR didn't do so; etc.

<u>The news broadcast by RIAS are more detailed, more accurate and more clear:</u> 15% 10%

The news was more detailed, the reports were more accurate, NWDR didn't go into matters so thoroughly; RIAS gave more detailed information; these programs were more explicit, I mean, they had a better way to put things; RIAS dealt with a subject more thoroughly, they broadcast more news about the Zone, in my opinion, news broadcasts generally covered a wider scope and were more detailed, my parents thought so, too; RIAS offered more news, it dealt with individual subjects more thoroughly than other radio stations; because they gave more detailed information on developments in the Zone, I remember the appeal made by Inspector Bolle via RIAS; programs were more extensive, more clear and the different angles of a problem were discussed; because they had a greater impact and were more topical, because RIAS gave more detailed and more informative reports, I guess RIAS is better informed than NWDR, that's why the SED over there dislikes that radio station most of all and calls it a station that tells nothing but lies and claims its news is all false; etc.

<u>RIAS programs can be depended on, RIAS tells the truth and encourages us that way:</u> 9 8

RIAS has always been the radio station that handled our problems, it's bucked us up time and again, because it always explained things in detail so we knew where the truth lay; because RIAS was a comfort to us, RIAS kept reminding us that there still existed a free Germany, it inspired us with hope, that was the most important thing to us; what was said over RIAS was true, RIAS gave us more accurate information, what was said always proved to be true; because I felt sure that the things they told us were true (by and large - the political situation); RIAS addressed its programs more to East Zone residents, "Berlin speaks to the Zone" was our favorite program, it concerned us and helped us, people felt comforted as they saw that people in the West care about how things are for them; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

	Adults	Youth
RIAS reports about developments in the Western world and thus enables us to compare things with the East:	9%	6%

About the progress the Federal Government has made and about negotiations regarding a peace treaty, every time the Federal Government negotiated with representatives of the Russians they gave us detailed accounts of the proceedings, thus we were well aware of what was going on in the world; we learn through RIAS what's going on in the outside world, we learn, too, what's cooking in the Zone, through the political programs of RIAS we are in a better position to compare things, they give us food for thought and keep us in touch with the outside world; through the political programs we had a better chance to compare conditions in the West with those in the East, we weren't so cut off from the outside world; they pointed out differences, they made us think, through giving us both sides of a picture, they sharpened our senses so that the real motives behind Soviet policy dawned on us; the comparisons between East and West, the sharp contrast on the political scene, NWDR didn't make things quite so plain; they were more successful in pointing out the difference between the East and the West; because it was most successful in informing people in Berlin and throughout the East Zone, NWDR didn't broadcast so many political programs, RIAS, too brought reports about proceedings in the Bundestag and in the Berlin city council; etc.

RIAS gives advice to business people and farmers:	5	2

The program arranged by free jurists on tax problems was especially valuable to me as I handle tax problems for business people in our village; we got many a tip regarding tax matters, we passed on any useful information to other business men; the programs they broadcast were exactly the things that are important for East Zone residents, they regularly informed us about the rates of exchange for money, too, as to my aunt, she was interested in agricultural programs for the Zone as she is in business; because I'm a farmer, they gave us advice as to how to handle officials checking crops and members of the State Security Service; once they brought an agricultural program, they gave advice regarding fertilisers, about how to store hay, instructions like these were not of theoretical value only, but could be followed in practive, all farmers liked these programs; etc.

Reception of RIAS was clearer:	3	4

Reception of NWDR was very poor; we could hardly make out what was said via NWDR, a Russian radio station used nearly the same frequency, therefore it's difficult to compare things; it was clearer ; it was easier to tune in RIAS and the reception was clearer; etc.

Information for political refugees:	3	3

In these programs you could learn most about conditions in our Zone, how things stand for people who plan to escape, how things are at the borders, and whether refugees are transported to the West by plane, ever since we had made up our minds and had decided to flee to the West my father tuned in only RIAS to hear the news; because RIAS dealt with problems of political refugees more thoroughly; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

EAST GERMANS BELIEVE RIAS POLITICAL PROGRAM PLANNERS ARE WELL-INFORMED

Over eight in ten adults and nine in ten youths say that RIAS planners of political programs are well-informed about what is going on in the East Zone.

"Do you have the impression that the people who plan the political programs of RIAS are well-informed about conditions in the East Zone or aren't they so well-informed?"

	Adults	Youth
Well-informed	84%	92%
Not so well-informed	6	2
Qualified answer:	7	2
No opinion/No answer	3	4
	100%	100%

Almost without exception, East Zone refugees are able to give specific instances to support their affirmation. The largest proportion - 28 per cent - give examples of reports by RIAS on economic conditions in the Soviet Zone. In the words of one East Zone worker, "I worked in the SAJ plant, and a large machine was built there. RIAS knew all the details about it and they even published the names of shop supervisors..." Another said, "If potatoes got scarce, RIAS knew exactly how many pounds would be allotted to a person." There are other examples of the same kind, such as this one, "In our village there was a depot where machines could be hired, but there usually was a real shortage of gas, and people were hampered in carrying out farm chores. RIAS gave a detailed report of this sorry situation."

The second and third most frequently given kinds of examples specified reports by the station about coercive measures taken in agriculture and industry, and of messages warning people of Communist informers. These announcements had real meaning for those who gave examples. In the words of one former East German, "We were surprised when RIAS announced the name of a spy who lives in our community. This made us realise howwell-informed RIAS is." Another said, "The names of informers at work in the city of Erfurt were announced over the radio; it is pretty important to know things like that."**

"Could you perhaps give me an example for this?" (Asked of those saying RIAS program planners were well-informed).

	Adults	Youth
Correct predictions and reports about economic conditions in the East Zone:	28%	28%
Reports about coercive measures taken in agriculture and industry (increased quota requirements):	23	10
Messages warning people of informers, spies:	21	21
Predictions that came true and reports about conditions in the East Zone (general):	14	15
Reports about trials, passing of sentences, arrests, Gestapo (Secret Police)-methods, cruel treatment of prisoners:	12	7
Reports about political developments throughout the Zone, party news, about indoctrination programs, etc:	10	6
Truthful information about military matters, remilitarization issues, People's Police, etc:	9	21
Reports about accidents and disasters in the East Zone:	6	5
News and reports about evacuations in the restricted border area:	4	5
Reports on conditions in Aue, at the Wismuth Works, etc:	2	5
Reports about the behavior and the way of life, etc. of East Zone functionaries:	2	1
Others:	5	6
No opinion/No answer:	3	3
	139%*	139%*

** Comments under each of the categories below are in the Appendix.
* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

045735

III. HOW MIGHT RIAS' EAST ZONE PROGRAMMING BE IMPROVED?

Former East German RIAS Listeners Give Their Program Ideas

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Others:

Because over RIAS I could hear the "Voice of America" and the programs for the East Zone ("Berlin speaks to the Zone"); Churchill's famous speech was transmitted by RIAS, we listened to all programs and to the news broadcast in the morning at 6 o'clock and at midnight, it meant a ray of hope to us, a contact with a world entirely different from ours; we were more familiar with the broadcasting schedule of RIAS, therefore we usually tuned in to that station; etc.

No opinion/No answer:

MORE REPORTS ON EAST GERMANY ARE ASKED FOR ...

Not only do former East Germans approve resoundingly of RIAS' East Zone coverage, but they believe that RIAS' political programs could be made even more useful by having still more news about East Zone developments. Four in ten of both adults and youths interviewed---the highest proportion giving any suggestions---say that RIAS should broadcast more information to counteract East German propaganda.

"What would you suggest: how could RIAS plan its political programs in such a way that they would be more valuable and more useful to the East Zone? (Anything else?)"

	Adults	Youth
More news and reports on East Zone occurrences:	40%	44%

Still more news, news about the situation in the East; still more news, so that we are informed about politics; perhaps still more news and still more reports about the bad condition of the East - RIAS informed us about all these things, it should bring still more of it by giving still more information on the real situation in the East Zone; telling the truth about the East Zone, in the same way as Leipzig tells the truth about America - to give information as to the purpose of the national forces; by giving a clear picture, without any adornment, of the Moscow doctrines and politics so that people in the West and in the East can see what's going on; to give more information about the political aims of the Eastern leaders, people in the Zone should be shown time and again that they are to be blinded by money and will be played off against each other for the purpose of serving the Communist ideas; above all it is of major importance that the programs are made in such a way as to deal with the latest events and the present situation of the East Zone; it's undoubtedly an advantage that they warn about informers - the dangerous methods of the East of forcing people to act as informers or agents should be pointed out; etc.

More information about the political aims and economic conditions of the West:	14	18

If our station says: "the West again refused something" then we would like to know what it really is that the West wants and if the West refuses something we would like to know why; it would be better to emphasize what the West has done for reunification and still does - most people don't know what the West has done because they hear nothing about it but the lies and deceptions of the East; still more political information pointing out that the Western system is better than the East with its regime of criminals; to make it clear to people and emphasize over and over again that the Russian notes are composed in such a way that the West simply can't accept them and that this is just the Russian intention in order to be able to pretend that they are the only ones who fight for freedom and unity; there should be more comparisons between Western and Eastern school systems for children, for adults it should be shown that people in the West also fight for peace, that they also want nothing but peace; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
Evening programs for the East Zone should be broadcast more often and at later hours: Political programs are too early in the day, many people come home only late in the evening, "Berlin speaks to the Zone" should be given at 2100 or 2130 hours, talk about the employees' problems; news can only be listened to if there is electric power, they should be broadcast more often, generally RIAS provides all that's needed but news and "Berlin speaks to the Zone" should be broadcast more often; between 2000 and 2100 hours would be a good time if possible after the news, because then they all have tuned in; I thought it a good idea that RIAS sometimes gave political programs in between musical programs, young people often listen to musical programs, for instance "Hit Parade" and they should intersperse that with political programs so that they would be listened to by a great number of people; etc.	11%	7%
More information about refugee problems: People should be still more informed about all questions concerning refugees, the Emergency Law (concerning admission of refugees) should be explained to prevent people from coming to the West without knowing anything of the regular procedure; they always said that they would help us - but they never told us about the essentials, papers, documents needed in a refugee camp, in our room people are very discouraged, if people had been told before how difficult it is to get admission many of them wouldn't have come; the best ways for refugees from Friedrichstrasse station to get to West Berlin; to warn people to be cautious so that they don't have to leave their places, as otherwise there would be too great a number of refugees from the East Zone to be properly cared for once they're here; people in the East Zone should be told what the West plans for them, in what way things will develop; RIAS should bring more about the refugee problem, about the procedure of admittance, that's hardly known over there; tell them how many refugees have come here, how well they are cared for, we don't know about these things, can't even imagine in what way things are handled. RIAS should give advice and tell people beforehand so that they know what to expect; if they give the number of refugees they should say how difficult it is to be admitted to West Germany because people over here think that anybody will be admitted even if he had something in his record; etc.	11	4
To give advice and directions: What attitude people should take with regard to recruiting for the People's Police - to give more details about the People's Police - their severe attitude at the border; right now one should pay more attention to young people who are to be recruited - they should be told how to behave as a German and should be shown ways and means to possibly avoid recruitment - once they can't hear RIAS any longer; young people should be warned and told by informative programs, at best during evening hours, as to how to behave, what to say and that not to so that they won't endanger themselves and, as a result, be forced to leave; etc.	9	10

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
The refugees from the East should have more opportunity of speaking:	8%	8%

RIAS should let those people who came here from the East give an account of their experiences - surely the East Zone people would trust the refugees to tell the truth and pay more heed to what they have to say; to contact intelligent people in refugee camps and have them state the reasons for and facts about their escape, giving the name of the place where it happened so that those people who (formerly) worked with them would think about what they've done, that their names are known and that, one day, they would have to account for it; etc.

To encourage the East Zone people to offer resistance:	7	4

To encourage people; RIAS should encourage people not to be too frightened about the Russians, to offer passive resistance so that the Russians will see that they can't do with people just as they please, for the first time Herr Frentzel said that the East Zone people shouldn't give up themselves which is exactly what the Russians want them to do, such commentaries should be given more often; that people should be advised as to what attitude they should take toward regulations of the East Zone government - instruct them how to offer resistance without endangering themselves; etc.

To broadcast East Zone programs earlier in the day:	7	2

Most people are at work all day long and can't listen to the radio at fixed hours, programs for the East Zone should, therefore, be given after 6 p.m., so that everybody could hear them - they could also be longer and more detailed, otherwise they are good; there should be more political information and it should be given at another time, about 1730 after working hours if the program should be listened to by many people, later in the evening, at about 1930 it can't be heard because of the power cut-offs - RIAS and other Western stations are listened to everywhere if electric power isn't cut off; perhaps there could be another program in the afternoon; perhaps one could broadcast a program in the afternoon because then there is better reception; this program should be named "Program for the East Zone and Berlin" - it should give news, warnings and political commentaries; etc.

Listeners to RIAS should be cautioned not to speak publicly about what they've heard:	4	1

Still more warnings to be careful when talking - there are still many people who express their opinion openly and consequently are arrested; they should tell people the truth and, at the same time, warn them to make known what they've heard - there are many people who are still not aware of how dangerous it is to listen to RIAS in the East Zone; etc.

More propaganda for the idea of the European community:	1	-

More propaganda for the European movement, the German national feeling shouldn't be completely wiped out but it's the one good idea; they should give more information about the European community; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
Others: Still more satirical songs about the Zone; more folk-songs, the expellees set great value in them as they make them feel at home; there should also be commentaries by well-known statesmen; political programs should be brought on Sundays; the RIAS station should be amplified because it's hard to receive it in the evening; otherwise everything is o.k. and they do what they can; to establish a staff of RIAS people in the East Zone in order to be able to supply absolutely correct news and records about the situation over there which would back up the opposition (to the regime), for if the news given by RIAS is not precisely true they have no effect whatsoever; more political jokes about the Zone because turning things into ridicule has a fatal effect - as things are today political jokes are more convincing to the East Zone people than long, elaborate speeches and lectures; etc.	21%	17
Is good as it is: Don't know, was always content; etc.	13	17
No opinion/No answer:	9	10
	155%Q	142

Q Some respondents gave more than one answer.

SOME FURTHER CUES TO PROGRAM PLANNING ...

It has been seen that two basic kinds of RIAS programs are popular in the East Zone: news and political programs (especially those which are addressed especially to East German residents), and light music and entertainment programs. Below are responses to the question asking former RIAS listeners to tell what they didn't hear enough of on the station.**

"According to your preferences, what did RIAS offer too little of? (What kind of program?)"

	Adults	Youth
Too little about the situation in the East Zone, in the East, not enough information for refugees, warning messages, discussion of political problems:	27%	19%

They should report more about how life is for people living in the East Zone, what worries they have, what hardships they face, many East Zone residents will feel better if they see that people care about how things are for them; they should report more about the conditions under which peasants and working people live in the East Zone; people should get the low-down on conditions in the East Zone; I would have liked to hear more about the East, what's going on there, to be even better informed; people don't know enough about methods of torturing employed, and generally, about conditions existing in Buchenwald (concentration camp) and Bautzen (penitentiary), more should be said about living conditions in the East Zone as they really are; the program "It Happened in Berlin" should be broadcast every week; "Pinsel and Schnorchel" could have been more often on the air; of "Berlin speaks to the (East) Zone"; they tell people in the East Zone too little about what a refugee has to expect over here, they should point out to them that a refugee has to name witnesses and to prove his story, thus people who have no pressing reason wouldn't go to the West; too little information, especially as far as the refugee problem is concerned; etc.

Too few light music programs, operettas, folk-songs, dance music, jazz:	23	43

Operettas by Lehar and music by Paul Linke; more operetta melodies, not so many symphonies and operas; not quite enough musical programs, German dance tunes, German folk-songs, operettas, after a day's toil a worker isn't too receptive any more; folk music and folk-songs, at my age you cherish what our forbears handed down to us; nice German folk music; nice German dance music, I enjoy their melodies and their rythm, and the Berlin songs of old should be broadcast more often; dance music, German and American; as to me, I would have liked to hear more German dance tunes; German hit programs; hit parade of the week; they should broadcast hits of the week more often, that's all in the way of entertainment that's offered to East Zone residents; of American dance music, jazz; etc.

Too little entertainment, play house, quiz programs, cabaret, political sketches:	19	20

I would like to hear more plays, true-life descriptions, things we never hear of or read about in the Zone, scenes depicting the normal, every-day life of free people, all we hear about is activists and fighters for peace; plays dealing with various themes; there are too few plays; there's too little offered in the way of entertainment, especially on Sundays, a few hours of entertainment in the evening, light programs, the program "Join in" should be broadcast more often;

(Cont'd on next page)

** People who listened to political programs and news on Eastern stations were more likely than those who heard light programs and music to think RIAS offered too little about East Zone developments and world political events. See Appendix.

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth

they should have offered more programs of the kind of "Join in"; of "Join in", people need something like that to relax, everybody enjoys such a program, listening to them you forget about your worries; sort of a "Green-lights-program", a quis, that's a good way to relax; programs like "The Islanders"; there should be more thrillers, more evenings of entertainment on the air; etc.

Programs are too short, not extensive enough, broadcast at inconvenient hours: 12% 11%

The informational programs broadcast in the evening are too short and there are too few of them, maybe it would help to schedule a program for 11 p.m., then people working on a late shift could listen to these programs, too, thus the propaganda carried on by RIAS would be even more effective; programs usually are too short, "Pinsel and Schnorchel" and "The Islanders" should be longer; some of the plays were too brief, at times they were broadcast in serials; the political programs were too short; programs such as "Die Bunte Palette" (kaleidoscope for housewives) and "Berlin speaks to the (East) Zone" are too short, they should be much more extensive, warning messages, too; for programs such as "Werktag der Zone" (The Work-day in the Zone) and "Berlin speaks to the Zone" a half an hour broadcast is not enough, they should extend these programs, they are important for people in the East Zone; daily commentaries should be even more detailed; programs for teachers should go on the air during day-time until late afternoon, in the evening people are tired; ...broadcast at convenient hours; this program should have been on the air at an earlier hour, not so late in the evening; English language courses are broadcast at inconvenient hours; etc.

Too little about political developments throughout the world: 7 8

As I told you already, generally more reports and descriptions covering developments throughout the world should be offered, not the same old story over and over again, it's wrong to believe that East Zone residents only want to hear about the things that worry them, what they actually miss is to have a glance at the vast world outside, spiritually they want to get out of the narrow confines of "Soviet culture"; commentaries about the effects of US-Moscow tensions on the political situation throughout the world, more about the front-lines in Korea, more about the technical developments of modern arms of the West, because that means a ray of hope for the people in the East Zone, more on-the-spot reports from the West; news from all over the world; about conditions in the West, that people over there lead a free and independent life, that there are no informers in the West; side-lights on the goings-on in the world; I think too little was reported about the progress the Federal Government has made, about negotiations conducted between the Federal Government and foreign countries was said too little, too; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
Too few classical music programs, operas, modern composers: Too few operas; some more really good music, symphonies and opera melodies; complete operas, the way NWDR broadcasts them, every two weeks a complete opera is transmitted; chamber music, starting with classical chamber music down to modern compositions, too rarely you have a chance to listen to a violinist; of symphonies; modern music written by modern composers; etc.	6%	6%
Too little about science and technics, and not enough instructional programs: Lectures about technical sciences, reports about progress in the cultural field, I missed programs about technics and sciences very much; too little information is given on research projects, sciences, medical research (cancer, tuberculosis); they should inform medical students in the East about research projects carried on in the West, they should keep them posted on the progress made throughout the world, a program should be introduced for medical people similar to the one broadcast for farmers, there shouldn't be a program just now and then, they should proceed methodically, lectures should be broadcast regularly; above all about scientific and technical developments in the US; they should devote 15 minutes every week to reports about the latest developments in technical sciences, such as atomic research; too few English lessons; more English language classes for children and adults, that's what's missing; there aren't enough English language courses; etc.	4	5
Too little about sports: Sports news; a little more about sports events, more explanations, especially as far as boxing is concerned, they only report about major matches; too little was offered in regard to sports, they should have turned their spot-light on olympic winners, they should have reported where they hail from, and what led up to their outstanding achievements, about records newly set up; of aquatic sports, reports about water-polo matches, swimming, swimming contests; etc.	3	4
Too few children's and school programs: Programs for children aged five to eight; there should be more children's programs, the kids in the East Zone simply love them; Uncle Tobias; school programs, especially interesting travel accounts; etc.	2	4
More detailed, more frequent program announcements: I think it's important that RIAS broadcasts a program preview, of the other Western stations, too, frequencies and broadcasting hours, for programs of Western radio stations are not published over there; I couldn't tell, for we didn't have any radio journal, therefore we missed a lot of programs, thus you can't compare whether there's offered too much or too little in any given field; broadcasts which should be announced in advance, because we haven't got a radio journal; not enough announcements of programs, we depend on them as there are no radio journals available in the East Zone; etc.	1	1

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
The program is satisfactory: I couldn't find any fault with the program, the programs covered every conceivable field; I think RIAS did all right, the program showed a rich variety of subjects; you could find anything you wanted to, all programs were interesting, and variegated; I was satisfied with the program, I have no criticisms to offer; the program was just right; I didn't find fault with anything; the program was planned efficiently considering all fields, I didn't miss anything; etc.	24%	15%
Others: Too little is said about America; they didn't offer any programs about stamps, I'm a stamp collector, you know; there are no programs for people living in urban areas, usually they only offer advice and instruction for farmers; etc.	6	3
No opinion/No answer:	9 14%o	11 15%o

o Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MORE LIGHT MUSIC WANTED ON RIAS ...

By far the most often named inadequacy of RIAS pro ramming - according to former East German youth - is light music fare. It has been seen that four in ten of the youth recommend more of it. And adults like it, too. Only slightly more adults name another kind of program as not being offered enough on RIAS. Nearly a quarter of them are of the same opinion as the youth. Almost as many adults would welcome more light music programs as think that more information specifically for East Zone residents should be aired by RIAS.

Of all kinds of music available to the East German audience, the most popular is German dance music and hit tunes. Eight in ten of the youth and nearly seven in ten adults say that they like modern popular German music very much. Less than one in ten of both groups say they don't like it.

Folk-songs also enjoy a high popularity rating among former East Germans.

There is a very definite difference between adults and youth in their appraisal of American dance music and hit tunes. Jass, too, is rated very differently. Looking for a minute at these two types of music, we find that a half of the youth say that they like American dance music very much. Contrast this figure with the 27 per cent of adults who say so. Only 18 per cent of the youth do not like it, but 45 per cent of adults do not like the American import! Two and a half times as many youth as adults like jass very much. Music program planners might well note the high resistance among adults to jass music.

Comparing these two kinds of music (American dance music and jass) with something more indigenous to Europe, the operetta form, we note that as many youth like operetta music as give the same rating to American popular music. And one in five more youth rate operettas highly than do jass. Less than half as many adult votes go for American dance music as for operettas, and jass is not even in the running with them.

"Which of these musical programs do you particularly like to listen to? And which don't you like to listen to so well?"

	Like it very well	I like it	Don't like it so well	Don't like it at all	
Adults:					
German dance music and hit tunes	68%	23%	6%	3%	...100%
Folksongs, folk music	66	23	9	2	
Operettas	64	21	11	4	
American dance music and hit tunes	27	28	29	16	
Gypsy music	27	26	31	16	
Operas	25	20	39	16	
Symphony concerts	13	20	42	25	
Jass	13	11	35	41	
Chamber music	5	11	53	31	
All equally well	33	33	-	34	
Others	67	33	-	-	
Youth:					
German dance music and hit tunes	80%	16%	4%	-%	...100%
Folk songs, folk music	60	28	10	2	
American dance music and hit tunes	50	32	15	3	
Operettas	52	22	19	7	
Jass	34	17	33	16	
Gypsy music	25	21	31	23	
Operas	12	22	49	17	
Symphony concerts	6	11	59	24	
Chamber music	2	9	67	22	
All equally well	-	-	-	-	
Others	-	-	-	-	

04584

IV. YOUTH AND THEIR PROGRAM PREFERENCES

A Special Consideration of RIAS' Youth and Children's Program Schedule

04585

AN EAR TO THE FUTURE ...

From what has been said in this report, what suggestions might be made for program improvement? For one thing, if it were possible to combine - palatably - news for East Zone residents with light music (certainly not jazz, and preferably native forms), the desires of a sizeable proportion of both youth and adults probably would be recognised.

Caution in over-programming jazz and American popular music is indicated. Even among youth there are limits to how much the East German audience is willing to take. As many youth say they do not like jazz as say they do like it. Nearly twice as many youth prefer folk songs and folk music as say they like jazz very much. In the case of adults it has been seen that even more care must govern the scheduling of various kinds of music progra

From answers to various questions already considered - particularly the one asking directly for program recommendations - there is an apparent interest in hearing more about East German activities, people, political developmen and about events that RIAS predicts will occur. By the several criteria already presented in this report, both young and old East Germans look to RIAS for its political reporting, its news coverage and its special programs for the East Zone.

IS RIAS REACHING YOUTH IN THE EAST ZONE? ...

RIAS broadcasts certain special programs for youth - regular school broadcasts (Schulfunk) and other shows which avoid the "classroom" theme in their greater informality and entertainment tone. Findings in this study are that the Schulfunk is doing much better in East Zone listenership than are the lighter youth shows.

Nearly one quarter of youth interviewed say that they listened to school programs at least three times a week when they lived in the Soviet Zone. Another quarter heard the programs once or twice a week.+ (More youth listened in the afternoon than in the morning, while the opposite is true of adults who listened to school programs. See the Appendix for percentages).

In the analysis of listening motivation which appeared earlier in this report it was noted that no more youth than adults say they regularly listened to youth programs when possible. Only 12 per cent of the people under 18 years of age were regular listeners.

Figures below show what a relatively poor showing certain youth programs make in audience size.

"Which of those programs are known to you? Which programs did you use to listen to? And how often did you listen to them?"

	3 times and more a week	1 - 2 times a week	2 - 3 times a month	Less often or only once	Not heard	Not known	No answer
"Young People Talk to Young People" - Monday, Wednesday, Friday, Saturday, 06:20 hours	9%	16%	3%	14%	7%	50%	1%...100%
"Young People Talk to Young People" - Tuesday, Thursday, 05:40 hours	1	14	1	5	9	69	1
"Young People of Today" Thursday, 21:45 hours	-	10	13	16	4	56	1
"For Young People" Friday, 15:00 hours	5	17	2	3	-	72	1

	Every month	Less often	Only once	Not heard	Not known	No answer
Youth programs; First Tuesday every month, 21:20 hours	32%	29%	2%	2%	34%	1%...100%

The daily youth program, "Young People Talk to Young People," is broadcast very early in the morning - on two days a week at 5:40 a.m., and on four days at 6:20 a.m. Whether this factor is important in determining audience size may best be left to those who know the living habits of East Zone youth, but it would seem a strong determinant of the poor audience showing. But there are many other factors which are better known to RIAS program specialists.

+ Asked what features of the school programs they liked best, or which interested them particularly, no one single kind of program was a standout. Among those named more often than others were programs dealing with science, foreign countries and travel, education and civics, and biographies and history. See the Appendix for complete list and proportions of response.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF SCHOOL BROADCASTS ...

All youth interviewed were asked what RIAS school programs could offer that they believe other youth East Germans would want to hear. Two general recommendations were given: programs which meet deficiencies of East Zone instruction, and information programs of a political character. Many of the comments have the same underlying theme that youth want to hear "the other side of the story." Many indicate a thirst for more complete information in political matters.

In seeking for improvement on East Zone school instruction, some of the youth want supplementation in other lines: for example, "English classes," "more history classes," "ancient history, too," etc.

"What else could RIAS offer within its school programs especially suited for the young people of the East Zone? (What are your suggestions?)" (Asked of youth only).

	Youth
Programs supplementing instruction given in the East:	21%
History and instruction about current political developments, because all they do in the East is to make propaganda for Russia; history, German history, we are only told things that are wrong; still more English classes; it would be a good thing if they would start English and French language courses for high school students, more history classes, ancient history, too; they should tell them more about their homeland, about the Wartburg, and things like that, so they will come to love their homeland, of the beauty spots in this country; RIAS should concentrate to a greater extent on scientific subjects, on unpolitical themes, so that the kids in the East Zone learn about Germany properly; they could offer still more programs on historical subjects, over here things are distorted too often; natural sciences, reading from good books, history books and youth literature; etc.	
Informative programs having a political character:	17
Information about political topics, about the FDJ, to make them see how much this group is dependent on the Party and what its aim is, to warn them against becoming a member; political developments in the East and in the West, information on political issues; political instruction programs should be expanded, that's what's still neglected; how government systems function, and whether a system is good or bad for a nation; about the Pioneers, and what's behind them; that conditions over here are better, the children should know that, too, they shouldn't swallow it if they are told otherwise; etc.	
Programs describing life, especially in the West (as compared to the East Zone)	13
How young people live in Western Germany, because many of them who live in the East Zone think they are living under more favorable conditions than young people in Western Germany; how children live over here, without any political pressure; about the youth organizations over here, the Scouts and the Falcons, in what way they will see that things are different here; in what surroundings young people live here in the West, a comparison between prospects for young people in the East and in the West, what prerequisites there are for their future development; how free young people are in West Berlin, maybe, as compared to conditions in the East Zone; etc.	

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Youth
Programs stressing the contrast between schools in East and West: Reports on West German schools; we would like to hear about the curriculae of West Germany; about school affairs, what schools are like in the West, what subjects they teach in the West; what teaching methods are employed over there, young people in the East Zone should see that politics can be kept out of the schools; how teachers in West Germany treat children, that the teacher doesn't say "Friendship" when he enters the class-room, I would like to hear a description of a day in school; about what chances there are in the West to get training or a job, in all Western countries; etc.	11%
Programs on technical sciences and inventions: They should talk about inventions, for instance, who invented the telephone, about people who invented things; more about developments in the West, about progress made in the fields of technics and economy; about inventors; etc.	10
Programs about life in foreign countries: Now and then, too, how people live in other countries, reports on other continents, because over here they only report about the "People's Democracies"; jungle stories, about how to go lion-hunting; they should talk about natural phenomena and about the Artic Sea, they should reports on all those places we'll never get to, about America, its agriculture and life in the country; what's going on in foreign countries, America or Egypt, for instance, what customs people have over there; more about America and the colonies, and about the way of life of colonial peoples; etc.	6
Programs to boost the morale of young people: Plays about honesty, to explain by citing examples what sort of trouble you may get into if you don't return lost objects, or if you steal; that (youth) should show more solidarity and trust each other more than up till now; etc.	1
Others: Programs about how to make a dress, and how to cook with few ingredients, arts and craft classes for young people, such programs are never offered in the East; etc.	6
RIAS programs contained everything worth knowing: I can't think of anything right now, for programs were well arranged; they really brought everything, something from every field, I have no suggestions as I think everything was included in the programs; no suggestions; etc.	17
No opinion/No answer:	18
	120%

Q Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHAT MORE DO YOUTH WANT TO HEAR? ...

Both youth and adults were asked what programs (not restricted to Schulfunk shows) RIAS should present to East German youth. In this broader context certain suggestions were made, in addition to some which were recommended by youth for Schulfunk broadcasts. The largest proportion of youth naming any single kind of program were those who asked that RIAS broadcast reports comparing life in the East with that in the West. These people are eager to know differences between the problems and daily experiences of youth, especially. (Such programs rank very high on the list of youth programs recommended by adults as well).

Again, both youth and adults in large numbers would like to have RIAS broadcast information programs of a political nature, and many stress specific programs directed against informers and Communist youth organizations.

"And what kind of programs should RIAS offer to young people in the East Zone? (Anything else?)" (Asked of both youth and adults).

POLITICAL/INFORMATION PROGRAMS	Adults	Youth
Reports comparing the life people - especially young people - lead in Western and Eastern countries, about life in the Western and Eastern world in general: Under what conditions children grow up in Russia, in the West, in Western Germany and in the East Zone of Germany, they should give a clear picture of the differences that exist; they should report about the life young people lead in the West so that young people in the East Zone can compare things, young people from the West should talk over the radio and should tell young East Zone residents that the course they took is the wrong one; they should tell them that young people here in the West are free to do what they please, while in the East Zone they aren't; comparisons between the Western world and Russia; what subjects are taught to children in the schools, the children want to know if children in the West are politically indoctrinated, too, detailed accounts about what sort of life children in the West lead; they should tell them over and over again about the opportunities young people have in the Western countries; they should compare Western youth organizations to those in the East Zone, they should talk, for instance, about the Boy Scouts, so that it dawns on the young at last that they get a rotten deal; they should report about the activities young people are engaged in in the countries of the free world, what their ideals and their aims are, on what terms they are among each other; etc.	31%	39%
Information on real conditions in the West and in the East: Information and more information, these young people must know exactly what they should reply to those who are paid to drill them politically; young people are always told that only in the East workers are well off but not in the West, there they are exploited to the last and, by telling that, they want to win the children more easily over to Bolshevism, RIAS must inform the kids that it is not like that, so that they see that something better exists; broadcast political information programs, at that age they are very bright, to show them over and over again how wrong the Soviet methods are; the young people are endangered most of all because they can easily be influenced, they should tell them that they should not be impressed by the doctrines of Stalin and Lenin, that they should not accept that sort of thing, one should explain to them by giving facts, how wrong it is; information about the regime of criminals in the East Zone; etc.	30	28

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) Adults

Warnings of and information about the FDJ, Young Pioneers and People's Police: 30%

For them, too, information about youth organizations in the East Zone, that they will only be abused and trained to serve as cannon-fodder, to tell them about the real conditions existing in the People's Police: how they are drilled there for implicit obedience, and to dissuade them for enlisting in the People's Police; to talk things over with them that they may understand what an organization like the FDJ is up to, for instance, that the People's Police by assuming sponsorship, wants only to force young people to enter the People's Police, one has to inform them cautiously but thoroughly about these facts, that the young people are not affected by the big talk in the FDJ; expose the Service for Germany to criticism, especially FDJ enthusiasts: explain to them what things will come to if the political situation is not changed, that then it will be even worse than under the Nazis; RIAS must explain to the young people what is in store for them when they join the People's Police; children are to be trained how to handle a rifle now: and RIAS should keep reminding them that one day they will use their guns against their brothers; to warn the young people not to let themselves be pressed into the FDJ or DFD; etc.

ENTERTAINMENT (BASICALLY) PROGRAMS

Playhouse, theater plays, adventure stories, thrillers, travel accounts, descriptions of (foreign) countries: 16

Cloak-and-dagger stories and thrillers, they could shape them into brief plays to be broadcast; stories from all parts of the world, voyages of discovery, how individual countries were discovered; more detective stories than plays; they should offer old German folksongs and, in addition, interesting plays about criminal cases; theater plays, such as "Wilhelm Tell" and stories about Red Indians for boys; a limited number of plays, short adventure stories; they should offer regular programs of German songs for the young; stories about the sea and adventures; good adventure stories, travel accounts, etc.

Sports: 8

Above all about sports to divert children from political issues; sports programs for young people; above all, sports programs, about different kinds of sports, in other countries, too; about swimming, ice and roller skating, tennis, racing, on-the-spot and other reports about sports events, for these sports are hardly practiced in the East Zone; etc.

Light musical programs, dance music, operettas: 4

Much dance music, German and American, because that kind of music is banned in the East Zone, thus all young people listen to RIAS, as they don't want to hear those stupid old Russian songs, to broadcast dance music is one way to win them for the West; a program of music with sing, hits, a little of everything, not too much American music, people like to hear the "Cornelia" program, too, as well as music from operettas; best of all they like to hear dance music; dancing lessons, because there's no such thing, here; nice dance music; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
Folksongs (not now available in East Zone): Sing old German folksongs, have choir boys and girls from the West sing for the youth in the East Zone; also folksongs have educations value; broadcast old German folksongs so that they won't sink into oblivion, for only songs on Thaelmann (former German Communist leader) and songs like that are in vogue over here; German folksongs presented by choirs, the East Zone stations only bring songs that praise hard work and reconstruction, or Russian choirs, we soon won't know any German national song at all; brush up their repertoire of folksongs to prevent that they will completely forget them, they might arrange a class hour wherein text and tune are taught; folksongs, because they are neglected in the East Zone; etc.	3%	9%

SERIOUS LITERATURE, HISTORY

Historical programs and biographies of great Germans to counterbalance the distorted descriptions presented by the East: Above all, German history, to shape historical studies in such a way that they will come to love Germany and to respect the other countries of the world, they should lay particular stress on German history; they should report about the exploits of great Germans; they should broadcast regular history classes, all the young people know is about Russia and even in that respect the facts are twisted; about great Germans, poets, and so on; true stories about patriotic men, the young people still are thorough patriots, they should bring features taken from Prussian history; descriptions of the life of historical figures, the Russians lately have claimed that Gneisenau, Scharnhorst and Stein were pioneers of Bolshevism; objectively presented historical features, the way the East treats history - it's pure nonsense, they twist facts in such a way that it serves their propaganda purposes; etc.	9	9
High level literature, book reviews: They should introduce the young to serious literature - book reviews; excerpts from good youth books, such as "The Trapper"; stories, readings from those fine youth books you get here in the West; they should read from books, and point out valuable books to them; they should introduce ancient sagas to them, fine poetry, classical German authors; RIAS could suggest books for good reading to them; readings from good books, historical books and youth literature; etc.	9	12
Research, inventions, technics: About electrical engineering; programs about the progress made in the technical field; something about current developments in sciences, about atomic energy, that things like that can be employed to cure people, too; they should give detailed accounts about inventions made in Western countries; about research carried on and inventions made in Germany; they should talk about inventions, about such made in the East, too, to prove that new ideas were not developed in the East, only, about atomic sciences; etc.	8	10

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
SPECIAL COUNSEL FOR YOUTH		
Advice and recommendations for school and professional careers: They should prepare them for their future occupations, they should try to counter-act the pressure exerted on young people in the East to make them follow certain professions, they should tell them what drawbacks the jobs have, they are forced to take up; they should make recommendations regarding the vocational training of young people, they should point out to them that it is better to get a solid vocational training to get on in life later on, than to take a job as an unskilled worker right away that pays somewhat higher wages, but that may mean they'll belong to the army of unemployed all of a sudden, if there should be a change in government over there; about school affairs and professional problems; advice for the special field they are in and technical information they need; etc.	9%	17
Young people in the East Zone are beyond hope - they don't believe anything they are told: Young people up to the age of 18 are unapproachable, they have been demoralized, they are fanatical, it's just as under Hitler, it's no use to plan programs for the young; the only thing that would help would be if this generation of young people would see the West with their own eyes, they don't believe anything they are told; all those young people have their own opinion, as it is; etc.	1	-
Other answers: In school politics is preached all day to the kids and on quitting school they have no chance except to become masons or lock-smiths, especially the girls, RIAS should offer programs on home economics so that they don't forget all about how to do things; for them, too, advice to guide them, how to hide one's feelings and still remain an upright person, another problem: respect and trust shown to parents, maybe with examples from the Nazi era, maybe, too, something about religious subjects, that's what the kids are very much in need of, maybe RIAS could establish contact with the churches; I think broadcasting hours for the program "Young People Talk to Young People" are inconvenient, they should be tween 18:00 and 18:30 hours; the programs should be broadcast not later than 17:30 hours not at such a late hour as at present; etc.	19	11
No opinion/No answer:	5	3
	188%@	23%

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WHY RIAS SHOULD TELL FAIRY TALES ...

To this point only adults and youth, as a group, have been considered. But potential citizens in their most formative years - children not yet indoctrinated by the mass youth organizations - also must be thought of in the planning of radio programs. And there is no doubt that the most-wanted children's programs in the East Zone would be based upon the folk-lore dear to earlier generations of Germans everywhere.

The point has been made again and again that RIAS listeners in East Germany like RIAS because, among other reasons, it does not tell "fairy tales" when broadcasting current news and political information. Yet, by telling fairy tales to the right audience it undoubtedly could increase its listenership and do a service for the West! For no other suggestion is made as often as that RIAS should include fairy tales, folk stories and fantasies on programs especially for children.

> One half of the adults and youth interviewed said that these fantasy stories are sorely in demand. The reason, as one person put it, is that even Grimm's Fairy Tales "...are partly forbidden in the East Zone, or are 'suitably converted'."

Here are other suggestions which former East Germans offer to the planner of children's programs:

> "What kind of programs should RIAS offer to children in the East Zone up to ten years of age? Could you make any suggestions for such programs? (Anything else?)"

	Adults	Youth
Fairy tales and fairy plays:	51%	57%
Fairy tales; fairy tales, plays of fairy tales like "Haensel and Gretel"; fairy tales and stories about animals; fairy tales, because the East gives only fairy tales with a political tendency, the old popular fairy tales are never told; fairy tales, for in the East they even remodel the fairy tales; Punch and Judy shows; etc.		
Political enlightenment:	20	23
To tell the children that it's rubbish to regard a flag as a sacred thing or Stalin as a god, all that we've had before; to make it clear to the children that they must be careful when talking, particularly in school, that they must never speak of RIAS; RIAS should try to counteract the pressure which is exerted on the children by the schools - a clever influence by emphasising the differences (between East and West) - the ideas of right and wrong must be made clear; small, light programs which would have a certain influence on children and parents - they should have a political meaning, for instance a tale about little Ivan who glorifies Stalin - when he's one year older he realises that he has lost his soul - Stalin should be shown in the shape of a wicked wolf - that should be thrilling and funny and shown in such a way that children could understand the meaning or ask their parents to explain it to them - these things should be given in much the same way they do it here in the East; etc.		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Adults

Comparison between life in the West and in the East: 16%
Comparisons between children's life in the West and in the East; to talk about the free meals for school children which are supplied in the West; it is very difficult to approach children with political issues, I cannot think of how that could be done - I would tell them that the children in the free world also hold holiday camps and what opportunities they have to see something of the world; talks about school, what life in the Zone is like and in the West - that children mustn't inform the teachers against their parents; to tell them about the way of living of children abroad; in the East they keep on telling us that kids in the West are spoiled by games of war, and that pistols are sold to them - now, RIAS should just give the real facts, (when listening) my brother expected them any moment to start shooting but all they brought were nice fairy tales, entirely unpolitical; drew a comparison between schools in the West and those in the East; plays about what it's like here in the West, compared to condition over there; etc.

Folk and children's songs: 17
Folk songs; children's and folk songs; really nice folk songs, we have nothing but the (political) "elevation songs"; children's songs, to learn and to sing them; old folksongs, nursery rhymes; etc.

Plays: 12
Plays for children to instruct them how to be cautious regarding traffic; plays which are very funny, because the children in the (East) Zone never have fun; to teach them morals and fairness by way of plays; etc.

No political programs: 12
Nothing about politics, the children can't understand it, moreover, it's too dangerous because the children aren't careful and would give themselves away in babbling; nothing about politics, otherwise the parents would be endangered; they should offer more programs which have no connection whatever with politics; no political programs; no politics; children's programs that are entirely unpolitical; nothing about politics, the kids get more than enough of that in the East; etc.

Programs like "Uncle Toby" (Onkel Tobias): 9
Such programs like "Uncle Toby" that's liked a lot by all children; I thought Uncle Toby very nice for the kids, they might safely bring that during the week; a kind of "Antwortmann" for the children, such as Uncle Toby who is also very much liked; etc.

School programs with demonstrations: 8
School programs are just the thing - children pay heed to what their teachers tell them, they should arrange the program like real school lessons - but like a Western school, with different subjects - so as to provide them with some means against this idiotic "Gegenwartskunde" (a kind of pseudo-historical information on present day conditions in the East Zone with a strong Communist tendency, taught in all East Zone schools); biology and geography; arithmatic problems the solutions of which could be given at a later date; to read text-books; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
Programs about history:	6%	9%

History in particular, as all historical reporting over here is biased; old German history because that's not taught here and things about great German inventors as everything is supposed to have been invented by the Russians, about Germany's tradition so that the "glory" the Russians are giving themselves will be somewhat subdued; all history lessons in schools are biased - the text-books don't contain anything on German history; of history, of German emperors and kings - the children aren't taught anything about that, not in the way it used to be taught - also something about German inventors and technicians to let the children know that there are also German inventions - beginning with the Teutons, the Vikings, Charlemagne, the inventors and explorers; etc.

Others:	16	17

Religious programs, to read from the Bible or the Gospel to end the idolatry of the state; to sing rounds; something of sports; in the first place information should be given to the parents because they have the greatest influence on the children; arts and crafts instruction; something about good music, Beethoven and the like; it's good as it is, at the hours of the school program children often have no time to listen, the school program would be sent better after school hours, after 2 o'clock ; the program should be given at a time when the children are free to listen, Sunday mornings or at noon-time; make suggestions as to what small children could and should read; etc.

No opinion/No answer:	5	5
	17%	20%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

COMPARATIVE LISTENING TO WESTERN STATIONS

	Adults	Youth
RIAS only or RIAS most frequently	82%	73%
NWDR only or NWDR most frequently	11	18
BBC only or BBC most frequently	-	-
Others	1	2
All equally often	5	2
No opinion	1	3
	100%	100%

"Could you use your radio - if necessary - also with a battery or only with the house circuit?"

	Adults	Youth
Only with house circuit	81%	79%
With battery	4	4
No opinion / No answer	*	2
	85%	85%

"Did you have interruptions of electric power at your place of residence?"

	Adults	Youth
Interruptions of electric power	85%	85%
No interruption of electric power	15	15
	100%	100%

"Did you have interruptions of electric power at your place of residence?"

IF "INTERRUPTIONS OF ELECTRIC POWER":

"Did these interruptions always occur at the same time or was the time variable? (When did these interruptions of electric power occur?)"

Always at the same time

	Adults	Youth
18:00 - 19:00 hrs	16%	20%
19:00 - 20:00 hrs	21	24
20:00 - 21:00 hrs	17	16
21:00 - 22:00 hrs	5	4
22:00 hrs and later	1	-
00:00 - 12:00 hrs (in the morning)	7	6
12:00 - 18:00 hrs (in the afternoon)	8	7
	75%	77%

IF "LIKE IT VERY WELL" OR "I LIKE IT" TO OPERAS:

"Do you remember at what time you used to listen to opera music over RIAS?"

	Adults	Youth
Sunday, at 16:40 hrs	21%	17%
Wednesday, at 20:00 hrs	21	17
Saturday, at 22:30 hrs	10	9
Monday, at 15:30 hrs	4	3
Friday, at 00:20 hrs	3	1
Other times	*	-
No	1	1
No answer	8	5
	68%**	53%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.
** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

IF "RIAS" LISTENED TO:

"Did you sometimes listen to RIAS via short-wave frequency?"

	Adults	Youth
Not via short-wave	65%	62%
Via short-wave	25	19
No opinion / No answer	9	19
	99%	100%
No. of cases -	(306)	(201)

"Did you at that time listen to the RIAS school programs broadcast in English?"

	Youth
Twice a week	2%
Once a week	2
2 - 3 times a month	2
More seldom	16
Only once	2
No, not heard	25
No, not known	35
No answer	16
	100%

"What would you prefer: if RIAS would broadcast an uninterrupted program from 20:00 hrs to 22:00 hrs or if RIAS would broadcast several, and therefore shorter programs from 20:00 hrs to 22:00 hrs?"

	Youth
One uninterrupted program	43%
Several short programs	44
Alternately	12
No opinion / No answer	1
	100%

IF "SCHOOL PROGRAMS" HEARD:

"Did you listen to the school programs mostly in the morning or mostly in the afternoon?"

	Adults	Youth
In the morning	48%	36%
In the afternoon	38	49
Both	14	15
	100%	100%

APPENDIX

LISTENER ESTIMATES OF RIAS PROGRAM DEFICIENCIES ACCORDING TO THEIR EASTERN STATION PROGRAM PREFERENCES

Mainly Listened to on Eastern Stations

What did RIAS offer too little of?	Light programs and music	Political programs & news
Too little about situation in the East	29%	40%
Political developments throughout the world	7	13
Too little entertainment	18	22
Too few classical music	6	6
Too few light music	27	21
Too little about sports	2	4
Too little about science and technics	4	6
Not enough school prgrams	2	2
More frequent program announcements	2	1
Programs too short	12	12
Programs are satisfactory	25	20
Others	5	5
No opinion	7	9
	146%*	161%*
No. of cases =	(204)	(95)

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"For what reasons did you come to West Berlin?"

	Adults	Youth
Persecution because of political reasons: rejecting the Communist system, refusing membership in Communist organizations, criticising the government, denouncing spying, etc.:	42%	26%
Danger of being drafted into the People's Police, Service for Germany, People's army (rifle practice):	15	46
Persecution because of offenses against the economy - sabotage - failure to meet quota requirements, etc.:	19	14
Active resistance against the East Zone regime: underground activities, distributing leaflets, freeing prisoners, etc.:	13	5
Compulsory spying:	5	5
Personal reasons: joining relatives, people, etc.:	3	7
Economic reasons: unemployment, poor wages and living conditions:	4	4
Political persecution because of listening to Western radio stations:	4	2
Opposing the regime for moral reasons:	2	4
Expulsion from the restricted area around the border:	2	*
Other reasons:	4	3
	113%**	116%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04600

"And when, that is, at what hours during week days did you listen to RIAS with a certain regularity?"

	Youth
Irregularly	21%
0 - 1	2
1 - 2	1
2 - 4	1
4 - 5	2
5 - 5:30	6
5:30 - 6	12
6 - 6:30	22
6:30 - 7	24
7 - 7:30	19
7:30 - 8	14
8 - 8:30	6
8:30 - 9	2%
9 - 10	2
10 - 11	4
11 - 12	9
12 - 12:30	14
12:30 - 13	20
13 - 13:30	14
13:30 - 14	8
14 - 15	5
15 - 16	7
16 - 17	9
17 - 17:30	17
17:30 - 18	16%
18 - 18:30	27
18:30 - 19	32
19 - 19:30	42
19:30 - 20	49
20 - 20:30	52
20:30 - 21	50
21 - 21:30	46
21:30 - 22	39
22 - 22:30	23
22:30 - 23	13
23 - 24	6

"Why did you listen to RIAS most often?"

	Adults	Youth
Because RIAS pays special attention to East Zone developments: Because RIAS transmitted more programs addressed to East Zone residents than other stations; there were special programs for the East Zone reporting about things which are of interest to us East Zone people; because the RIAS program is out out for the East Zone population; because there is no other suitable station for the East Zone, that answers all questions; it gives a lot of sound advice and information about what they are brewing in the East Zone, it told us so many useful things; RIAS shows more interest in sonal problems than other stations; because I learned from RIAS how to avoid trouble when living in the East Zone; because it offered special programs for the East Zone; it brings things that are of great interest to East Zone residents; etc.	25%	14%
Because RIAS is better informed than other stations: Because its information was more accurate; because I also got the best political information from RIAS; the reports were more informative, especially those about the East Zone; because of the news; because it brought the latest news, above all, it informed us about what's going on; in order to get information on things that our papers leave out; it informed us about the situation in the West; because we were informed about important events; etc.	19%	12
Because liked RIAS programs more: In my opinion it produced the best programs as for instance: "Join in" (Mach mit), "Coffee Circle" (Kaffeetafel), "The Islanders" (Die Insulaner), "It happened in Berlin" (Es geschah in Berlin); the school programs were more interesting than those of the NWDR; because of the school pregrams in the morning, divine service on Sunday, and the plays in the evenings; etc.	17	8
Because the reception was so good: Because the reception was so clear; because RIAS was the most powerful station; because in the Erzgebirge, where I lived, we could receive RIAS transmissions best; because we seldom succeeded in tuning in the NWDR; because RIAS was easier to tune in than other stations; etc.	15	12
Because of RIAS' music programs: Because it brought such fine music, hit parade of the week, for instance; because RIAS had the best musical programs, German and American hit songs; it brought a lot of music, much German music; there are the nice hit songs and the folk songs, too; RIAS offered modern dance and jass tunes which we danced to; it brings such lovely music; etc.	13	19

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
Because RIAS brings true and objective reports: Because it never tells lies; because it brings detailed and true news; I found out that RIAS is the most objective of all; in order to learn what's actually going on; because we longed for correct news; because I discovered that the reports from RIAS correspond to facts; etc.	12%	7%
Because the program of RIAS is varied and topical: As to current events RIAS is more on the ball than other stations; its program is topical; RIAS' political and cultural programs show a rich variety; because it offered interesting things covering all fields; its program was varied and interesting; its program is always interesting; etc.	9	10
Because RIAS warned people of informers: Because it warned people of informers and things like that; because the RIAS program was cut out for us, for instance the warnings against denouncers; its program was more interesting, it cautioned us against spies, that helped us a lot; etc.	5	2
Classical music: Operas, symphonies; etc.	1	-
Music from operettas:	1	-
Others: RIAS doesn't give everything a political tinge; because it didn't offer so many political programs; because of its frequency: Leipzig is quite close to it on the meter band, and one could easily switch over when somebody entered the room without warning; first of all because of the announcer Egon Baer, I liked him better than the Eastern babblers, Mr. Baer has such a modest and pleasing way of talking; I don't know for sure, but we liked RIAS best, it's in our line; etc.	6	7
No opinion/ No answer:	-	1
	123%**	92%

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Why did you listen to NWDR most often?"

	Adults	Youth
Better reception: Because it could be received best of all; because it's only in the morning from 10 - 12 that I get RIAS clearly, I could hardly hear it because the Hamburg station is more powerful; because RIAS was so often jammed, that was the only reason; etc.	4%	11%
Light music - plays: The NWDR offered such good plays and good American music - jass, for example - I didn't have so much time so I had to select the best I could find; because it brought music, light music, most often; because the light popular programs are better, such as the Hamburg harbour concert or the program arranged by the different groups of people living in the Erzgebirge - also because of the hit parades every fortnight, the Sunday-afternoon programs, sometimes they had a sort of concert on request (Wunschkonzert) where the relatives of POWs could send greetings - NWDR had more and better light music programs; the music, German hits, and evening light programs (Bunte Abende) were very nice, I liked listening to them; etc.	3	8
Others: Because my married daughter is living in Hamburg and by listening to the Hamburg radio station we feel closer to her; its political programs are objective, it is known that RIAS means down-right resistance and that its news have a distinct tendency - "The Islanders" (Die Insulaner) however, are listened to by almost everybody; etc.	5	4
No opinion / No answer:	* 12%	* 23%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Which programs of NWDR did you like best, or did interest you particularly? (Do you remember any particular program?) (Any others?)"

	Adults	Youth
News and commentaries: In the political field: the news; we used to listen to the news only; political programs, in general; about political developments in the East as well as in the West; the reports on economic problems, many of the political reports; the comparisons they made between the news from the West and that from the East; the political commentaries; the commentaries on the present situation and on future developments; etc.	34%	18%
Hit tunes and dance music: The new German and American hits; hit parade; German dance music, hit songs; jazz; dance music, songs presented by Schuricke and Torreani; etc.	23	37
Varied entertainment programs, "Funklotterie" (radio lottery), "Brautpaar" (the ideal couple): The entertainment program on Sunday afternoons; the Sunday afternoon entertainment program; the funny stuff, for instance when a comedian imitates Hans Albers; the carneval in Cologne, it's the only chance to hear something about it; the ideal couple; the radio lottery; the programs with the ideal couple; etc.	22	23
Operettas and light music: Light ouvertures and music from operettas; old time operettas; evening concerts consisting of light music; only light music, operettas; the concert from Hamburg at 6 o'clock on Sunday mornings; operettas; etc.	22	12
Reports and topical programs: I mostly listened to topical programs; "Hier spricht Berlin" (Berlin speaking); the program for the East Zone at 7:15 p.m., this program didn't leave people guessing; everything that was of current interest; when they talked about the living conditions of the East Zone people; the transmissions from the Bundeshaus; "Rund um die Berolina" (news from Berlin); etc.	14	12
Plays: The plays were so excellent; the plays; the detective plays with Rene Deltgen; the plays, they were clever and thrilling; detective stories, programs about crimes; detective plays; etc.	12	14

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
Classical music and operas: The classical music, Beethoven and Mozart; the concerts; music from operas; music by Haydn; "Fuer den Opernfreund" (for those who love operas); etc.	9%	6%
School programs, spoken word programs on cultural matters, religious programs: School programs; the lectures about physical sciences and exhibits in museums; the travel accounts on South America, Australia and so on; the religious programs; divine services; etc.	5	7
Music played on request: The program on Sunday meeting requests from the listeners; "Was Ihr wollt" (As you like it) on Saturday afternoons; music played on request; the concerts presented on request from Hamburg; etc.	4	7
Young people's and women's programs: The women's program on Saturday; youth program; women's hour; the programs for housewives; children's hour; etc.	2	4
Bad reception: Usually we had a bad reception so that I can't remember the NWDR programs very well; we only had a very small wireless set, and we always had a hard time to tune in the NWDR; the reception was rather poor, I very seldom listened to the NWDR station; I rarely listened to NWDR because this station is more difficult to tune in during evening hours than RIAS, in the evening RIAS can be heard over only one frequency fairly clearly; reception of the NWDR program is too poor; etc.	2	-
Others: I didn't listen regularly because of lack of time during the day, I, therefore, can't say anything about it; I liked everything; the songs; the sports news; missing-persons announcements; etc.	12	12
No opinion / No answer:	8	4
	169%**	156%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Which program of BBC did you like best, or did interest you particularly? (Do you remember any particular program?) (Any others?)"

	Adults	Youth
News and commentaries:	11%	2%
I listened to nothing but news and comments (German); the news and commentaries in German helped me to get an idea about world politics; the 19:00 hrs news in German, apart from them I didn't listen to London; news, I didn't listen to anything else; the news only; German news and night programs, reports and commentaries on other countries; the program in German at about 10 p.m., news and commentaries on topics of the day; I only listened to the news in German, I wanted to hear this side as well, I wanted to know what they say about current developments, I didn't want to be one-sided; etc.		
Musical programs:	4	3
The music from 17:00 - 18:00 hrs and the hits that followed, all the other programs we couldn't understand anyway; music from operas; the music, because they played many German tunes, even old German marching tunes; dance music and music from operas; etc.		
Programs for the East Zone:	2	1
This program (at about 8.15 p.m.) for people in the East Zone where you learn things about foreign policies; programs in German language for the East Zone; the evening program for the East Zone; commentaries for the East Zone; etc.		
Programs in German language (without mentioning a certain program):	1	*
Commentaries by Lindley Fraser:	1	-
Comments by Lindley Fraser, he is very popular; comments on the general situation by Lindley Fraser; etc.		
Others:	4	-
Recently BBC changed its schedule without notice, I object to this method, they should have made it known a fortnight in advance so that listeners who don't tune in regularly could have been informed, too; the diary, tame or wild Jakob; English by radio from 6.30 - 7.30 a.m.; the ethnographical programs, everyday life of the Schmidt family (or whatever the title is); etc.		
No opinion / No answer:	* 23%	- 6%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"What kind of programs broadcast by this (these) station(s) did you chiefly listen to?" (If Eastern stations mentioned).

	Adults	Youth
Political programs: Party speeches; political programs, how they ran down the West .. political commentaries; transmissions from the People's Court (Volkskammer); only those programs I couldn't help hearing; commentaries on West Germany; the truth about America; we talk to West Germany; etc.	55%	50%
Music programs (classical music, operas, operettas, folk music, dance and light music, hits, etc.), entertainment programs, plays: Haendel's "Largo", music by Schumann, chamber music, that's the kind of music I listen to, then I listened to the telephone programs, you could call Leipzig on the telephone and they played what you requested; good music, like operas and symphony concerts; classical music; the quiz program and string music; music programs, especially good opera music and German dance tunes - and the program: the phone rings at night, we invite you to hear dance music and be happy; mostly only music, light music, operettas, entertainment programs in the evening, I always tuned in to Halle, at 9.30 - 11 a.m., they brought folk music and operettas, "gay tunes in the morning" (Kunterbunt am Vormittag); music at midday, German hit tunes or folk music; the musical programs, operetta music, dance tunes, sometimes congratulatory messages; etc.	35	48
News: News; news in German from Radio Moscow; etc.	19	29
Political programs and news to draw comparisons with the West German programs and news: News, reports, to be able to compare; sometimes news to see the contrast between Eastern and Western conditions; now and then news from Leipzig to draw comparisons; news and political programs to be able to draw comparisons; news and the so-called commentaries, that's more than enough for me to find out the truth - that's why I listen to it, if you compared them to the RIAS news and commentaries you knew who told lies; with us here radio Leipzig had such a bad reputation that we didn't listen to anything but the Volkskammer sessions and the news, so that we could draw comparisons, we always found out that what RIAS had said was correct, for instance the stepping up of quota requirements; if there was something important going on, when Pieck came to Schwerin or at other special occasions - to see how far they'd go telling lies - such as a meeting of the VDGB (East Zone trade union association), then you know how they turn and twist things, I know how badly they lied as I've seen things for myself, it was amazing how they distorted the facts; news, to check them against those of RIAS; etc.	10	21
Others: Sports news; farmers' programs; school programs; economic reports; weather forecast; children's programs; time announcement; etc.	19	5
No opinion / No answer:	13%**	16%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

APPR 04508

"Which programs broadcast by RIAS did you listen to regularly if possible? (Anything else?)"

	Adults	Youth
News and political commentaries:	67%	59%
News, commentaries of the day; news, political commentaries; commentaries by Alfred Boerner and Ernst Tillich; news and the commentaries that followed them; commentaries by Egon Bahr from Bonn; news, evening commentaries; news programs for the East Zone; etc.		
Political programs:	65	61
All political programs, speeches by Reuter, Heuss or Adenauer and from the West Berlin Senate; programs for the East Zone; it happened in Berlin; where the shoe pinches; voice of America; current news over the radio (Zeit im Funk); when there are jokes about the East Zone and the programs in which they tell us what's going on in the East Zone; victims of the KZs; the announcement of names of informers; we talk to the VOPO (people's police); the report on informers; that program for the East Zone: brothers and sisters, hold out, we'll help you; reports from the West Berlin Senate and from Bonn; the week in Bonn; these political programs which told us the truth about the conditions in the East Zone and gave information even we didn't know about; the programs about prisoners who died in KZs - warnings of informers; RIAS announcements on missing persons - because my uncle was a prisoner in KZs; transmissions from parliaments; Pinsel and Schnorchel; it happened in Berlin, Bundestag debates; everyday life in the Zone; Berlin speaks to the Zone; America speaks to the zone; Piekewitz on Saturday; the parties are allowed to speak; and today; when Jakob Kaiser spoke; we talk to the zone, both programs of the VOA; all plays with a political tendency; all these current issues, when RIAS talked to the East Zone - refugees talking to the East Zone about their experiences; the program about the world youth festival in Berlin, it was very interesting to compare RIAS to radio Leipsig; political issues of the day; etc.		
Light music, entertainment programs:	54	73
Entertainment in the evening (Bunte Abende); Lemke's late wife (Lemkes selige Witwe); coffee circle (Kaffeetafel); join in (Mach mit); operetta music; the islanders (Die Insulaner); 1000 gay tunes (1000 bunte Takte); the Buchholz family; transmission of operettas; songs from various parts of the country (Lieder der Heimat); music at tea-time; piano and typewriter; operetta music; tunes played on request, transmitted from "Titania Palast"; my wife regrets it to this day that such programs as "Join in" have been discontinued; music after work (Musik am Feierabend); the light programs on Saturdays and Sundays, I've forgotten their names; make friends through melodies (Sympathien durch Melodien); folk songs, 30 minutes of gay tunes (halbe Stunde bunter Melodien); music: operettas; the Berlin atmosphere; music, such as played in midday concerts; light music, operettas; songs from various parts of the country; light music; midday concerts; operettas, waltzes, folk music; songs from various parts of the country; typewriter and piano is a funny one; light music of a high level; etc.		
Dance music, jazz:	30	34
American hits, I don't like "hot jazz" but the cowboy songs are quite nice; hit parade of the week, I like the German and American hits equally well; hit parade of the week (the German ones); the American hit parade of the week; hits, especially the German ones; hit parade of the week, German hits;		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
dance tunes; hit parade of the week, both, but I like the German hits better than the American to which I listen just for comparison; German dance music; hit parade of the week, German and American; when they play hit tunes in the morning under a certain heading, such as "by the sea"; American dance tunes; etc.		
Special programs (Women's, farmers'): Voice of the woman; housewife's kaleidoscope; (Bunte Palette); women's hour (Stunde der Frau); farmers' program; for gardeners; weather forecast for farmers; farmers' news; Sunday morning in the country; daily programs for count y people; farmers' programs on Sundays when they talked to farmers in the DDR; agricultural programs; etc.	17	9
Information: Countries and people (Laender und Menschen); our doctor gives a talk (Hier spricht unser Hausarst); school program; RIAS answers questions; your auditor (Ihr Steuerberater); radio university; etc.	16	21
Theater, plays: Theater review; plays; plays, they're all equally good; theater reviews by Luft; transmissions from the Waldbuehne; plays of any kind; Friedrich Luft; crime stories; above all German plays; Sunday theater review; crime plays; German and American plays; etc.	14	18
Sports programs: Sports programs; Toto-results and sports reports; reports from boxing matches in the Waldbuehne; early morning gymnastics; reports on sporting events; sports news - any other sports programs; reports on boxing and wrestling matches; etc.	11	15
Youth and children's programs: Young people talk to young people; RIAS children's program; Uncle Toby (Onkel Tobias); children's hours in the afternoon; etc.	11	12
Classical music, operas: Opera music; operas; symphony concerts; operas by Verdi; music by Bach; the opera critic who said: same band, same time (auf gleicher Welle, an gleicher Stelle); operas, classical music by Beethoven and Mozart; musicians and poets; symphony concerts; opera music; concerts in direct transmission; classical and chamber music; symphonic music; etc.	7	8
Economic programs, press reviews: Economics; economic commentaries; 15 minutes of free economy (Viertelstunde der freien Wirtschaft); economic commentaries; press survey; press review; a survey of the free press (Block in die freie Presse); RIAS press review; etc.	3	4
Others: How to become an orator (die Kunst der freien Rede); commercial program early in the morning; early morning and midday commercial program; the legal program, where they talked about the laws in the West; etc.	16	26
	311%**	356%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

"On this card you find the names of some staff members of RIAS. Which of them are known to you? In which programs do these persons take part, or what is their task within the progran of RIAS?"

		Wrong/No opinion	
Adults:	Right	No answer	Unknown
Guenther Neumann	33%	36%	31%
Egon Bahr	30	22	48
Wolfgang Behrendt	24	26	50
Heins Frentzel	24	24	52
Mathias Walden	16	32	52
Hans Carste	15	27	58
Helmut M. Dietrich	12	29	59
Friedrich Luft	14	14	72
Hans Hers	12	16	72
Guenter Birkenfeld	8	20	72
Anton Schoepke	8	19	73
Martin Koch	7	14	79
Walter Dirks	2	24	74
Will Grohmann	1	26	73
Youth:			
Guenther Neumann	34%	28%	38%...100%
Wolfgang Behrendt	22	18	60
Egon Bahr	23	15	62
Hans Carste	14	24	62
Heins Frentzel	15	19	66
Mathias Walden	8	24	68
Friedrich Luft	10	16	74
Martin Koch	6	14	80
Anton Schoepke	7	11	82
Guenter Birkenfeld	4	18	78
Helmut M. Dietrich	4	17	79
Hans Hers	4	17	79
Walter Dirks	2	18	80
Will Grohmann	*	16	84

Below are listed principal activities of the staff members:

Guenther Neumann	- "Die Insulaner" (writer, pianist, director)
Wolfgang Behrendt	- Announcer for dance music, especially "Schlager der Woche"
Friedrich Luft	- Theater Critics "Stimme der Kritik"
Walter Dirks	- ("Die Neue Stadt), cultural-political commentator
Guenter Birkenfeld	- Cultural-political commentator
Martin Koch	- Editors of "Berlin Spricht zur Zone"
Mathias Walden	-
Heins Frentzel	- Political commentator
Egon Bahr	- Political commentator (Bonn-correspondent)
Helmut Meyer-Dietrich	- Political commentator
Hans Hers	- Political commentator
Anton Schoepke	- Political commentator
Willi Grohmann	- Art commentator
Hans Carste	- Orchestra conductor

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Do you have the impression that the people who plan the political programs of RIAS are well-informed about conditions in the East Zone or aren't they so well-informed?"

IF "Well-informed":

"Could you perhaps give me an example for this?"

	Adults	Youth
Correct predictions and reports about economic conditions in the East Zone:	28%	28%

Potato rationing, for instance, they said something about another currency reform some day, too, I'm not sure whether they were right about it, or whether the government didn't go through with the plan after that; what they tell us is always true, even if four weeks pass before such a prediction comes true, what they said about the Five-Year-Plan corresponds to facts; we didn't know about a lot of things, we learned them through RIAS, their predictions proved to be true later on, it turned out to be true what they said about deliveries of potatoes, storing potatoes and a poor supply system; whatever they said, it was verified later on, even if they dealt with a matter months earlier, they said that coupons for bread would be issued, recently bread rationing was announced in the East Zone press; in our vicinity vegetables and potatoes were scarce, they were scarce even in agricultural areas, people were prepared for cereals to be rationed, too, RIAS gave a detailed account of all this; etc.

Reports about coercive measures taken in agriculture and industry (increased quota requirements):	23	10

They were well-informed about the agricultural situation, they knew all about quota requirements; because the information they gave always turned out to be true, especially in the field of agriculture, often RIAS knew in advance what was going to happen, take, for instance, increased quota requirements and hog fattening contracts; when they, for instance, reported on collective contracts, about time-and-motion studies, quota requirements, etc.; when they informed people about increased quota requirements and about collective farming; eight weeks before it actually happened, RIAS reported that the peasants in the East Zone were to form collective units; they were very well-informed, especially as far as quota requirements for the individual worker and output were concerned, I checked on that carefully; forming collectives of individual small holdings, changing quota requirements, RIAS knew about such developments before we had heard about them, every time we were quite taken aback; I was an expert for time-and-motion problems, there were several programs about output quotas for the individual worker, I found out that RIAS certainly was on the ball about this problem; that they knew all about norms, quota requirements, bonuses, etc; they know about the goings-on in state-owned plants and shops, about quota figures and about the quota requirements in rolling-mills, it really was startling; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
Messages warning people of informers, spies:	21%	21%

They announced the names of spies; they knew the dope regarding informers, for instance, they know their names and what they had done; there were a few agents in the town where we live, and what do you know their names really were mentioned by RIAS; the information given on spies was correct, we had the chance to check on some cases in our neighboring community; the messages warning people of informers, you know some of these people personally, and you had always suspected that something was wrong about them; they published the names of spies working in plants and shops; they broadcast warning messages, a person who is a spy used to live in the same house with us, so we know that the information given by RIAS was correct; etc.

Predictions that came true and reports about conditions in the East Zone (general):	14	15

They had the low-down on everything, you could compare their reports with developments in the East Zone; if something happened, anywhere, people could be sure RIAS had announced it one or two days ahead of time; RIAS reported on events and developments in the East Zone before we learned of them; many things you had no chance to find out were broadcast by RIAS, they informed us about what was untrue, we could check on their reports daily; they are pretty familiar with developments in the Zone, in what way we learn the truth about the Zone; sometimes we know less than those guys, I can't think of an example right now; because they told us about the latest developments in the East Zone; as I travelled a lot in the East Zone, I could see for myself that all was true what was broadcast in "Berlin Speaks to the Zone", for instance, you just have to listen to the humorous programs such as "Pinsel and Schnorchel" to find out how well-informed the RIAS people are; they tell the truth; etc.

Reports about trials, passing of sentences, arrests, Gestapo (Secret Police)-methods, cruel treatment of prisoners:	12	7

They inform us on things we never get to know about, they report, for instance, on trials while they are held, you can tell from everything that they are well-informed; the announcement of the sentences passed on some students in Werdau proved it to me, I live right next door, every single detail proved correct; when a trial was scheduled, we learned about it over RIAS a day ahead of time, in our daily it was usually published after the trial had ended, also in cases when some punishment was inflicted on a farmer; RIAS told us the truth, they reported on what happens to people day by day, that people simply vanish into thin air; in our neighboring village there is a woman who manages her farm single-handedly, when she was arrested, the news was broadcast over RIAS, that proves that they are on the ball, for it's really just a tiny village; they know exactly how many persons are kept prisoners in concentration camps and penitentiaries; they know all about the methods of the Red Gestapo, above all, they know how people were put under pressure and were threatened to make them willing to serve as spies; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
Reports about political developments throughout the Zone, party news, about indoctrination programs, etc:	10	4

They knew a day prior to a workers' meeting what topic would be discussed; on Tuesdays they used to tell us what the theme for the indoctrination course on the following Wednesday would be; in the program "The Red School" (Die rote Schulbank) they discussed the next week's topics in detail; if somewhere in the East Zone some politician had held a speech, RIAS knew down to the last detail what he had said; about the Party House in Pirna, they told things we didn't know, and later on found out that all of it was true; when the Laender (states) Brandenburg, Saxony-Anhalt and Mecklenburg were reorganized and sub-divided into 14 districts, a measure taken to control people more easily, RIAS knew every single detail about it; etc.

Truthful information about military matters, remilitarisation issues, People's Police, etc:	9	21

RIAS knew about things before we knew about them, take the case of the People's Police, when they would be allowed to use tanks; they were familiar with all of the police outfits, no matter whether the People's Police or the Water Police was concerned, sometimes we were dumbfounded, we couldn't understand where they got the information from; it happened all the time that RIAS knew in advance about developments in our Zone, such as that it was planned to make an army out of the People's Police; RIAS knew that it's true that the training of the People's Police includes rifle practice; RIAS knows where the camps of the police are located, and where the Russians are concentrated, they know about the police, what sort of life they lead, that they have to sleep on straw in tents in the town of Meuritz and that many of them are sick; their reports on current developments correspond to facts, when they said where barracks were located and where troops were raised, it always is true, we could easily check; I saw myself that the Russians ordered trucks with heavy guns, tanks and cannons to move Westwards, just as RIAS had claimed they did; they knew all about what had been going on at the FDJ-meeting in Leipzig, where the members of the FDJ got their arms from; RIAS knew, for instance, groups for rifle practice were to be formed in the plant where I work one day before it actually occurred; etc.

Reports about accidents and disasters in the East Zone:	6	5

They know of some things that happened in the East Zone before anything is made public, take, for instance, the accident in the Johann-Georgen-Stadt; there was a terrible disaster when in Johann-Georgen-Stadt a melting pot caught fire, the number of dead was kept secret, I happened to know the figure, however, and it was confirmed by RIAS, it was the same with the catastrophe in Zwickau; I particularly remember when a train was derailed in Neustadt-Glave, RIAS gave a report about that, I checked on the details and found out it was all true; there are accidents in the pits which people in the East Zone never hear of, I know what I'm talking about, as I was down in the pits myself; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
News and reports about evacuations in the restricted border area: RIAS informed people about evacuations in the restricted area before they actually occurred; they knew all about the 5-mile deep restricted zone; regarding that affair with the restricted zone along the border, this made me realise that what RIAS said was true, about orders given to people and so forth; we often listened to reports about instructions given to people living in the restricted zone; because their news service works pretty fast, if there's some new development, RIAS knows about it first of all and they are the first to announce it, when the restricted zone was sealed off, this was true, too, RIAS reported about this business right away and described it so clearly that everybody got a pretty accurate idea of the whole thing; when people were evacuated from the restricted border area, they gave detailed reports about what was going on, I used to live in the restricted zone myself; etc.	4%	3%
Reports on conditions in Aue, at the Wismuth Works, etc: RIAS once reported on Aue and described conditions there, I was in a position to draw comparisons as I had talked to friends who had worked in that place; as to the Wismuth Works, the activist issue, that proved they get first-rate information; you feel that the people who arrange the news programs are familiar with things over there, all the details they furnish make you realise that RIAS knows what's going on in the East Zone; the news about the Wismuth Works; above all, when they report about the life of miners; etc.	2	5
Others: In a restaurant in Bautzen some customers watched a party functionary, they took away his briefcase and removed material incriminating a prisoner, thus they had to release the prisoner - soon afterwards RIAS reported on the incident; about the World (Youth) Festival, they gave detailed information on the situation as it really was, poor food, bad organisation, and not glorified the way the Eastern propaganda presented it; people who have to line up really speak up, most of them are against the regime, the East can't compete with the West - everybody talks about "Pinsel and Schnorchel" everybody talks about RIAS; there were rats to be found at the main station and at the Cafe Zentra, they nibbled at a chocolate bar a leading SED woman had in her bag, one day later RIAS reported the whole story, and after that all was remodeled, I happened to see it myself; etc.	5	6
No opinion/No answer:	3 (13/760)	3 (13/760)

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"And, according to your preferences, what did RIAS offer too much of? (What kind of program?)"

	Adults	Youth
No criticism - RIAS program is well-balanced:	49%	32%
RIAS' program was very varied, it transmitted light programs from the Titania Palast and classical music by turns, the political programs were of the same good quality, I would have appreciated even more of this kind; I can't say that RIAS overemphasizes any field, it changes its program quite often and offers something from every field but never too much of the same sort; RIAS brought something from every area, I could only listen in the evenings, I liked everything they offered; I liked everything RIAS brought, it was the only station we regularly tuned in; in our opinion, RIAS never overemphasized any particular field because we were starved for everything that came from the West; the musical programs were interrupted after a certain length of time, the individual programs didn't take too much time so that one needn't listen to a less interesting program too long; RIAS never spent too much time on one particular program, it was quite alright; RIAS' program was very well balanced; I liked RIAS best, its program was just what I liked; except for the music played on request, I'm very satisfied with RIAS, its program is better balanced than that of the NWDR; its programs were so varied, "Der Hausarzt spricht" (Family doctor's advice) for instance on Saturdays, in case one couldn't manage to listen personally one learned of it by asking trustworthy colleagues; etc.		
Classical music, operas, chamber music:	13	13
Classical music such as operas and symphonies, everything in the line of Beethoven, that's beyond me; I think they brought too much music from operas; operas and classical music; symphony concerts, chamber music, operas, the other programs were alright; symphony concerts, and on Saturdays and Sundays the East Zone residents don't listen to programs of that kind but switch over to an Eastern station that presents political slogans after every piece of music, they know how to treat people in the East Zone, and they are very clever in using radio programs for their own purposes, first they announce the title of the music and the name of the singer so that everybody is expectant but then they present some political propaganda in between; too many stuffy piano recitals, music played on the piano doesn't sound good over the radio, I don't like it; symphony concerts; etc.		
(American) jazz:	10	2
They don't offer anything but jazz, I sometimes thought that classical music was ousted by jazz music; this American jazz, I approve of the other programs; they sometimes brought too much American jazz, some music from operas would do no harm; American jazz, that's something I haven't the slightest interest in; too much jazz, this exaggerated jazz business is not in my line; this imitating eccentric American music, it's the same as over here, what the Russians produce is declared o.k. and has to be copied, that's all I can say about it; etc.		
Talk programs, program announcements, commentaries are too long and too frequently offered:	6	5
They talk a bit too much, I mean the frequent programs announcements, the commentaries, though good, could be cut down, they better should present more news; too many commentaries; they often talked too much; I'm not complaining about the news programs, but switching on I always heard them talking, not about politics which I never listen to, but about some boring subject, there were no other programs they brought too often; etc.		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Adults	Youth
Light music, hit songs: Light music such as hit songs, "Thousand gay tunes", RIAS doesn't offer an evening program such as "Bunte Blende" meant to distract people; too much light music, I don't like these jumbled noon concerts, some music from operettas immediately followed by some terribly hot stuff, that's not in my line, either operettas or hit songs but not all mixed; "Sympathies through melodies"; etc.	7%	6%
The "Voice of America": The "Voice of America", we don't care whether people over there live on canned or fresh meat; the "Voice of America", it isn't topical enough; etc.	3	2
Specific content and transmission times of some programs are unsatisfactory: The "Join in" programs were nothing but a ballyhoo for the benefit of some firms, I wouldn't object if the revenues would have been devoted to charity, as grant-in-aids for refugees or such kind of people, the program "Berlin Speaks to the Zone" caused a lot of fear among East Zone residents, no clear instructions as to how to practice passive resistance were given, the great number of persons not recognised as political refugees is probably due to unsufficient information; the children's hour and the classical music on Sunday afternoons, these programs demand close attention, and Sunday is not the right time to do so, in my opinion a program cut out for the East Zone population shouldn't include commentaries on the economy in the Federal Republic nor on religious problems either, there were programs in which escape routes and hiding places for those who intend to leave the zone secretly are announced, this way of making things known might endanger people; one should cut the length of the programs, and pay more attention to make them timely; etc.	2	1
Political programs: Too much talk about political matters, you could hear things like that over the East Zone stations, too; it's quite alright to give information, but if it's overdone one gets bored and doesn't listen to it any longer; there are too many political programs, people aren't interested in them any longer, they became indifferent because they feel nobody is going to help them anyway, things have been like that for a long time, that's how things stand at present, you can hear that view expressed by many families; etc.	2	1
Music from operettas: Operettas; etc.	-	3
Others: The commercial programs, they are of no use for us East Zone residents; RIAS offered too many fairy-tales for children; the program "Muellerin und Rolf"; sacred music; sacred music on Sunday mornings; etc.	4	3
No opinion / No answer:	13	16
	107%**	107%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"A short while ago you said that you used to listen to the school programs of RIAS. Which features of the school programs did you like best, or interested you particularly? (Do you remember something in particular?) (Anything else?)"

Youth

SCIENCE

Programs concerned largely with biology, natural phenomena: 15%

The programs that deal with biology, especially with the flora; if they talked about plants and creatures they found on excursions; if they make field trips in the biological field, the reports on the formation of the universe; description of cataracts, and reports about the Amazon River; there was a program that informed us about the farmers' life, how they make a field ready for sowing, etc.

Programs that deal with technical sciences, scientific discoveries and inventions: 12

Accounts on the invention of the atom bomb; programs on questions in the chemical field; everything about technical matters and new technical developments; information on electricity and high voltage; coal mining, how a blast furnace is built; broadcasts on inventions; the development of the motorcycle; I had special interest in the working procedure of the Ford plant and other programs on technical matters; physical and chemical experiments; programs that deal with chemical and physical problems and questions pertaining to the natural science field; reports on inventions and technics; they once offered a school hour on mathematics; the broadcast on the invention of the steam-engine; all kind of scientific reports; etc.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND TRAVEL, ADVENTURE

Programs that report on adventures and journeys of discovery: 10

Reports on journeys of discovery; reports on adventures; the story of the three brothers who suffered shipwreck on the stormy sea and drowned; broadcasts on adventurers and travellers, if somebody tells about his journeys and the adventures he had; plays about adventures; when adventures from all over the world were offered; Captain Scott's last trip, the treasure island; adventures with the Red Indians; etc.

Programs that deal with foreign countries, geography: 10

On geography, something about foreign countries, I liked this kind of program, once they reported on Sweden, how the Swedes cultivate the soil; special programs on various German provinces (Riesengebirge, Thuringia), the reports on foreign countries, the foreign people's way of living, how they handle school matters, what and how they eat; the programs that dealt with geography were of high interest to me, it's much more interesting to listen to something than only to read about it; if they talked about foreign countries, and how the children live there; etc.

EDUCATION AND CIVICS

Programs on school and education matters with reports about politics, legislation and political systems: 12

On education in school and at home, behavior towards parents; even the school programs dealt with the youth in the East; I once listened to a broadcast about a class that laid down its own laws of discipline: the punishment of a student was fixed by the class itself; films were discussed which mothers had declared unsuitable for their children; the question was discussed whether to provide children with pocket-money or not; programs on school curriculums

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

and side-lights on classes; when they talked about politics, when they compared living conditions for the young people over here with those in the East Zone; essays composed by students, this kind of feature might even be expanded; the political program "Knowledge and Truth", the programs for the students in the East Zone; the interpretation of the Basic Law, the children's parliament; when the students were told about Laws; information on legislation; about the different school systems, about education; an on-the-spot broadcast of a class; etc.

BIOGRAPHIES AND HISTORY

Programs that report about famous men, biographies: 9%

Reports on famous surgeons; I have special interest in the life of famous men, and I always listened to programs with such subjects; programs that dealt with inventors, explorers, musicians, all programs about the human being; life descriptions of great men; all programs were good, but I liked the sketches of outstanding persons best, their biography, I appreciated particularly those sketches that were featured in play form; above all, biographies of characters; the reports on Diesel; the life story of August Bebel; etc.

Programs on history: 9

A program on history; ancient history, life of the Romans, for instance; any kind of historical themes; broadcasts on the development of the German empire; the Wednesday programs with stories from former times; German sagas; etc.

THE ARTS AND LITERATURE

Fairy-tales, songs and plays for children: 7

Fairy-tales; the nice plays; children playing for older children; new games that we don't know, the songs without any political tinge; the American stories about jungles and so on; etc.

Programs on music, theater and poetry: 4

The lessons on music; about music, notes etc.; explanation of musical pieces of well known composers; plays such as "Wilhelm Tell"; poetry; etc.

Programs in foreign languages: 3

The English lesson that offered English songs which had such nice melodies; the English lessons; the foreign languages, English, Chinese; etc.

OTHER COMMENTS

Programs on Health and Medical Services: 2

When they broadcast how blood plasma was transported by plane from West Germany to an accident victim; on the Health Service; etc.

Pleased with everything: 6

Everything; I liked everything; everything was nice; etc.

Other programs: 8

World events, exchange of experiences between sportsmen and reporters with distribution of prises; about prospects in the field of boxing; about the discovery of that cave; the story about climbing a mountain; the holiday program of the Federal Government, there were reports on the camp in Partenkirchen; about the mountaineers' work-shop; etc.

No answer / No opinion: 22

129 %**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THE HICOG SURVEYS

Volume VII

Reports 171 - 186

Volume VII

171. How Do Germans Feel about an American Informational Operation in West Germany? (11 February 1953) 4619

172. Note on Year-End Trends in West German Attitudes toward the United Nations (14 February 1953) 4649

173. Some Early West German Reactions to the New American Administration (24 February 1953) 4661

174. The American Soldier as Appraised by the West German People: A Continuing Study of Civilian-Troop Relations (5 March 1953) 4681

175. A German Audience Evaluation of the Film Without Fear (20 March 1953) 4807

176. Green Week Visitors Appraise the Marshall House Exhibit "Agriculture in the Free World" (27 March 1953) 4827

177. Current Appraisal of West Berlin Morale, with Reactions to the Refuge Influx (20 April 1953) 4845

177S. West German Public Opinion in the Wake of Stalin's Death and the Soviet "Peace Offensive" (30 April 1953) 4927

178. German Impact and Evaluations of President Eisenhower's Foreign Policy Address (14 May 1953) 4959

179. Current West German Political Trends and Projected Reactions to Possible Russian Proposals (15 June 1953) 4982

180. German Political Trends Following Recent Soviet Concessions and Subsequent East Zone Riots (6 July 1953) 5009

181. The America House Evaluated: A Study of the Effectiveness of the U.S. Information Centers in West Germany (17 July 1953) 5050

182. The Current Standing of RIAS among West Berlin Radio Listeners: I. Reactions and Evaluations (31 July 1953) 5182

183. Some Clues to the Effectiveness of a Productivity Film Program among German Factory Workers (14 August 1953) 5212

183S. German Thinking on a Four-Power Conference (24 August 1953) 5248

184. West Berlin Subscribers Appraise the Neue Zeitung (27 August 1953) 5267

185. East Zone Views on the June Riots, Food Aid, and Current Political Issues (17 August 1953) 5325

186. Further Soundings of East German Opinions on Current Political Issues (18 September 1953) 5366

HOW DO GERMANS FEEL ABOUT AN AMERICAN INFORMATIONAL OPERATION IN WEST GERMANY

Report No. 171
Series No. 2

February 11, 1953

RESTRICTED
FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

DEC 15 1959

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04620

INTRODUCTION

The public affairs program in Germany represents an information operation of considerable size and scope. It is worthwhile to ascertain how the West German citizenry - who are the customers of this large enterprise - react to the idea of American efforts to inform and persuade. Obviously it is only by taking account of the resistances and receptivities of its audience that an information or propaganda operation can achieve its maximum effectiveness.

The present study of general reactions supplements a series of detailed evaluations of programs and media that have been a systematic concern of the Reactions Analysis Staff. Appended to the present report is a list of these specific evaluational studies, together with thumbnail indications of those in process or projected for the immediate future.

SUMMARY

I. Receptivity to U.S. Propaganda *

HOW MUCH OPPOSITION IS THERE TO ANY U.S. PROPAGANDA EFFORT IN GERMANY?

... A third among West Germans - when presented with the idea in the abstract - declare that they would disapprove of America's propagandizing in Germany.

... But concrete opposition to present American public affairs activities amounts to considerably less. Only the order of one in ten (12%) in West Germany both disapprove of the idea of America propagandizing in their midst and feel that America is in fact doing such.

... The larger proportion of those who indicate they would disapprove of American propagandizing hold that the U.S. does not carry on what they have in mind by the term.

... And that such a judgment does not emanate merely from ignorance is indicated by its association - more often than not - with awareness of one or more American public affairs activities (Information Centers, VOA, or Neue Zeitung).

HAS GERMANY GAINED OR LOST BY THE AMERICAN PRESENTATION OF ITS IDEAS AND VIEWS?...

... Related inquiries included in a later survey (December 1952) add to the favorable indications. Queried in terms of the net effect thus far on Germany of the presentation of American ideas and views, West Germans by a four to one preponderance declare that their country has profited.

... Only 9 per cent assert that Germany has been more harmed than benefited by America's statement of its case, a figure similar to the 12 per cent already alluded to as comprising the real opposition to U.S. propaganda activities.

* The term propaganda was used throughout despite the opprobrium some persons attach to it in order to measure the widest reaches of resistance to American efforts to inform and persuade.

WILL THE U.S. INFLUENCE ON GERMANY LAST?

... Currently the more prevalent view is that the influence of American ideas on Germany will be permanent rather than transitory. However, many people are not ready to judge and a fraction foresees the American influence prevailing only in part.

... But the preponderant opinion even among those who predict that American views will have no lasting effect on Germany is that this influence has so far been all to the good.

II. Evaluation of U.S. and Russian Propaganda Techniques and Effectiveness

WHICH IS MORE EFFECTIVE PROPAGANDA: FACTS OR LIES AND DISTORTION?

... Truth wins by a large margin over lies and distortion as the more effective propaganda weapon. Thus, in effect the American point of view is largely supported. However, as many as a quarter assert that more can be accomplished if one is not dependent on facts.

... On a further and more concrete test of the relative effectiveness of propaganda of facts as against one of distortion and lies, truth again is favored. To obtain the greatest effect behind the Iron Curtain the U.S. should not emulgate Communist methods, according to a two to one preponderance of West Germans. Berliners vote almost three to one against so doing.

... Assuming, however, that most Germans are aware of the form and nature of Russian propaganda, it appears that when it gets down to cases, they are less prepared to attest to the efficacy of truth as a propaganda weapon than they are when merely discussing the general principle. When specifically questioned on the relative effectiveness of American versus Russian propaganda efforts, the U.S. is given a real advantage only in West Berlin. In West Germany, neither side gains a decisive advantage.

WHO MAKES THE GREATER EFFORT, THE U.S. OR RUSSIA?

... On this issue, the Russians are given the edge over the Americans by a four to one preponderance in West Germany; in Berlin, eight in ten make such a judgment.

... Many Germans also feel that the U.S. should make more of an effort to reach East Europeans. However, as many as four in ten are undecided, and a not inconsiderable fraction recommends a decrease in such propaganda or none at all.

III. Some Observations on American Propaganda Output

DOES THE U.S. ADHERE TO A CAMPAIGN OF TRUTH?

... In interpreting Communism, the Americans adhere to the facts, according to the preponderance of the West German public. But a handful feel that the evils of Communism are minimized and a few assert they are exaggerated by the Americans.

... In contrast, a considerable segment is skeptical that the Americans tell the whole story either about democracy in general or the United States in particular.

... As to democracy, as many West Germans say the U.S. exaggerates the good sides of democracy as believe its information corresponds to the facts. In West Berlin, however, a large majority seems sure that democracy is everything the Americans say it is.

... Opinions divide in a similar fashion regarding the picture presented in Germany about the United States. The view that America fails to talk freely about its own imperfections vies with acceptance of the accuracy of the presentation. Again, however, West Berliners are more inclined to assert that the U.S. does not fail to present a frank picture of the situation.

The findings of this study are based on two surveys, the first conducted in July 1952, with a probability sample of 1600 cases and the second made in December 1952, with a probability sample of 800 cases. Both samples are representative of the populations in West Germany. Because of other priorities, analysis of the July survey was postponed, but since the findings are of long-range rather than only current import, they are still pertinent.

As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Makrt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs.

- 8 -

04623

I. West German Receptivity to U.S. Propaganda

Findings relative to three questions are presented in this section. First: Do the West Germans believe that a foreign country, that is to say the United States, should in practice be entitled to carry on what has been termed "planned persuasion" among them? Second: Do they believe the United States is actually making such an effort? And third: Do they believe that their country stands to gain or to lose by the spread of American ideas and views among them?

In the first two lines of inquiry the term "propaganda" was used despite whatever opprobrium many people may associate with the word in order to measure the widest reaches of resistance to American efforts to inform and persuade.*

FIRST INDICATION IS THAT A THIRD OPPOSE U.S. PROPAGANDA EFFORTS ...

With a direct approach to West German receptivity to American propaganda, a three-way split in opinions occurs. Queried on whether they approve or disapprove of propagandizing by the U.S. in West Germany, a third reply Yes, another third No, and the remaining third are undecided. In West Berlin approval overweighs disapproval although the negative proportion of replies equals that in West Germany.

"Do you approve or not of the Americans carrying on propaganda here in West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Yes, approve of it	34%	40%	29%	28%	56%
No, don't approve of it	34	32	38	34	37
Undecided	32	28	33	38	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Such returns may at first glance appear not too encouraging to the efforts of the United States to promulgate its views in West Germany. But in interpreting the figures it must be appreciated that West Germans have had considerable occasion to become negatively conditioned to the carrying on of propaganda, and the question to some of them might seem to involve nothing less than a foreign controlled propaganda operation right in their own house. Seen in such a light probably the fact most deserving of note is that only a third appear to object.

* To provide a check on responses to the queries using the term "propaganda," half of the sample were queried in terms of Americans trying "to spread certain ideas and views." Since results were almost identical with the query on propaganda, the former term is used throughout this report.

That the 34 per cent disapproval figures is not the final story, however, is indicated by additional findings. To begin with a considerable number of Germans either deny (37%) that the U.S. is now carrying on propaganda in their country or are doubtful (23%) on this score.

"Do you have the impression that the Americans carry on propaganda here in West Germany or don't you have this impression?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Yes	40%	43%	34%	47%	29%
No	37	36	43	27	67
Undecided	23	21	23	26	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

By taking the analysis a step further, the extent of real opposition in any sense of the term emerges. When the 34 per-cent who declare they disapprove of American propagandizing are studied in light of what they think the U.S. is actually doing in this regard, the returns break down as follows:

... 22 per cent do not believe the U.S. carries on propaganda in Germany;

... 12 per cent believe the U.S. does carry on propaganda.

Consequently what may be called resentment of the effort by the United States to present its story to West Germans reduces itself to the relatively small figure of 12 per cent or of the order of one in ten.

An additional finding serves to fill out the foregoing picture. People who say that the United States does not propagandize in West Germany prove to be not much less familiar with the various American activities carried on in Germany to inform and persuade them as are those who declare that the U.S. does propagandize. This is apparent in the following table in which opinions on U.S. propaganda activities are related to awareness of American sponsorship of VOA, the Neue Zeitung, and patronage of the Amerika Haeuser.

	Say the United States Propagandizes	Does not
Know the U.S. sponsors:		
The Neue Zeitung	31%	17%
The Voice of America (and listen to it)	48%	35%
The Amerika Haeuser (and have visited them)	26%	14%

Since these three activities are the main media of persuasion of the U.S. in Germany it is significant that some of those exposed to one or the other of the U.S. information programs do not apparently regard them as "propaganda."

But also noteworthy is the fact that many of those who say the Americans do propagandize in West Germany seem completely ignorant of the U.S. relationship to any of the three media that could be considered instruments of this purpose. Since these typical media appear not to be the main source of the charge that the U.S. carries on propaganda, the assertion presumably arises from generalized attitudes. It appears, in other words, to be largely a verbal reaction to a situation which some assume to exist without concrete evidence thereof.

R E S T R I C T E D

ADVANTAGES TO GERMANY OF AMERICAN OUTPUT HELD TO OUTWEIGH DISADVANTAGES ...

To throw more light on possible West German reactions to U.S. efforts to inform Germans of its position, an added line of inquiry was included in a December survey. The results bear out the foregoing interpretation that German receptivity to the American propaganda effort is on the whole more favorable than unfavorable.

In the December inquiry the issue was put in terms of the effect on Germany of the U.S. presentation of its ideas and views, thus avoiding any of the possible complications arising from value judgments on "propaganda" per se. As presented in the table below, favorable reactions prevail over the unfavorable by a ratio of almost five to one.

"Aside from the economic aid West Germany has received from America, do you have the impression that America's representation of its ideas and views in West Germany has been more to our advantage or more to our disadvantage?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
To the advantage	39%	40%	41%	34%
To the disadvantage	8	8	7	9
No opinion	53	52	52	57
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The fact that only 9 per cent stress the disadvantages to Germany of America's statement of its case suggests again that much of the registered opposition (34%) to U.S. propaganda is a verbal reaction rather than a real judgment. Probably a better comparison to the 9 per cent figure above is the one in ten, previously described, who were both aware of some of the U.S. informational programs and opposed to America's propagandizing in West Germany. This lends further support to the interpretation that real opposition to the U.S. efforts to persuade boils down to about one in ten West Germans.

U.S. CONCEPTIONS OF DEMOCRACY, GOVERNMENT, CIVIL LIBERTIES, FREE ENTERPRISE AMONG ADVANTAGES ...

Among the advantages to Germany of the American presentation of ideas and views are the following: the American conception of democracy and government, civil liberties and free enterprise; the promotion of a free and progressive outlook on life; the U.S. interpretation of the dangers of Communism and prevention of its spread, and its support of a United Europe.

"In what respect has the representation of America's ideas and views in West Germany been more to our advantage?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "To the advantage" to initial question.)

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
<u>In building up a democracy in Germany:</u>				
By demonstrating to us how to run a democracy; they do their best to guide us on our road to a free democracy, which we never had before; it's probably due to the Americans and the Western powers that a democracy was established in Germany, though it's still in its infancy and thus has to overcome certain initial difficulties; by and by we are learning what a democracy means, that's quite a lot if we take it to hear; etc.	10%	12%	9%	4%

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

04626

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
In politics, in public life, in business: By disseminating new ideas in politics; in government and in party life; in the political reconstruction of our country; in social respect, without them social conditions wouldn't be so satisfactory over here; they made a good many German bureaucrats get on the ball; our public authorities act more promptly; etc.	5%	5%	5%	3%
In guaranteeing freedom of opinion and freedom of press: Because they showed us what absolute freedom means and this has helped us in getting back on our feet ever since 1945; people express their opinions more freely; compared to the East Zone we have greater freedom over here; through their independent way of thinking; a free press; they encouraged us to express our opinions freely; etc.	4	4	3	3
In our outlook on life, our way of living In our outlook on life, we are more broad-minded and free in our thinking now; they introduced newly-developed methods and a modern conception of life to us; the Americans have a progressive spirit and we should adopt such modern ideas, too; they have instilled some of the American generosity into us; in promoting mutual understanding; back in 1945 the average person was much more radical in his views as compared to today; they influenced our one-sided mode of life favorably; through setting an example, because they see to it that justice is done, and because they are always ready to help others; etc.	3	3	3	8
In fighting Communism: They fought Communism by strengthening democratic ideas; it's thanks to them that this country didn't go Communist; they supported our country against Communism; by exterminating Communism; etc.	3	4	3	-
In supporting the idea of a United Europe: In that they were for the admission of West Germany to the so-called European Union as a free nation; that they exerted their influence on England and France to realise the European idea; America, too, supports the idea of a federation of nations; that Europe as a whole gets stronger; etc.	1	2	*	2

(cont'd on next page)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

04627

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Other answers: In their intention to attend to their own interests; in succeeding to convert those people who didn't have a good opinion of the Americans; that they reassured the French regarding their security; they interfered little with our affairs; they left us alone; etc.	3%	3%	4%	3%
NON-RELEVANT REPLIES				
Economic aid:	5	5	4	6
Prevention of Russian occupation (annexation of West Germany:	1	1	1	2
Orderly post-war conditions, establishing an independent German government:	1	1	1	-
No opinion/No answer:	7 43%**	4 44%**	11 44%**	6 37%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

The fraction which declares that the American presentation of its views has been more harmful than beneficial to Germany makes a number of allegations of the bad effect on German standards and morals, especially among German youth but also to others, of U.S. films, books, literature and standards in general (2%), efforts to promote free enterprise (1%), the basic uncongeniality of American and German attitudes (1%), etc.

"In what respect has the representation of America's ideas and views in West Germany been more to our disadvantage?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "To the disadvantage" to initial question.)

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Harmful influence through American manners and morals, and American institutions: Because they introduced their Wild West films and and books over here and through them our young people are corrupted; from a normal point of view, we should reject these ideas, for through them young people would be corrupted at an early age; Negro music - through it our young people are demoralized; they make hoodlums out of our young people through their films, bad books, and so on; just think of the younger generation in this country, they have been completely demoralized through films, periodicals and magazines; through these ideas our young people have been misguided, they try to act up to Wild West heroes now, they behave the way the Americans do over here, they steal and are trigger-happy; they corrupt our younger generation, they make boisterous rowdies out of them; that culture of jazz and chewinggum is not the right thing for Germany; in the field of arts, above all music and the films; they proved to be harmful through their manners and morals; etc.	2%	2%	1%	1%
The American character and way of life is not congenial to Germans: Our character and way of thinking can never be reconciled with American ideas; the United States is a rich country, our mentality differs very much from that one of the Americans, things that may well be good in the States may not be suitable for us, the arrogant behavior of the occupation forces served to gravely prejudice their ideas, America has destroyed much that was positive over here; the Americans wanted to re-model our country after their own, apart from a different mentality, the Americans have much greater possibilities, they have plenty of everything and can plan things on a large scale, our simple way of living and their style simply don't go together; we Germans are different people, the American way of life isn't suitable to us, I think it's harmful to try to reshape a human being; etc.	1	1	1	3

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
In business organizations: I'm thinking of freedom of opportunity, to elbow one's way in business as the Americans do is a practice not suited for Germans, just take the Kaiserslautern scandals; the freedom of opportunity law, for instance, which the Americans sponsored; they paved the way for one central trade union, now there are never-ending wage disputes; etc.	1%	1%	1%	1%
Other answers: The isolation of Eastern Germany, through the ideas of America the gulf gets ever wider; America has systematically stirred up people by telling them: the East wants another war; denazification matters; people still talk about the verdicts of Nuremberg; the Jewish problem, the Americans' view about restitution to be made to the Jews; if the Americans hadn't interfered so much with German affairs, the social problems would have been solved more satisfactorily and within a shorter time, the Americans apparently don't know that one can do something to settle grave social problems; etc.	1	2	3	1
NON-RELEVANT REPLIES				
Occupation policy:	1	*	1	2
No political freedom:	*	1	–	–
Handing over Eastern Germany to Russia:	*	*	*	–
No opinion/No answer:	2 6%	1 6%	* 7%	1 9%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

MANY DOUBT WHETHER U.S. WILL MAKE A PERMANENT CONTRIBUTION ...

But though the preponderant opinion now is that the influence of American ideas on Germany has been all to the good, many West Germans are not certain that this influence will be permanent. As may be seen in the table below, the view that the effect will be lasting is matched by the prediction that the American influence will be only transitory or prevail only in part. Moreover, large numbers are not prepared to speculate.

"Do you believe that, on the whole, the ideas and views America stands for will have a lasting effect in West Germany or will they be only transitory?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Lasting effect	28%	28%	29%	22%
Transitory	17	15	19	19
Partly/partly	12	14	10	15
No opinion	43	43	42	44
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Because some people predict that the American influence will be transitory does not mean necessarily that they are hostile to present American efforts to inform and persuade. On the contrary, as may be seen in the paired comparisons below, in all groups, regardless of the speculations on future influence, the preponderant opinion is that the advantages to West Germany of American ideas outweighs the disadvantages.

To West Germany, U.S. Presentation of Views Has Been More:

U.S. ideas and views will have:	Advantageous	Disadvantageous	Undecided	No. of cases:
Lasting effect	78%	6%	16%	100% 217
Transitory	35	23	42	132
Partly/partly	44	9	47	98
Undecided	15	3	82	339

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON ADVANTAGES/DISADVANTAGES OF AMERICAN IDEAS ...

While all segments of the population lean strongly to the opinion that the views and ideas as presented by the U.S. are to the advantage of Germany, the upper status, usually better informed groups, are generally more favorable than others. Among political groups, CDU and FDP affiliates are more inclined than SPD voters as well as adherents of splinter parties to see advantages.

Similarly, the upper status groups, as well as CDU and FDP affiliates more often than others predict that the American influence will be permanent in West Germany.

"Aside from the economic aid West Germany has received from America, do you have the impression that America's representation of its ideas and views in West Germany has been more to our advantage or more to our disadvantage?"

	To the advantage	To the disadvantage	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	48%	11%	41%...100%	374
Women	31	5	64	395
Education:				
Elementary school	36	8	56	616
Beyond elementary	52	8	40	156
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	32	6	62	412
300 - 399 DM	44	10	46	201
400 DM and more	50	11	39	148
Age:				
18 - 24 years	30	2	68	86
25 - 34 "	46	10	44	184
35 - 44 "	35	9	56	163
45 - 54 "	44	6	50	156
55 years and over	35	8	57	183
Party Preference:				
SPD	36	9	55	206
CDU/CSU	54	4	42	198
FDP	55	10	35	63
Other parties	34	15	51	47
No party	26	13	61	67
Don't know	27	6	67	190
Occupation:				
Professionals	56	8	36	25
Businessmen	38	14	48	79
White-collar workers	45	10	45	107
Skilled laborers	40	10	50	180
Semi-skilled laborers	31	6	63	90
Farmers	44	2	54	82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	35	6	59	145
Religion				
Catholics	40	8	52	341
Protestants	38	7	55	390
Origin:				
Natives	40	8	52	616
Expellees, Refugees	38	6	56	149

04632

"Do you believe that, on the whole, the ideas and views America stands for will have a lasting effect in West Germany or will they be only transitory?"

	Lasting	Transitory	Partly/ partly	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	33%	21%	16%	30%	100% 374
Women	21	13	10	56	395
Education:					
Elementary school	24	17	12	47	616
Beyond elementary	38	16	15	31	156
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	23	14	12	51	412
300 - 399 DM	31	20	14	35	201
400 DM and more	32	20	14	34	148
Age:					
18 - 24 years	16	14	17	53	86
25 - 34 "	32	18	12	38	184
35 - 44 "	27	16	13	44	163
45 - 54 "	30	19	13	38	156
55 years and over	24	16	9	51	183
Party Preference:					
SPD	25	18	15	42	206
CDU/CSU	33	15	13	39	198
FDP	40	16	14	30	63
Other parties	21	32	13	34	47
No party	20	16	13	51	67
Don't know	22	14	9	55	190
Occupation:					
Professionals	52	24	16	8	25
Businessmen	28	10	17	45	79
White-collar workers	33	21	15	31	107
Skilled laborers	28	18	13	41	180
Semi-skilled laborers	21	20	6	53	90
Farmers	22	15	18	45	82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	25	13	8	54	145
Religion:					
Catholics	27	17	13	43	341
Protestants	26	16	13	45	390
Origin:					
Natives	26	18	13	43	616
Expellees, Refugees	30	14	11	45	149

II. Evaluation of U.S. and Russian Propaganda Techniques and Effectiveness

Throughout the Cold War, U.S. policy makers have considered whether a campaign of truth is effective as against the Soviet methods of distortion, the big lie, and campaigns of fear and threats. But the United States has continued to adhere to the traditional propaganda of facts, regardless of whatever temporary advantages might derive from emulating the Communist tactics. An evaluation of reactions to this issue of one group of recipients of American persuasion by facts - the West Germans - is presented in this section. The issue was first approached in general terms, and then with specific reference to the relative effectiveness of American and Soviet propaganda.

CAMPAIGN OF TRUTH RECOMMENDED ...

The large preponderance of West Germans and West Berliners assert that truth is more effective propaganda than lies and distortion. Thus, in effect, they largely support the American point of view. It is to be noted, however, that a quarter believes that propaganda is more effective when it is not dependent on facts.

"When is propaganda most effective: if one lies, if one exaggerates or if one sticks to the truth?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Lies	8%	8%	8%	8%	8%
Exaggerates	13	14	11	11	14
Lies and exaggerates	5	5	5	6	-
Sticks to the truth	64	62	68	64	76
Qualified answer	3	4	2	2	1
No opinion	7	7	6	9	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

ALL GROUPS RECOMMEND TRUTH ...

Majorities in every population group recommend propaganda of facts as more persuasive than lies and distortion. Of particular interest is the fact that those with no opinion are very few even among usually uninformed or undecided groups. The table below indicates a predominance in favor of truth among every sort of Germans; and the low level of "no opinion" found among all elements implies a certainty and intensity of opinion throughout the whole German social structure. Figures are presented on the next page.

"When is propaganda most effective: if one lies, if one exaggerates or if one sticks to the truth?"

	Lies	Exaggerates	Lies and exaggerates	Sticks to the truth	Qualified answer	No opinion		No. of cases:
Sex:								
Men	9%	13%	7%	63%	4%	4%	100%	809
Women	7	11	4	66	2	10		786
Education:								
Elementary school	8	11	5	65	3	8		1299
Beyond elementary	6	17	6	62	6	3		296
Income (per month):								
0 - 149 DM	4	8	3	67	3	15		299
150 - 299 DM	9	11	7	65	3	5		551
300 - 399 DM	8	16	4	64	4	4		342
400 DM and more	8	15	4	66	5	2		288
Age:								
18 - 24 years	4	16	5	65	1	9		213
25 - 34 "	9	18	4	62	5	2		323
35 - 44 "	9	10	7	66	2	6		329
45 - 54 "	10	11	4	65	5	5		347
55 years and over	6	9	6	65	3	11		378
Party Preference:								
SPD	10	12	6	68	2	2		323
CDU/CSU	8	12	4	70	3	3		291
FDP	3	16	4	69	5	3		111
Other parties	11	16	5	61	5	2		94
No party	9	12	5	62	4	8		518
Don't know	3	10	7	57	3	20		258
Occupation:								
Professionals	6	16	6	62	8	2		50
Businessmen	9	11	4	66	2	8		213
White-collar workers	6	13	6	64	6	5		228
Skilled laborers	10	15	5	60	5	5		353
Semi-skilled laborers	5	12	12	65	*	6		201
Farmers	8	9	4	67	4	8		197
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	8	10	4	67	1	10		216
Religion:								
Catholics	8	12	4	65	4	7		701
Protestants	7	12	6	64	3	8		832
Origin:								
Natives	8	12	5	65	3	7		1280
Expellees, Refugees	7	12	5	66	5	5		310
Trade Union Membership:								
Yes, member	10	12	8	62	3	5		500
No	7	12	4	65	4	8		1095

* Less than one half of one per cent.

THE U.S. SHOULD NOT EMULATE COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA METHODS ...

On a further and more direct test of the relative effectiveness of a campaign of truth as against one of distortion and lies, the former again wins handily. Queried in regard to what program the U.S. should follow in order to obtain the greatest effect behind the Iron Curtain, West Germans by a two to one preponderance oppose emulation of Communist methods. Berliners vote almost three to one against so doing.

"Do you believe that American propaganda aimed at the East would have greater or less effectiveness, if the Americans would make the same kind of propaganda as the Communists?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Greater effectiveness	19%	18%	20%	21%	27%
Less effectiveness	34	38	33	22	64
No opinion	47	44	47	57	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As would be expected, persons who regard propaganda as more effective when it uses lies or exaggerations are more inclined than others to advocate the use of Communist techniques to reach people in the East. It is noteworthy, however, that even among this group, the weight of opinion is opposed to any American adaption of Communist methods.

"Do you believe that American propaganda aimed at the East would have greater or less effectiveness, if the Americans would make the same kind of propaganda as the Communists?"

"When is propaganda most effective: if one lies, if one exaggerates, or if one sticks to the truth?"	Greater effectiveness	Less effectiveness	No opinion	
Lies, exaggerates, or both	29%	36%	35%	100%
Sticks to the truth	16	38	46	

RESTRICTED

INFLUENCE GROUPS, SPD, MOST DEFINITE ...

All groups in the West German population show a preponderance believing that the use of Communist techniques would weaken American propaganda. The more influential groups are particularly likely to think so.

"Do you believe that American propaganda aimed at the East would have greater or less effectiveness, if the Americans would make the same kind of propaganda as the Communists?"

	Greater effectiveness	Less effectiveness	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	25%	42%	33%..100%	809
Women	13	27	60	786
Education:				
Elementary school	17	31	52	1299
Beyond elementary	24	49	27	296
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	14	26	60	299
150 - 299 DM	17	36	47	551
300 - 399 DM	23	40	37	342
400 DM and more	25	37	38	288
Age:				
18 - 24 years	22	31	47	213
25 - 34 "	17	42	41	323
35 - 44 "	17	40	43	329
45 - 54 "	23	34	43	347
55 years and over	17	26	57	378
Party Preference:				
SPD	20	46	34	323
CDU/CSU	24	37	39	291
FDP	27	45	28	111
Other parties	20	39	41	94
No party	18	31	51	518
Don't know	9	19	72	258
Occupation:				
Professionals	20	48	32	50
Businessmen	23	33	44	213
White-collar workers	20	45	35	228
Skilled laborers	19	37	44	353
Semi-skilled laborers	19	36	45	201
Farmers	15	24	61	197
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	18	29	53	216
Religion:				
Catholics	20	33	47	701
Protestants	18	35	47	832
Origin:				
Natives	17	34	49	1280
Expellees, Refugees	25	36	39	310
Trade Union Membership:				
Yes, member	21	37	42	500
No	18	33	49	1093

BUT MANY SAY RUSSIA IS THE MORE SKILLFUL PROPAGANDIST ...

Assuming, however, that most Germans are aware of the form and nature of Russian propaganda, it could be argued that when it gets down to cases, they are less prepared to attest to the efficacy of truth as a propaganda weapon than they are when merely discussing the general principle. When specifically questioned on the relative effectiveness of American versus Russian propaganda efforts, the U.S. is given a real advantage only in West Berlin. In West Germany, neither side gains a decisive advantage.

"Which country, in your opinion, is more skillful in carrying on propaganda throughout the world, America or Russia?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
America	28%	31%	26%	23%	58%
Russia	26	25	28	25	30
Both equally skillful	11	9	10	18	1
Both equally unskillful	2	3	1	3	1
No opinion	33	32	35	31	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

GROUP DIFFERENCES ...

The lack of sharp differentiation between the relative propaganda skill of the Russians and Americans generally holds true among various population groups. Some variations occur, however: the better educated and the highest income groups more frequently than others designate the Russians as the more skillful, as do FDP affiliates in contrast to other political groups, and refugees as compared with "natives." The table is presented on the next page.

"Which country is, in your opinion, more skillful in carrying on its propaganda throughout the world, America or Russia?"

	America	Russia	Both equally skillful	Both equally unskillful	No opinion		No. of cases:
Sex:							
Men	32%	33%	12%	3%	20%	100%	410
Women	24	18	9	2	47		381
Education:							
Elementary school	29	23	11	2	35		647
Beyond elementary	24	39	10	4	23		144
Income (per month):							
0 - 149 DM	20	24	9	1	46		158
150 - 299 DM	31	23	14	3	29		285
300 - 399 DM	38	27	6	2	27		157
400 DM and more	27	36	9	3	25		144
Age:							
18 - 24 years	31	26	6	2	35		105
25 - 34 "	34	29	8	2	27		163
35 - 44 "	27	24	14	4	31		160
45 - 54 "	27	29	15	1	28		171
55 years and over	23	23	9	2	43		189
Party Preference:							
SPD	38	27	13	*	22		170
CDU/CSU	35	28	8	1	28		144
FDP	33	42	9	-	16		45
Other parties	40	24	10	2	24		50
No party	23	27	13	4	33		253
Don't know	12	15	7	3	63		129
Occupation:							
Professionals	22	31	26	4	17		23
Businessmen	33	36	6	1	24		104
White-collar workers	29	29	12	4	26		119
Skilled laborers	35	24	10	2	29		179
Semi-skilled laborers	30	20	12	5	33		102
Farmers	24	23	10	1	42		93
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	19	22	13	1	45		108
Religion:							
Catholics	30	25	9	2	34		369
Protestants	27	26	12	2	33		389
Origin:							
Natives	29	24	12	2	33		626
Expellees, Refugees	26	34	8	2	30		159
Trade Union Membership:							
Yes, member	34	25	9	2	30		252
No	25	27	11	3	34		539

* Less than one half of one per cent.

RESTRICTED

04639

AND RUSSIA MAKES MORE OF AN EFFORT THAN THE U.S. ...

Shifting from the question of effectiveness to effort in the war for men's minds, the Russians clearly outdistance the Americans according to German opinion. West Germans by a four to one preponderance declare Russia to be exerting the greater propaganda effort. In Berlin, 83 per cent make this rating.

"If you think not only of Europe, but of the whole world: which country makes more of an effort, in your opinion, to carry on propaganda throughout the world, America or Russia?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
America	11%	10%	12%	17%	3%
Russia	46	51	43	32	83
Both the same	23	20	24	31	9
No opinion	20	19	21	20	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

MANY RECOMMEND MORE AMERICAN OUTPUT FOR EASTERN EUROPE ...

Added indication that many Germans feel the U.S. should step up its war of words appears in their recommendations regarding Eastern Europe. About a third in West Germany and 68 per cent in Berlin advocate more propaganda in this direction. However, a large proportion (43%) is undecided, and a not inconsiderable fraction recommends a decrease in such propaganda or none at all.

"Are you of the opinion that America should carry on more propaganda or less than up till now in Eastern Europe?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
More	32%	37%	28%	19%	68%
Less	4	3	6	3	3
Just right	13	12	12	26	10
Shouldn't do anything	8	7	9	13	7
No opinion	43	41	45	39	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

ALL GROUPS GIVE RUSSIA A PREPONDERANCE FOR EFFORT ...

The view that Russia makes a greater propaganda effort than the U.S. prevails in almost every segment of the West German populace. The opinion leading groups - those with more education, higher incomes, and the men - more frequently than their opposites take this position.

"If you think not only of Europe, but of the whole world: which country makes more of an effort, in your opinion, to carry on propaganda throughout the world, America or Russia?"

	America	Russia	Both the same	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	11%	56%	23%	10%	100% 410
Women	13	35	22	30	381
Education:					
Elementary school	11	44	23	22	647
Beyond elementary	15	55	20	10	144
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	6	47	17	30	158
150 - 299 DM	11	44	26	19	285
300 - 399 DM	19	46	20	15	157
400 DM and more	15	57	20	8	144
Age:					
18 - 24 years	11	55	13	21	105
25 - 34 "	12	57	21	10	163
35 - 44 "	8	45	26	21	160
45 - 54 "	16	45	25	14	171
55 years and over	10	35	23	32	189
Party Preference:					
SPD	14	56	20	10	170
CDU/CSU	10	56	18	16	144
FDP	20	65	11	4	45
Other parties	20	54	14	12	50
No party	11	36	31	22	253
Don't know	5	30	22	43	129
Occupation:					
Professionals	26	52	18	4	23
Businessmen	14	51	20	15	104
White-collar workers	9	52	24	15	119
Skilled laborers	13	46	25	16	179
Semi-skilled laborers	12	49	23	16	102
Farmers	9	42	26	23	93
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	8	39	20	33	108
Religion:					
Catholics	12	47	20	21	369
Protestants	12	45	24	19	389
Origin:					
Natives	12	43	24	21	626
Expellees, Refugees	9	59	18	14	159
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	14	48	22	16	252
No	10	46	22	22	539

UPPER STATUS GROUPS RECOMMEND MORE OUTPUT FOR EAST EUROPE ...

Recommendations for increased American propaganda output for East Europe more frequently come from the men, those with more than average schooling and the well-to-do than other elements. Among political groups, FDP adherents are especially inclined to advocate greater output but many SPD followers also make this their recommendation.

"Are you of the opinion that America should carry on more propaganda or less than up till now in Eastern Europe?"

	More	Less	Just right	Shouldn't do anything	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	41%	5%	16%	10%	28%	100% 410
Women	21	4	11	6	58	381
Education:						
Elementary school	29	5	13	7	46	647
Beyond elementary	44	1	17	13	25	144
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	23	2	11	8	56	158
150 - 299 DM	31	7	16	8	38	285
300 - 399 DM	38	4	14	8	36	157
400 DM and more	40	3	12	8	37	144
Age:						
18 - 24 years	31	3	14	9	43	105
25 - 34 "	36	6	15	11	32	163
35 - 44 "	33	4	12	9	42	160
45 - 54 "	31	5	16	8	40	171
55 years and over	29	3	10	5	53	189
Party Preference:						
SPD	43	6	13	8	30	170
CDU/CSU	38	2	13	6	41	144
FDP	53	2	16	11	18	45
Other parties	22	8	10	18	42	50
No party	29	5	18	10	38	253
Don't know	11	1	5	5	78	129
Occupation:						
Professionals	52	-	13	13	22	23
Businessmen	33	4	15	9	39	104
White-collar workers	35	5	14	8	38	119
Skilled laborers	34	6	16	11	33	179
Semi-skilled laborers	31	5	12	9	43	102
Farmers	21	3	13	6	57	93
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	44	6	17	5	28	108
Religion:						
Catholics	28	4	15	8	45	369
Protestants	33	4	13	8	42	389
Origin:						
Natives	30	4	14	9	43	626
Expellees, Refugees	37	4	15	6	38	159
Trade Union Membership:						
Yes, member	35	6	12	9	38	252
No	30	3	14	8	45	539

BUT MANY DOUBT THE AMERICANS TELL ALL THE STORY ABOUT DEMOCRACY ...

But while the weight of German opinion accepts the accuracy of American information about Communism, a considerable segment is skeptical that the Americans tell the whole story either about democracy in general or the United States in particular.

As to democracy, as many West Germans say the U.S. exaggerates the good sides of democracy as believe its information corresponds to the facts. In West Berlin, however, seven in 10 seem sure that democracy is everything the Americans say it is.

"Do you have the impression that what the Americans tell us Germans about democracy corresponds to the actual facts, or are the good sides exaggerated?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Corresponds to actual facts	33%	35%	32%	26%	71%
Good sides exaggerated	31	39	33	27	18
No opinion	36	35	35	47	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

People who say the Americans exaggerate the advantages of democracy, advance numerous arguments, none of which gets frequent mention. Typical comments of this group are as follows: *

"It's nowhere as good as they tell us, usually something is wrong with a thing when they talk so much about it."

"If conditions in a democracy are that good we ought to be better off because its the form of government we have now."

"Everybody likes to exaggerate if he wants something to look good to somebody else."

"A pure form of democracy doesn't exist even in America, look at the present FBI which has almost dictatorial powers."

"I know it from American authors like Upton Sinclair and others who show a true picture of life in the States."

"The behavior of the American occupation authorities in Germany."

"From the impression I gained as a POW."

* Italics added to indicate types of comments.

AND MANY ARE SKEPTICAL THAT THE U.S. IS FRANK ABOUT AMERICA ...

A similar division of opinions occurs regarding American efforts to inform others about the United States. Just as about three in 10 feel that America oversells democracy, likewise three in ten West Germans believe that America fails to talk freely about its own imperfections. Again, however, West Berliners are more inclined to assert that the U.S. does not fail to present a frank picture of the situation.

"Do you have the impression that the Americans talk freely about the bad sides of their country or do you think that they do not talk about them frankly enough or too frankly?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone	West Berlin
Talk frankly	35%	30%	34%	24%	64%
Not frankly enough	31	29	33	36	26
Too frankly	2	2	2	2	3
No opinion	32	31	31	38	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Persons who are skeptical that American propagandists tell enough about the bad sides of the United States also give a variety of examples, no single one of which receives great emphasis. Selected comments of the various types of replies are:*

"My opinion is that <u>no country talks</u> about his own country's dark sides, America included."

"They should also mention those people who live under <u>strained economic circumstances</u>, they don't tell us that in their country there are people as poor as some are over here."

"Listening to the Voice of America you are only told favorable things about America, but there certainly <u>are bad sides too</u>."

"<u>Social services</u> are not as efficient as they are said to be."

"The <u>racial problem</u>, the way they treat colored people is disgusting. The Americans never talk about this over here; the movie "Gone with the Wind" isn't shown here either."

"They talk too much about Russia but say little about their <u>home politics</u>."

"They won't tell us how things stand regarding <u>rearmament</u>."

"They would never speak of the reasons for their <u>sudden friendliness</u> to Germany."

"They glorify life in the U.S., but they don't talk about the existence of <u>gangsters</u>."

* Italics added to indicate types of comments.

04644

GROUP DIFFERENCES REGARDING THE AMERICAN PICTURE ON COMMUNISM ...

On the accuracy of the American presentation of Communism, group variations are insignificant. As the table following shows, in no case does a really sizeable group of West Germans feel that America exaggerates the bad sides of Communism.

"And do you believe that what the Americans tell us Germans about Communism corresponds to the actual facts, or are the bad sides exaggerated?"

	Corresponds to facts	Bad sides exaggerated	Not bad enough	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	56%	18%	8%	18%	100% 609
Women	47	9	8	36	786
Education:					
Elementary school	51	13	7	29	1299
Beyond elementary	58	15	11	16	296
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	45	10	6	39	299
150 - 299 DM	54	12	8	26	551
300 - 399 DM	55	20	7	18	342
400 DM and more	58	15	8	19	288
Age:					
18 - 24 years	52	13	4	31	213
25 - 34 "	56	15	10	19	323
35 - 44 "	50	13	9	28	329
45 - 54 "	54	15	8	23	347
55 years and over	49	11	7	33	378
Party Preference:					
SPD	59	16	9	16	323
CDU/CSU	62	12	8	18	291
FDP	69	13	10	8	111
Other parties	53	25	10	12	94
No party	46	15	8	31	518
Don't know	35	7	5	53	258
Occupation:					
Professionals	52	16	10	22	50
Businessmen	56	12	8	24	213
White-collar workers	58	14	8	20	228
Skilled laborers	47	19	9	25	353
Semi-skilled laborers	52	12	10	26	201
Farmers	52	15	3	30	197
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	51	10	7	32	216
Religion:					
Catholics	52	15	7	26	701
Protestants	52	12	8	28	832
Origin:					
Natives	51	14	7	28	1280
Expellees, Refugees	55	13	12	20	310
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	54	18	7	21	500
No	51	12	8	29	1095

RESTRICTED

GROUP OPINIONS DIVIDE REGARDING U.S. PICTURE OF DEMOCRACY ...

The tendency is fairly general among most population groups - especially those of higher status - to divide between skepticism and acceptance of the accuracy of American presentation of the case for democracy. Among elements in which the balance favors the American presentation are youth and the oldsters, as well as adherents of CDU. In all population groups, however, the proportion who are undecided is large.

"Do you have the impression that what the Americans tell us Germans about democracy corresponds to the actual facts, or are the good sides exaggerated?"

	Corresponds to actual facts	Good sides exaggerated	No opinion		No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	38%	40%	22%	100%	809
Women	27	23	50		786
Education:					
Elementary school	31	29	40		1299
Beyond elementary	42	39	19		296
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	27	22	51		299
150 - 299 DM	33	31	36		551
300 - 399 DM	33	37	30		342
400 DM and more	40	38	22		288
Age:					
18 - 24 years	38	22	40		213
25 - 34 "	32	39	29		323
35 - 44 "	28	37	35		329
45 - 54 "	32	35	33		347
55 years and over	35	22	43		378
Party Preference:					
SPD	37	37	26		323
CDU/CSU	44	26	30		291
FDP	46	40	14		111
Other parties	23	51	26		94
No party	29	33	38		518
Don't know	19	17	64		258
Occupation:					
Professionals	50	36	14		50
Businessmen	34	34	32		213
White-collar workers	37	36	27		228
Skilled laborers	30	39	31		353
Semi-skilled laborers	33	26	41		201
Farmers	25	27	48		197
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	35	22	43		216
Religion:					
Catholics	34	29	37		701
Protestants	32	31	37		832
Origin:					
Natives	32	32	36		1280
Expellees, Refugees	35	29	36		310
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	35	34	31		500
No	31	30	39		1095

GROUP OPINIONS ALSO DIVIDE ON AMERICAN PICTURE OF THE U.S. ...

On the matter of the objectivity of the American presentation of the United States, opinions follow a pattern somewhat similar to that regarding democracy, though there is more indication here for the upper status groups to lean to the view that the bad sides of the U.S. are not ignored. Again "no opinion" is a frequent reply.

"Do you have the impression that the Americans talk freely about the bad sides of their country or do you think that they do not talk about them frankly enough or too frankly?"

	Talk frankly	Not frankly enough	Too frankly	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	38%	37%	3%	22%	...100% 809
Women	31	25	1	43	786
Education:					
Elementary school	32	31	2	35	1299
Beyond elementary	47	33	2	18	296
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	29	24	1	46	299
150 - 299 DM	34	33	2	31	551
300 - 399 DM	39	37	1	23	342
400 DM and more	38	31	2	29	288
Age:					
18 - 24 years	33	33	1	33	213
25 - 34 "	37	36	3	24	323
35 - 44 "	35	31	1	33	329
45 - 54 "	35	34	3	28	347
55 years and over	33	24	2	41	378
Party Preference:					
SPD	39	36	2	23	323
CDU/CSU	42	29	1	28	291
FDP	42	41	3	14	111
Other parties	44	36	2	18	94
No party	29	33	2	36	518
Don't know	27	19	1	53	258
Occupation:					
Professionals	54	24	2	20	50
Businessmen	32	36	4	28	213
White-collar workers	44	31	1	24	228
Skilled laborers	33	36	2	29	353
Semi-skilled laborers	31	32	2	35	201
Farmers	33	30	*	37	197
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	38	21	1	40	216
Religion:					
Catholics	35	30	1	34	701
Protestants	35	32	2	31	832
Origin:					
Natives	35	31	2	32	1280
Expellees, Refugees	35	30	3	32	310
Trade Union Membership:					
Yes, member	36	37	1	26	500
No	34	29	2	35	1095

* Less than one half of one per cent.

APPENDIX

RAS Evaluation Studies on Various Information Media

Studies Now in Process:

RIAS - East Zone refugees evaluation of coverage and programming.

Illustrated magazines, study of sensational and nationalist articles as popularity factor.

Information Centers in Berlin, comparative study among patrons of U.S., British and French centers.

Information Centers, patrons' evaluation of activities in areas of service.

Certain MSA and HICOG films. Audience evaluation prior to distribution.

Exchangees, evaluation of program among.

Report Number	Title
# 166 R*	An Evaluation of the Effectiveness of the Marshallhaus Exhibit (Dec 23, 1952)
# 165 R	An Appraisal of Pamphlets as a Mediun of Influence in West Germany (Dec 22, 1952)
# 164 R	West German Audience Potential for a Projected Atomic Energy Exhibit (Nov 17, 1952)
	Special VOA American Election Coverage Study (Nov, 1952)
# 160 R	West Germans Appraise their Present Day Press - III. Readership and Evaluations of the Neue Zeitung (Oct 16, 1952)
# 159 R	West Germans Appraise their Present Day Press - II. Evaluations and Recommendations (Oct 16,1952)
# 158 R	West Germans Appraise their Present Day Press - I. Newspaper Readership and Preferences (Oct 14, 1952)
# 151	West German Receptivity and Reactions to the Exchange of Persons Program (Aug 25, 1952)
# 149 R	A Note on Receptivity and Resistance to Introducing American Working Methods into German Industry (Aug 8, 1952)
# 132 R	East Zone Farmers' Reactions to RIAS Farm Broadcasts - With Sidelights on the Extent of VOA Listenership (Apr 10, 1952)
# 127 R	An Appraisal of the Impact of the Berlin Cultural Festival (Mar 10, 1952)
# 126 R	East Zone Youth's Appraisal of Western Political Pamphlets - With Sidelights on Penetration of Printed Matter into East Germany (Feb 29, 1952)

* R - Restricted reports.

R E S T R I C T E D

Report Number	Title
# 110	Are East Zone Youth Spreading the Message of West Berlin? - A Study of the Effects of the Berlin Youth Festival on the East Zone Population (Nov 26, 1951)
# 109	Attitudes of East German Youth - A Series of Reports Based Upon Studies Conducted During the Berlin Youth Festival - IV. Radio Evaluations and Recommendations of East Zone Youth (Nov 19, 1951)
Special Report	A Note on the Representativeness of German Listener Letters to VOA (Nov 7, 1951)
# 105	Germans View the Voice of America - IV. The Question of Effectiveness (Oct 17, 1951)
# 104	Germans View the Voice of America - III. Program Preference and Evaluations of VOA Listeners (Oct 17, 1951)
# 97	Germans View the Voice of America - II. Some Technical Factors in VOA Listenership (Aug 21, 1951)
# 95	Germans View the Voice of America - I. The Extent and Characteristics of the VOA Audience in West Germany and West Berlin (Aug 28, 1951)
# 85	The Impact of the Europe Train - A Preliminary Study on a Mains Audience (Jun 14, 1951)
# 76	Continued Trends in Awareness and Patronage of the Amerika Haeuser in the U.S. Zone (Apr 24, 1951)
# 44	German Youth View the American Program - VI. The German-American Exchange Program (Oct 30, 1950)
# 43	German Youth View the American Program - V. Audience of U.S. Overt Magazines and U.S. Documentary Film Program (Oct 25, 1950)
# 42	German Youth View the American Program - IV. Awareness and Patronage of Amerika Haeuser Among Youth (Oct 25, 1950)
# 41	German Youth View the American Program - III. The Voice of America and General Radio Listening Among Youth (Oct 23, 1950)
# 40	German Youth View the American Program - II. American Reorientation Efforts (Oct 23, 1950)
# 38	German Youth View the American Program - I. Some General Evaluations (Oct 9, 1950)
# 31	Trends in Awareness and Patronage of U.S. Information Centers in the U.S. Zone, West Berlin and Bremen (Aug 8, 1950)
# 14	Readership of HEUTE and Other Illustrated Periodicals (Apr 4, 1950)
# 12	Germans View the U.S. Reorientation Program - III. Opinions on the Cultural Exchange Program (Mar 30, 1950)
# 4	RIAS and Its Listeners in Western Berlin (Feb 8, 1950)

R E S T R I C T E D

04649

DECLASSIFIED
by authority of
Morton J. Fosberg,
Acting Chief,
PUB: Research Staff
JUN 28 1955
M. J. F.

YEAR-END TRENDS IN WEST GERMAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNITED NATIONS

Report No. 172
Series No. 2
February 14, 1953

RESTRICTED
FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04650

INTRODUCTION

Among the topics embraced in a year-end omnibus survey of West German trends were a few questions relating to the United Nations. The results are herein reported as an indication of trend and current attitude, though in no sense a complete treatment of West German sentiments in this area.

The findings are based upon a survey conducted by the Reactions Analysis Staff between December 12th and 20th, 1952, employing an 800 case representative probability sample of West Germany. Group comparison figures where presented are to be interpreted with due regard for the limited number of cases in certain population categories.

As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff.

SUMMARY EXCERPTS

... Extent of West German awareness of the United Nations has remained substantially unchanged over the past 18 months, at a figure of approximately two in three. While this means that no growth in extent of awareness has occurred, it must be kept in mind that the obtained level is fairly high as awareness figures go, and increases are not to be expected without really dramatic UN development or intensive informational campaigning - especially in view of the fact that Germany is not a member of the United Nations.

... West German conceptions of the main purpose of the UN focus for the most part on the preservation of peace and cooperation among nations. Few evidence intimations of echoing the Communist characterisation of the UN as primarily anti-Russian in purpose.

... Though among West Germans aware of the United Nations the opinion continues to prevail that the UN helps to prevent a third world war, confidence in this respect has fallen somewhat since a year and a half ago. Loss in confidence has been greatest, group comparisons suggest, among opinion leading population elements - the better educated and the economically better situated.

... Questioned as to whether UN influence has become stronger or weaker over the past year, West Germans divide in their judgments with many expressing no opinion.

... But as to how the UN will fare in the future, optimism tends to somewhat outweigh pessimism - though again many are undecided.

NO GROWTH IN EXTENT OF AWARENESS OF UN ...

Extent of West German awareness of the United Nations has remained substantially unchanged over the past 18 months, at a figure of approximately two in three. While this means that no growth in extent of awareness has occurred, it must be kept in mind that the obtained level is fairly high as awareness figures go, and increases are not to be expected without really dramatic UN developments or intensive informational campaigning - especially in view of the fact that Germany is not a member of the United Nations.

"Have you ever heard or read of the United Nations, the so-called UN?"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone	
	July 51	Dec 52	July 51	Dec 52	July 51	Dec 52	July 51	Dec 52
Yes	69%	66%	67%	70%	72%	66%	65%	52%
No	31	34	33	30	28	34	35	48
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Yes		No			No. of cases
	July 51	Dec 52	July 51	Dec 52		
Sex:						
Men	86%	80%	14%	20%	...100%	383
Women	54	53	46	47		403
Education:						
Elementary school	63	60	37	40		633
Beyond elementary	94	91	6	9		153
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	61	57	39	43		418
300 - 399 DM	82	71	18	29		209
400 DM and more	91	86	9	14		150
Age:						
18 - 24 years	74	67	26	33		80
25 - 34 years	78	73	22	27		187
35 - 44 years	66	69	34	31		166
45 - 54 years	71	65	29	35		160
55 years and over	58	57	42	43		193
Party Preference:						
SPD	78	73	22	27		207
CDU/CSU	72	66	28	34		202
FDP/DP	95	89	5	11		63
Other parties	78	68	22	32		47
No party	68	52	32	48		71
Don't know	45	56	55	44		196
Occupation:						
Professionals/Businessmen	83	78	17	22		106
White-collar workers	86	82	14	18		110
Skilled laborers	72	69	28	31		183
Semi-skilled laborers	63	67	37	33		93
Farmers	63	55	37	45		82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	53	51	47	49		148
Religion:						
Catholics	64	59	36	41		349
Protestants	71	71	29	29		394
Origin:						
Natives	70	65	30	35		630
Expellees, Refugees	62	71	38	29		151

MOST SEE PRESERVATION OF AMITY AS PURPOSE OF UN ...

West German conceptions of the main purpose of the UN focus for the most part on the preservation of peace and cooperation among nations. Few evidence intimations of echoing the Communist characterization of the UN as primarily anti-Russian in purpose.

"Can you tell me the main purpose of the UN?" (Asked only of those who indicated awareness of the UN)

	WEST GERMANY
To preserve peace and prevent wars and aggression:	23%
"Their purpose is to do everything in their power to preserve peace in the world."	
"The UN organization is similar to the former League of Nations: a union of nations that wants to preserve peace."	
"To bring about peace for the whole mankind."	
"To make peace in the world and prevent another war between the nations."	
"They learned from two world wars that another one would mean the ruin of mankind, therefore, they try to make peace everywhere."	
"Its purpose is to guarantee the freedom of all peoples by taking measures against those who cause troubles."	
"To defend those nations that are attacked without any reason."	
"To protect the freedom of nations."	
"The UN pursues the same objective as did the former League of Nations, that is, to intervene with military forces where circumstances demand it, as in Korea, for instance."	
"It's similar to the League of Nations which also worked without a positive result, it's purpose is to prevent war."	
To promote friendship and cooperation among nations:	13
"Uniting all European and overseas nations to further mutual understanding."	
"An organization that tries to bring about understanding among and cooperation between nations."	
"In theory its purpose is to improve the relations among nations."	
"To see to it that there exists understanding among nations, security and peace in all countries."	
"That the nations cooperate and stick together."	
"The name tells us: to unite the nations, to gain power, and form a great union."	
"A union of nations, that's of special value to small countries which will then be protected against oppression."	
"To form a government with representatives of all nations."	
"It can be considered as the first step on the way to a world league."	
"To constitute a parliament consisting of representatives of all countries with equal rights for all nations."	
"It is to succeed the former League of Nations, but it works on a larger scale and is endowed with more authority."	
"To unite all nations and work for the common welfare."	
To mediate disputes:	10
"To act as arbitrator in case of quarrels between nations."	
"Reconciling quarrels and mediating between the UN member nations."	
"It's a kind of a League of Nations, a committee that occupies itself with disputes and tries to settle them."	
"To settle disputes by means of negotiations."	
"The UN organization is sort of a political court for all nations, a league made up of representatives of all countries, similar to the Bundesrat in Germany."	
"To condemn aggressors."	

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

"To settle differences among nations."
"To prevent injustices, the same the League of Nations tried to do, but there wasn't any result up to now."
"All difficulties should be settled peacefully, it's quite a nice institution but it doesn't prove to be very successful."
"To settle differences at the conference table."

To counterbalance the East: 4%

"To unite the Western world against Russia."
"To counterbalance Russia and Bolshevism generally."
"To form a union as a counterweight against Russian aggression."
"A fusion with the European countries to prevent that the East will rule the world at some future date."
"To unite many nations to a world power to face the East."
"To form a Western bloc, the UN is prepared to fight the Eastern bloc."
"To enable the European peoples to defend themselves against the Russians."

Cooperation in the economic field, improving the living standard: 3%

"A union to achieve better economic conditions."
"To settle economic problems."
"Economic cooperation."
"To bring about equal living conditions for all nations of the world."
"To improve conditions in all member nations, but their main purpose should be to create better living conditions for people throughout the world."

Union and defense of European nations: 2

"The UN wants to unite Europe."
"The defense of Europe." Etc.

Military cooperation as protection against aggression: 1

"To build up economic and military strength in order to make aggression impossible."
"Many nations formed a union to be more powerful against any possible enemy."

Other purposes: 3

"To form a union of the capitalist countries."
"First of all it favors capitalist nations."
"Each nation wants to derive the greatest possible advantage by it."
"Germany doesn't participate, the main purpose was to subdue Germany."
"They want to squeeze as much as possible out of Germany, they won't let us get on our feet again."
"It has something to do with America, hasn't it?"

No opinion/No answer: 16
7%

C Some respondents gave more than one answer.

D4654

LESSENED CONFIDENCE IN UN EFFICACY ...

Though among West Germans aware of the United Nations the opinion continues to prevail that the UN helps to prevent a third world war, confidence in this respect has fallen somewhat since a year and a half ago. Loss in confidence has been greatest, group comparisons suggest, among opinion leading population elements - the better educated and the economically and professionally better situated.

"Are you of the opinion that the United Nations helps to prevent a third world war, or do you not think so? (Does it help considerably or not?)"

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone	
	July 51	Dec 52	July 51	Dec 52	July 51	Dec 52	July 51	Dec 52
Helps considerably	29%	21%	29%	23%	30%	21%	22%	11%
Helps, but not very considerably	19	19	18	20	19	20	27	13
Does not help	7	15	8	16	7	13	5	18
No opinion	13	11	12	11	16	12	11	10
	68%	66%	67%	70%	72%	66%	65%	52%

	Helps considerably		Helps, but not very considerably		Does not help		No opinion or unaware		No. of cases
	July 51	Dec 52	July 51	Dec 52	July 51	Dec 52	July 51	Dec 52	
Sex:									
Men	40%	25%	26%	28%	10%	19%	24%	28%	383
Women	20	17	13	11	5	11	62	61	403
Education:									
Elementary school	26	19	18	16	6	14	50	51	633
Beyond elementary	44	28	26	33	13	20	17	19	153
Income (per month):									
0 - 299 DM	22	18	20	14	5	12	53	56	418
300 - 399 DM	43	21	16	25	9	17	32	37	209
400 DM and more	47	29	20	25	11	20	22	26	150
Age:									
18 - 24 years	34	19	18	15	6	17	42	49	80
25 - 34 years	33	19	24	25	8	18	35	38	187
35 - 44 years	23	21	20	22	9	16	48	41	166
45 - 54 years	32	22	20	19	5	14	43	45	160
55 years and over	27	23	14	13	7	10	52	54	193
Party Preference:									
SPD	38	18	23	21	6	24	33	37	207
CDU/CSU	37	28	19	18	6	10	38	44	202
FDP/DP	42	33	19	40	18	10	21	17	63
Other parties	22	21	24	24	14	17	40	38	47
No party	24	18	21	8	8	16	47	58	71
Don't know	17	14	12	15	2	11	69	60	196
Occupation:									
Professionals/Businessmen	40	17	19	30	11	18	30	35	106
White-collar workers	39	32	19	23	9	17	33	28	110
Skilled laborers	32	22	22	21	6	17	40	40	183
Semi-skilled lab.	24	12	17	20	6	24	53	44	93
Farmers	20	21	26	15	6	8	48	56	82
Not employed: pens. students, ret., etc.	24	19	14	11	5	9	57	61	148
Religion:									
Catholics	30	20	15	16	9	13	46	51	349
Protestants	27	21	22	22	6	15	45	42	394
Origin:									
Natives	30	21	20	18	7	14	43	47	630
Expellees, Refugees	25	21	18	22	6	19	51	38	151

HAS UN BECOME STRONGER OR WEAKER OVER PAST YEAR ...

Questioned as to whether UN influence has become stronger or weaker over the past year, West Germans divide in their judgments with many expressing no opinion.

"Have you the impression that during the last year the influence of the UN on world politics has become stronger or weaker?" (Asked of respondents indicating awareness of UN).

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Stronger	19%	21%	18%	17%
Weaker	18	20	15	21
No opinion	29	29	33	14
	66%	70%	66%	52%

	Stronger	Weaker	No opinion	Unaware of UN	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	28%	25%	27%	20%...100%	383
Women	11	12	30	47	403
Education:					
Elementary school	19	15	26	40	633
Beyond elementary	22	31	39	8	153
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	14	13	29	44	418
300 - 399 DM	21	23	27	29	209
400 DM and more	29	28	29	14	150
Age:					
18 - 24 years	10	15	43	32	80
25 - 34 years	21	27	25	27	187
35 - 44 years	22	19	27	32	166
45 - 54 years	18	16	31	35	160
55 years and over	20	11	26	43	193
Party Preference:					
SPD	21	20	32	27	207
CDU/CSU	21	17	28	34	202
FDP/DP	24	30	35	11	63
Other parties	19	15	34	32	47
No party	18	17	17	48	71
Don't know	15	14	27	44	196
Occupation:					
Professionals/Businessmen	18	32	28	22	106
White-collar workers	25	26	32	17	110
Skilled laborers	24	18	27	31	183
Semi-skilled laborers	17	17	33	33	93
Farmers	12	11	32	45	82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	15	12	24	49	148
Religion:					
Catholics	19	16	24	41	349
Protestants	19	19	33	29	394
Origin:					
Natives	19	19	27	35	630
Expellees, Refugees	21	15	35	29	151

SOMEWHAT MORE OPTIMISM THAN PESSIMISM ON FUTURE ...

But as to how the UN will fare in the future, optimism tends to somewhat outweigh pessimism - though again many are undecided.

"And how will it be in the future: do you believe that the influence of the UN on world politics will become stronger or weaker in the future?" (Asked of respondents indicating awareness of UN).

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Stronger	26%	27%	27%	22%
Weaker	14	18	10	12
No opinion	26	25	29	18
	66%	70%	66%	52%

	Stronger	Weaker	No opinion	Unaware		No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	36%	18%	26%	20%	...100%	383
Women	18	10	25	47		403
Education:						
Elementary school	24	11	25	40		633
Beyond elementary	35	26	31	8		153
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	18	11	28	43		418
300 - 399 DM	30	17	24	29		209
400 DM and more	43	21	22	14		150
Age:						
18 - 24 years	21	14	32	33		80
25 - 34 years	27	19	27	27		187
35 - 44 years	29	13	27	31		166
45 - 54 years	29	14	22	35		160
55 years and over	23	11	23	43		193
Party Preference:						
SPD	27	16	30	27		207
CDU/CSU	31	13	22	34		202
FDP/DP	35	27	27	11		63
Other parties	32	6	30	32		47
No party	17	13	22	48		71
Don't know	19	12	25	44		196
Occupation:						
Professionals/Businessmen	31	20	27	22		106
White-collar workers	34	25	24	17		110
Skilled laborers	32	13	24	31		183
Semi-skilled laborers	20	14	33	33		93
Farmers	27	7	21	45		82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	17	9	24	50		148
Religion:						
Catholics	26	10	23	41		349
Protestants	26	16	29	29		394
Origin:						
Natives	26	14	24	36		630
Expellees, Refugees	26	13	32	29		151

REASONS ADVANCED FOR SEEING UN STRONGER OVER PAST YEAR ...

West Germans inclined to judge UN influence as increasing over the past year proffer reasons in the following vein:

"Have you the impression that during the last year the influence of the UN on world politics has become stronger or weaker?"

IF "Stronger":

"What are, in your opinion, the reasons for that?"

WEST GERMANY

Greater unity and better cooperation between nations: 4%

"These nations get on ever better terms."
"Better cooperation, the good elements succeeded."
"I think so because the number of members is ever increasing."
"The nations have come to the conclusion that there is simply no other way."
"A union of nations can achieve far more than one nation by itself."
"Because they all feel oppressed and threatened and none of them wants to keep apart any more."

Political, financial and military power of the UN increased: 3

"Because it means a great political power."
"Because of the strong position of America which plays the leading part in the UN, this institution has increased its influence."
"They have largest funds and therefore the greatest influence."
"Their power increased, in the military as well as in the economic field."
"Because the military weapons, for instance the Atom bomb, were improved and thus the UN have greater authority."
"They want to build up a Western defense as soon as possible to protect the free world."

Forming a bloc against Russia: 2

"People all over the world have come to realise that a union is necessary, especially in view of the Communist menace."
"It dawned on people that the nations must join forces against the menace from the East."
"Pressure against Russia has increased."
"The UN has understood that Russia doesn't play fair, therefore they brought more pressure to bear."
"Because of the UN the foreign policies of many countries take the same course, at least they've formed two blocs now, pro and against Communism."
"To prevent the spreading of Communism and maintain freedom."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

WEST GERMANY

More prestige vis-a-vis Russia: 2%

"That the sound views of the Western powers are generally accepted, the one-sided policy of the Soviet-orbit-countries was outvoted."
"The influence has grown, I mean because Russia was so bold that the UN didn't put up with it."
"Any great power would take good care not to attack a country which is a member of the UN because it would immediately be supported by all the others as was the case with Korea."
"Russia has come to respect the UN, it can no longer do just as it pleases."
"The gap between East and West has been widened because of everlasting Russian vetoes."
"The critical political situation and all the controversies."

UN preserves peace: 2

"All nations that are members of the UN are opposed to war, the UN is the best instrument to preserve peace."
"Because in general you can say that nobody can take any actions which might endanger world peace." 0

UN efforts in the Korean conflict: 2

"After all they saw to it that the Korean conflict didn't spread."
"You see that from the Korea affair, well, I must say they really did something there." Etc.

Other reasons: 3

"Because all that is reiterated time and again leaves an impression on people."
"The UN is still too young to be successful right from the beginning, the world must get accustomed to it and then the influence will grow by and by."

No opinion/No answer: 3

21%

O Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS FOR SEEING UN WEAKENED OVER PAST YEAR ...

Those who see the UN as weaker than before cite the following reasons for their judgment.

"Have you the impression that during the last year the influence of the UN on world politics has become stronger or weaker?"

IF "Weaker":

"What are, in your opinion, the reasons for that?"

WEST GERMANY

UN failed in Korea, Indochina, Tunisia, etc.: 5%

"Up to now the UN had no success in establishing peace, there's war everywhere and confidence in this "club" gets lost."
"Because the UN isn't able to put an end to the Korea conflict."
"They didn't achieve anything in Korea, didn't accomplish an armistice."
"The UN is too irresolute, take all these wars in the Middle East, in North Africa and the Far East."
"I'm thinking of Korea, Indochina, Morocco, Burma, the Satellite countries."

Disunity, selfishness among UN countries: 5

"No positive results come of all these negotiations, in spite of the many negotiations there's no result - because there's no unity among the UN countries themselves - Trygve Lie has resigned from his post, from this I conclude that this institution didn't attain its ends."
"It's by the reason of European disunity, caused by distrust among nations - they are jealous of each other with regard to trade."
"Because those states which are to be blamed for the world crisis didn't understand the seriousness of the UN's purpose - they have nothing in mind but their own national interests."
"There are too many people in the UN who seek their own advantage, too many "unselfish" nations."
"Because Germany's reunification cannot be accomplished, there's always someone interfering, and the others also cannot come to terms."
"Disunity among members."
"Opinions in the individual countries differ too much."
"France and England don't come to terms."
"The great powers do just as they please, you can see that in Korea, Indochina, France."

UN fails to influence the Eastern Bloc - Eastern Bloc pursues its own policy: 4

"The Eastern Bloc just doesn't care about the UN, it takes its own course."
"Nobody listens to the other, least of all the Russians."
"The Eastern Bloc backs its ideology very strongly, therefore it's very difficult for the West to oppose these ideas."
"Communism is just getting too strong, the Russians get on well and won't let anybody look into their political affairs."
"They were too compliant with regard to the Russians and gave them too much opportunity to use their "veto"- right."
"Because the East doesn't adjust itself to circumstances, no, solely the Russians are to blame."

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) WEST GERMANY

Weakness of the UN through lack of executive and military power: 3%

"You don't notice that the nations do something about the good intentions (of the UN) - well, there are disturbances all over the world because the UN has no executive power."
"It is not powerful enough, it should be backed up by troops."
"There might be riots everywhere, the UN has not enough sense of reality, they merely talk - should have an army with great striking power."
"The situation all over the world, just the same as the "League of Nations" at that time."
"Disturbances all over the world, non-recognition of the UN by various states which are under Bolshevist rule."
"Because many nations don't want to submit to higher authority."

There's no real desire for agreement between East and West: 1

"West and East differ too widely in their interests, there's no common basis on which to meet."
"There is too wide a gap between the two most powerful nations of the UN, Russia and America, which is brought about by very dangerous policy on both sides." Etc.

Other reasons: 1

"Since Spaak isn't any longer a member you don't hear anything of it." Etc.

No opinion/No answer: 1

20%

Q Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04661

SOME EARLY WEST GERMAN REACTIONS TO THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION

Report No. 173
Series No. 2
February 24, 1953

R OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04662

INTRODUCTION

Following the Republican victory in November, there was considerable discussion and speculation in the West German press and radio on what the new Eisenhower administration might presage for West Germany, Europe and the world as a whole. The fact that the Democrats had been in control in the U.S. during the last two critical decades in German history - the Hitler dictatorship, war and defeat, occupation and Communist aggression - threw the change into sharper focus.

The vital role of U.S. policy toward Germany is widely acknowledged as self-evident among the West German people. Thus it was considered important to ascertain the anticipations of the German rank-and-file regarding the new administration, their expectations as to changes in policy a their preliminary appraisal of the new President, General Eisenhower.

The results as reported here are based on a survey made in December 1952, approximately a month after the U.S. elections. The appraisal thus antedates such developments as President Eisenhower's inaugural address and State of The Union message, as well as the visit of Mr. Dulles to the German Federal capital. However, the views expressed are still relevant; moreover, they furnish a convenient anchor point for consideration of future changes in German thinking that may accompany future decisions and further clarification of American policy regarding Germany.

HIGHLIGHTS

NO MAJOR SHIFT ... in the direction of U.S. policy toward West Germany is now foreseen by the West German public. Over half expect no change at all, and the quarter who do expect some differences lean to the view that only moderate changes are to be expected.

THE VIEW THAT A WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN INTEREST IN EUROPE ... may be a consequence of a Republican administration is of negligible currency in West Germany. On the contrary as many as three in ten anticipate attention to Europe will increase.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S GREATER KNOWLEDGE OF EUROPE ... underlies most arguments by those who foresee more emphasis on Europe under the new regime.

AS TO THE RUSSIAN POLICY ... of the Eisenhower administration confidence is also apparent. A large preponderance says that the Soviet government will now be treated in a less conciliatory way than formerly, a course largely welcomed among West Germans who hold this view.

THE REPUBLICANS WILL HANDLE WORLD PROBLEMS MORE EFFECTIVELY ... than the Democrats did, according to a quarter of the West German public. A similar number feel they will do as good a job as the former regime. Fractions assert they will do as badly as, or worse than, formerly.

Again, the experience and personality of President Eisenhower largely account for the confidence that a change for the better will occur.

04663

THAT MR. EISENHOWER'S PRESTIGE IS HIGH AMONG WEST GERMANS ... is demonstrated throughout this study. The high evaluation placed on his accomplishments and abilities appears the more notable in light of the fact that during the war Germans had been taught to regard him as among their major foes.

CONFIDENCE IN THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION ... is also evidenced in a sum-up query designed to fish out any hidden or vague reservations West Germans might have. Asked if they have any misgivings about the future policy of the new American government, seven in ten reply No. The few (13%) who declare they have some doubts talk mostly about fear of another war.

The public as a whole does not share these fears - the prevailing view being that the election of President Eisenhower will neither increase nor diminish the likelihood of another war.

The survey on which this report is based was conducted throughout West Germany in mid-December 1952 by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. A probability sample of 800 cases representative of the populations in the British, French and U.S. Zones was used. As usual interviewing was done by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German interviewing organization working under contract to the Reactions Analysis Staff.

04664

PREPONDERANCE ANTICIPATES NO CHANGE IN GERMAN POLICY OF THE U.S. ...

Given a month to consider the implications of the American presidential elections as they might apply to their country, the West German public appears to have concluded that there will be no major shift in policy. Over half (55%) do not anticipate any change at all, and the quarter who do expect one, lean to the view that it would be only moderate. Those expecting changes divide fairly evenly on whether the anticipated shift will be in a direction favorable or unfavorable to West Germany.

"As you know, elections for a new government were recently held in America. General Eisenhower was thereby elected president of the United States. As a result the Democratic Party under President Truman will be succeeded in office by the Republican Party under Eisenhower."

"Do you feel that under the new president American policy towards West Germany will change or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Will change considerably	7%	7%	6%	7%
Will change somewhat	16	15	16	16
Will not change	55	56	55	54
Undecided	22	22	23	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Will this change in American policy be favorable or unfavorable for West Germany?" (Asked of those replying "will change.")

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Favorable	11%	12%	8%	10%
Unfavorable	8	8	10	6
Undecided	4	2	4	7
	23%	22%	22%	23%

EXPECTATION OF CHANGES HAS DECREASED ...

Reference to immediate post-election reactions suggests that a longer look at developments since the election has tended to moderate West German expectations of new departures in policy, and has cut into what was possibly an easy optimism that the change would be largely favorable to West Germany.*

"Do you feel that American policy toward West Germany will change under the new president, General Eisenhower, or not? Somewhat or considerably?" (After all told the following:

"In the course of the American presidential elections General Eisenhower was elected the new president of the United States and Governor Stevenson was defeated. Eisenhower belongs to a different party than that Mr. Truman, the current president, belongs to.")

(Nov 5 - 10, 1952)	WEST GERMANY
Will change considerably	12%
Will change somewhat	29
Won't change	30
No opinion	29
	100%

"Will this change in American policy be favorable or unfavorable for Western Germany?" (Asked of all respondents foreseeing changes).

Favorable	25%
Unfavorable	12
No opinion	4
	41%

* Only rough comparison between the December and November results is possible, owing to the fact that in the latter survey the probe "somewhat or considerably" was directly included in the query; in the December survey, such qualifications were recorded only if volunteered.

04666

FEW SEE DECREASED ATTENTION TO EUROPE UNDER THE EISENHOWER REGIME ...

Any thought that the Republican assumption of power presages an American withdrawal of interest in Europe is apparently of almost negligible currency in West Germany. On the contrary, an appreciable proportion express the feeling that greater rather than less attention will be paid to Europe by the new administration. Such a viewpoint could only be expected to increase as a result of president Eisenhower's Inaugural and State of the Union messages, and the visit of Secretary Dulles to Bonn.

"Are you of the opinion that the new American government will, in the future, pay more attention or less attention to Europe than the old government under President Truman or do you think that there will be no change?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
More	30%	30%	31%	30%
Less	3	2	4	3
No change	46	46	44	44
No opinion	21	22	21	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Though the arguments advanced by those who anticipate that the new administration will give increased attention to Europe vary, many of them strike a common note: the change will result from Mr. Eisenhower's greater knowledge of Europe. Some typical comments and the proportions making similar observations are:*

"Because Eisenhower is better informed on the *danger of Communism.*"

"They know they can achieve more in Europe than in Asia - it's a better base from which *to influence Russia* - Siberia's too far away." 8%

"He knows the value of the *importance Europe holds for America* better than Truman."

"The new government knows that *Europe is of great value* and mustn't be lost." 7%

"Because they'll probably very energetically request us to set up *military contingents so that EDC* can become effective finally."

"Because he is well informed and favors our participation in a *European army.*" 5%

"*Eisenhower knows Europe from personal experience* and knows exactly where the shoe pinches."

"Eisenhower *knows more about Europe than* Truman did." 5%

"So that the Russians won't come here and spoil *America's trade with Europe.*" 1%

* Italics added to denote types of comments.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON ANTICIPATION OF CHANGE ...

Opinions on whether or not the new Republican administration will make changes in the German policy are not sharply differentiated among various population groups. The prevailing view among all is that no changes are likely to occur.

"As you know, elections for a new government were recently held in America. General Eisenhower was thereby elected president of the United States. As a result the Democratic Party under President Truman will be succeeded in office by the Republican Party under Eisenhower."

"Do you feel that under the new president American policy towards West Germany will change or not?"

"Will this change in American policy be favorable or unfavorable for West Germany?" (Asked of those replying "Will change.")

	Expect favorable changes	Expect unfavorable changes	Expect no changes	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	14%	9%	63%	14%	100% 383
Women	7	8	48	37	403
Education:					
Elementary school	9	8	55	28	633
Beyond elementary	16	11	55	18	153
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	11	6	53	30	418
300 - 399 DM	10	15	55	20	209
400 DM and more	9	7	63	21	150
Age:					
18 - 24 years	12	14	50	24	80
25 - 34 "	11	11	55	23	187
35 - 44 "	8	5	64	23	166
45 - 54 "	12	8	51	29	160
55 years and over	9	7	54	30	193
Party Preference:					
SPD	9	12	57	22	207
CDU/CSU	12	4	61	23	202
FDP/DP	19	11	59	11	63
Other parties	2	21	62	15	47
No party	8	6	48	38	71
Don't know	9	6	48	37	196
Occupation:					
Professionals	15	8	58	19	26
Businessmen	6	9	58	27	80
White-collar workers	13	8	57	22	110
Skilled laborers	12	12	53	23	183
Semi-skilled laborers	9	4	62	25	93
Farmers	9	5	62	24	82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	7	8	53	32	148
Religion:					
Catholics	10	7	56	27	349
Protestants	10	9	55	26	394
Origin:					
Natives	9	9	56	26	630
Expellees, Refugees	15	7	54	24	151

UPPER STATUS GROUPS MOST INCLINED TO SEE INCREASED ATTENTION TO EUROPE ...

The opinion that President Eisenhower's administration will give more attention to European affairs than did the Truman regime is particularly frequent among the upper status groups - the better educated, higher income groups and the men. Others who also hold this view more often than their counterparts are refugees as compared with "native" Germans and among political groups, affiliates of FDP - though somewhat surprisingly Socialist sympathizers also see increased attention more frequently than CDU followers.

"Are you of the opinion that the new American government will, in the future, pay more attention or less attention to Europe than the old government under President Truman or do you think that there will be no change?"

	More	Less	No change	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	39%	3%	51%	7%...100%	383
Women	22	3	40	35	403
Education:					
Elementary school	28	2	46	24	633
Beyond elementary	38	5	44	13	153
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	25	2	46	27	418
300 - 399 DM	37	2	47	14	209
400 DM and more	35	6	43	16	150
Age:					
18 - 24 years	20	8	51	21	80
25 - 34 "	37	2	42	19	187
35 - 44 "	33	3	48	16	166
45 - 54 "	33	1	42	24	160
55 years and over	23	3	47	27	193
Party Preference:					
SPD	35	2	44	19	207
CDU/CSU	29	4	51	16	202
FDP/DP	45	8	41	6	63
Other parties	30	-	53	17	47
No party	23	3	39	35	71
Don't know	24	2	44	30	196
Occupation:					
Professionals	46	8	35	11	26
Businessmen	32	4	39	25	80
White-collar workers	38	5	47	10	110
Skilled laborers	38	3	39	20	183
Semi-skilled laborers	28	-	48	24	93
Farmers	17	4	61	18	82
Not employed; pensioners; students; retired; etc.	18	3	50	29	148
Religion:					
Catholics	27	3	50	20	349
Protestants	33	3	42	22	394
Origin:					
Natives	27	4	47	22	630
Expellees, Refugees	42	-	38	20	151

04669

On the key issue of policy toward the chief antagonist in the Cold War, confidence is also apparent. Less conciliation of Russia will be an aspect of the new regime according to a large preponderance. And most of those who expect less conciliatory treatment welcome it.

"Are you of the opinion that the new American government will, in the future, be more conciliatory or less conciliatory toward Russia than the old one?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
More conciliatory	6%	7%	5%	3%
Less conciliatory	48	44	51	53
No difference	14	17	12	10
No opinion	32	32	32	34
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Would you approve or disapprove of this?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Less conciliatory" to initial question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Approve	37%	35%	40%	40%
Disapprove	7	6	8	9
No opinion	4	3	3	4
	48%	44%	51%	53%

A firm hand is approved mainly because it is thought to be the only way to make Russia come to terms. (Previous studies by HAS have shown that firmness is the usual German prescription for treating the Russians.)

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
America should be less conciliatory and more determined, only in that way Russian expansion will be checked: If America would not yield so easily as it has so far, then the Russians won't feel so powerful any more; oh dear, when you hear so much of the Russians all the time, you get sort of scared of them, I think it's better not to be conciliatory; it's better if they show they've got guts, then the Russians will be somewhat awed by them; you have no choice, if you give in to the Russians, you'll be the loser; because the Russians will get even bolder, the more yielding you are towards them, the bolder they get; I am of the opinion that the East-West conflict should be settled at last, things can't go on the way they are now, the American government should use plain language with them; because the Russians show greater respect for a firm policy than for a conciliatory course; they should get tough with the Russians, because these have no intention of giving in; one must be firm with the Russians, if one raises hell, that's better; in that way the danger from the East will become less grave; maybe the Russians wouldn't be quite so high-handed any more; because in that way they might get the Russians to their knees; etc.	22%	22%	21%	23%

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

04670

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
The Russians do what they please, they don't give a hoot about treaties and agreements: Because the Russians believe that they alone decide things in the whole world; because the Russians have been pretty bold recently; things can't go on the way they are now, just take the abductions and the arrogant behavior of the Russians at conferences; Russia shouldn't be allowed to go on doing just what it pleases, they've caused enough trouble all over the world as it is; because the Russians won't release our POWs, for one reason, these wretched people of ours who still are far from home; because of the way the Russians act, they obstruct and oppose just everything; there's no issue left on which we could compromise, the Russians get bolder all the time, besides; etc.	6%	5%	7%	5%
To reject Communism is to our own benefit, Communism would be our undoing: Because otherwise we Germans are lost; because I'm opposed to Communism; Communism wants our ruin, therefore we have to fight it with all means at our disposal; I hate Communism, I'll support any element that fights Communism; because I'm against Communism and hope for a free Germany; I used to live in the Russian Zone, I would never approve of the course of action the Russians follow; because a free nation simply can't stand a Soviet-type government; etc.	5	5	5	2
Eisenhower will not put up with anything dealing with the Russians: Eisenhower will not put up with anything, he'll put his foot down, up till now it's always been the Russians who put their foot down; the political issues should at long last be clarified, take, for instance, the Oder - Neisse-line, Eisenhower will insist on it that the Russians return this German territory; America has always been conciliatory up to now, therefore Russia could do what it pleased, it can't do that from now on; etc.	1	1	2	-
It may ease chances to negotiate: Psychologically it's the right thing to do, for the others will then give in more easily; etc.	1	1	2	-
Other answers: You can't maintain friendly relations with Russia, Russia has to be destroyed and subdivided into individual independent states; it's wiser than to strike right away, it would be a catastrophe if things were different; etc.	2	1	3	8
No opinion / No answer:	1 38%**	* 35%	1 41%**	2 40%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04671

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON RUSSIAN POLICY ...

Whereas a firmer stand against Russia on the part of the new administration is the predominant anticipation of all groups with opinions on the matter, the upper status segments of the West German population again more frequently than others hold this view, as do FDP followers among political groups.

"Are you of the opinion that the new American government will, in the future, be more conciliatory or less conciliatory toward Russia than the old one?"

	More conciliatory	Less conciliatory	No difference	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	8%	59%	16%	17%	100% 383
Women	5	37	12	46	403
Education:					
Elementary school	6	43	14	37	633
Beyond elementary	7	65	14	14	153
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	6	41	12	41	418
300 - 399 DM	6	53	17	24	209
400 DM and more	7	58	17	18	150
Age:					
18 - 24 years	4	40	22	34	80
25 - 34 "	5	56	15	24	187
35 - 44 "	7	47	14	32	166
45 - 54 "	5	50	14	31	160
55 years and over	8	41	10	41	193
Party Preference:					
SPD	8	51	15	26	207
CDU/CSU	6	55	15	24	202
FDP/DP	5	66	16	13	63
Other parties	6	51	13	30	47
No party	3	41	10	46	71
Don't know	6	32	13	49	196
Occupation:					
Professionals	12	69	4	15	26
Businessmen	5	60	10	25	80
White-collar workers	4	59	19	18	110
Skilled laborers	5	53	13	29	183
Semi-skilled laborers	10	32	24	34	93
Farmers	5	45	16	34	82
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	9	35	11	45	148
Religion:					
Catholics	5	46	15	34	349
Protestants	6	48	14	32	394
Origin:					
Natives	6	47	14	33	630
Expellees, Refugees	5	49	15	31	151

04672

AND MANY EXPECT MORE SUCCESS IN WORLD AFFAIRS, GENERALLY ...

Confidence in the new Republican regime is also apparent when its effectiveness on the world stage is considered. A quarter of the West German population declare that the Eisenhower administration will do a better job in international affairs than was done under the Truman regime. When it is recalled that the West Germans have evinced general satisfaction with the principles of the U.S. international policy under the former administration - e.g. the Marshall plan, EDC, West European Union, the stand in Korea, etc. - a favorable comparison with it is also an indication of confidence.

"And do you believe that the new American government under Eisenhower will deal better with world political difficulties than the old government under President Truman, or deal worse with them?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Better	25%	22%	28%	31%
Worse	7	6	7	6
As well as the old one	29	36	22	24
As badly as the old one	8	8	10	2
No opinion	31	28	33	37
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Almost without exception, expectations of a more successful treatment of international difficulties, as voiced by the West Germans, stem from respect for the experience and personality of President Eisenhower, as may be noted in their catalogued comments below.

"Why do you believe the new American government will deal better with world political difficulties?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Better" to initial question).

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Because Eisenhower is more vigorous and determined: Because Eisenhower realizes that by showing a strong hand he will more easily and within a shorter period overcome the difficulties in the political and the economic field than did the Democratic government in office up till now; Eisenhower isn't so half-hearted, he will show a strong hand, he knows what he is after, he can't be led by the nose; Eisenhower is more energetic than Truman, he won't put up with any monkey business; because Eisenhower will go at things with more vigour; they will not waver from their course, they will carry out their plans and projects more rigorously and without delay; the new administration will assert itself by showing more spirit, they won't be so indolent; Eisenhower is a man of spirit, he isn't so hesitating and cautious as is Truman; etc.	10%	9%	12%	13%

(cont'd on next page)

04673

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	Fr. Zone
Because Eisenhower is a soldier, he will be more effective: As he is a soldier, Eisenhower will be more able to assert himself; because Eisenhower is a military man, I believe he is more thoroughly acquainted with conditions in general and he won't stand any nonsense; because Eisenhower has been a soldier for so long, he is closer to his fellow-countrymen, as a soldier he knows what's up and how to prevent another war; because Eisenhower is above all a soldier, he has more insight and a better judgment regarding the Korean problem; as the president will be a general, he will show better judgment in military matters, he, too, will try harder to preserve peace, for he knows all about the horrors of war from his own experience; etc.	5%	4%	5%	9%
Because Eisenhower knows the world: Eisenhower and his staff know the world better than Truman does, they have travelled to foreign countries and resided abroad, while Truman has never been outside the U.S.; Eisenhower is a very able man, he is thoroughly familiar with European affairs and knows better how to handle men; because Eisenhower has seen more of the world and is, therefore, better informed than Truman; because he knows Europe and is therefore in a better position to judge things; etc.	4	5	4	5
Because new ideas will be introduced into American politics: Because it means a stimulation to American politics, new men in the government will have new aims in view; because they'll go about the job with new ideas, new brooms sweep clean; etc.	2	1	2	-
Because Eisenhower will fight Communism more vigorously: President Eisenhower will fight the East in order to liberate the German territories in the East; Eisenhower will be more determined in fighting Communism; etc.	1	*	-	3
Because Eisenhower has been elected president: As he commands the majority of votes, a bill introduced by him will be passed more quickly; because otherwise people wouldn't have voted for Eisenhower; etc.	1	*	2	-
Other answers: They will have a better chance to succeed because Truman was unable to cope with problems effectively; American industry works ceaselessly, I mean the armament industry, no need to say more; I think the military strength of America will increase; etc.	3	3	4	3
No opinion / No answer:	1	1	1	-
	27%**	23%**	30%**	33%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MR. EISENHOWER'S PRESTIGE IS HIGH AMONG WEST GERMANS ...

As the foregoing findings have indicated, President Eisenhower enjoys considerable prestige among the West German public. The full extent of his prestige is thrown into sharper focus in response to more direct inquiries as to what in German opinion constitutes his strengths and weaknesses. Though half of the German rank-and-file do not feel themselves sufficiently informed to estimate Mr. Eisenhower's strong points, those who do are very complimentary. Their evaluation is the more notable since the Germans had during the war years been taught to regard the General as one of their major enemies.

"Considering all you have heard or read about President Eisenhower, what are, in your opinion, his strong points? (What else?)"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
His reputation as an excellent military strategist and general: He is a soldier and strategist; he is an able commander-in-chief, he shows greater insight in strategic matters; he is an outstanding strategist and as a soldier he looks at the over-all developments in world politics more soberly; he was a soldier and I'm sure he knows what he's after; he is a keen strategist, whatever may happen, he will size up the situation correctly right away; in military matters he is sure of himself and methodical; all I know is that Eisenhower was the most outstanding general in the war; his experience as a soldier; he is an able commander-in-chief, we could see that back in 1945; he is an able strategist; military problems, that's his strong point; I believe that he is an experienced soldier; etc.	28%	28%	28%	32%
His vigour, the quickness of his decisions, his far-sightedness and intelligence: He isn't a bureaucrat, he is more candid, he is quicker in coming to a decision, he is a man of spirit; he is energetic, far-sighted; he is a disciplined person and trustworthy; his perseverance, his perspicacity and his ability to act when the right moment has come; he is able to see what has to be done in any given situation; his spirit of enterprise; his self-confident manner; I guess he'll act more quickly regarding political matters, he is a diplomat experienced in the ways of the world; that he is purposeful and determined; I think he's got a keen mind and great energy; he is a clever man; etc.	15	16	16	10

(cont'd on next page)

04675

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
His great popularity: That he is well-liked as a general; he is more widely known, especially in Germany, too; his fellow-countrymen like him; his popularity in America; his immense popularity in America; he commands the respect of people back home as well as all over the world; Eisenhower is very popular in America as well as in Europe; he is immensely popular; his way of handling co-workers, his great popularity in the States, his friendly relations with officials in England; etc.	8%	9%	6%	12%
His knowledge of other countries, above all European countries: That he personally is acquainted with conditions in Germany and Europe; that he knows more about Europe than does Truman, he has been in Germany, after all; he knows Europe better than any of the other presidential candidates; he knows other countries, as he has been a general; etc.	5	6	3	5
His fight for peace (against war): He rejects war in any form; as he is a soldier, he knows what war means, he will try to prevent another war; he wants to end the Korean conflict by peaceful means, he is always ready to conclude a peace, to help the suppressed; etc.	2	2	2	3
His influence in the business sphere: His influence on the heavy industries; that he is backed by industrialist circles; etc.	1	*	*	3
Other answers: He is in contact with all statesmen there are; he will be able to end the Korean conflict at an earlier date and will increase the military strength of the West; he realizes the Communist threat and will therefore courageously face it; his army and air force; etc.	5	4	5	5
No strong points:	3	3	2	2
No opinion / No answer:	49	48	53	44
	116%**	116%**	115%**	116%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04676

PREPONDERANCE CANNOT SPECIFY ANY FAILINGS ...

Added indication of President Eisenhower's good reputation among the German people is that when queried directly on the point, 80 per cent are unable to come up with any weakness they think he might have. About a fifth, indeed, declare that as far as they know, he has not any marked failings. Particularly significant in this regard is the finding that only two in every hundred mention that he allegedly retains anti-German attitudes as an aftermath of the war.

"And what are his weak points? (What else?)"

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
I don't know of any particular weak points of Eisenhower, from all you see and hear of him you get a good impression - everybody has his weak points: I don't know of any weak points of his; you only hear about his strong points; don't know of any; I don't know so much of this man, I read quite a lot about him and got the impression that he is good for us; he mightn't have any; I'm not inclined to think that he has any outstanding weak points; everybody has his weak points, why should Eisenhower not have any; don't know, but all have their faults; etc.	17%	19%	16%	14%
Eisenhower is no politician - he is lacking in far-sightedness and diplomatic abilities: He is not a politician, he is wanting in far-sightedness, he is wanting in diplomatic abilities; as a statesman he has not yet made his appearance; he is not the office type, he needs experience for his new occupation; he changes his opinion too quickly, his German policy is a proof of that, no far-sightedness; he is not as experienced in the political and diplomatic fields as a president should be; perhaps he should have more political experience; in the diplomatic field he is not sufficiently skilled; from his election speeches it can be taken that he isn't firm in the saddle as regards high politics; he is not enough of a diplomat; etc.	8	9	6	6
Eisenhower is a soldier - not a politician: That he is only a military man; he isn't sufficiently skilled in politics, he is too much of a military man; he is a commander-in-chief and not a politician; too much of a military man, doesn't know enough of politics; he is a militarist; he is more of a general than a politician, that says enough; etc.	3	6	5	2

(cont'd on next page)

04677

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Anti-German feelings: That he is a German-hater; that formerly he was very anti-German; he has only a slight interest in Germany; he is too much under the influence of people in America who don't like the Germans; he is known to be a German-hater; that he is a German-hater, that's a weak point, to my mind; etc.	2%	3%	1%	3%
Eisenhower submits too easily to the will of others - he is not free in his decisions: He takes advice from others too easily, he isn't very suitable as a diplomat; he isn't free in his decisions, the military obedience is still very strong with him; submits too easily to the will of others, his sentence: "the bosses want it;" etc.	1	*	2	1
Eisenhower has given, as yet, no proof of his abilities in the economic field: From the economic point of view he hasn't yet proved that he is any good; that, as a soldier, he is more inclined to fight and would treat the economic side as a matter of minor importance; etc.	1	1	-	1
Eisenhower, as a soldier, will strive for war: He is a soldier and war is his profession, so he will strive for war; as Eisenhower is a born soldier it's possible that his politics may lead to war; as a former general he will be in favor of war; etc.	1	1	*	1
Other answers: That perhaps he isn't too bright; he is a little bit too hasty; the difficulties in respect of the Korea issue, he hasn't had any success, that means that he has promised too much; that remains to be seen from his future policy; etc.	3	3	2	7
Don't know enough of Eisenhower: I don't know that man and I am not interested in him either; I don't know enough of him; up to now I didn't take any interest in it; no idea; etc.	20	17	24	24
No opinion / No answer:	43	42	45	44
	101%**	101%**	101%**	103%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

LARGE MAJORITY HAS NO MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE FUTURE POLICY OF THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION ...

Finally, in order to fish out any hidden or vague reservations the West German people might have regarding the new regime in the U.S., they were queried in terms that deliberately elicited such negative views as might exist. But here also the response was definitely favorable. The large majority of people (70%) declare that they personally have no misgivings about the new government's future policy.

"Do you personally have any misgivings regarding the future policy of the new American government?(What are they?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes	13%	12%	13%	14%
No, none	70	70	73	63
No opinion	17	18	14	23
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The fears of the few who do have misgivings almost entirely (10%) have to do with a possible outbreak of another war, but a handful suspect that the Republican regime will pursue a policy of self-interest or become too dictatorial.

AND WILL ~~NOT~~ Not BRING A WAR CLOSER ...

Among West German people as a whole, however, the prevailing opinion (56%) is that the election of Mr. Eisenhower will neither increase nor diminish the likelihood of another war. Indeed, a few (4%) believe his election will help to prevent a war's outbreak. In contrast, only 15 per cent assert that the fact that Mr. Eisenhower was elected increases the chances of a new war, largely as will be noted in the comments listed on the next page, because of his military association. (The handful who see the Eisenhower election as diminishing the likelihood of another war argue mostly that Russia is afraid of the General.)

"In your opinion, has the fact that General Eisenhower has been elected to office in America any influence on the danger of a new world war or does it have no effect on it?"
(If "Yes, influence": "Has the danger of a new world war become greater or less as a result?")

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, influence - greater	15%	15%	16%	13%
Yes, influence - less	4	5	2	3
No, hasn't any effect on it	56	58	57	51
No opinion	25	22	25	33
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Why do you believe that?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Yes, influence - greater" to initial question):

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Eisenhower is a soldier, he thinks like a soldier, he loves war and power: Well, Eisenhower has been a soldier for a long time, I say he loves war; if a militarist becomes head of a state, his ambitions as a military commander may in the long run come to the surface again; as I told you already, he made the military profession his career, even if he claims to have other aims in view, he longs for power; because Eisenhower who is a general was elected president, a general wants to show his power; because he is a soldier, his profession is to wage war, his argument in politics will be the force of arms; because as a general he will pay too much attention to the military side of problems; I am afraid the danger of war will be increased as this man has been a soldier all his life and at that age a person can't adjust himself to changed conditions; Eisenhower is a general and likes to rattle with the sabre; a soldier will always be a soldier; because of his speech about Korea; he said Korea is the first step in fighting Communism, and what will be the second one? - he is a militarist; etc.	7%	8%	6%	4%
Eisenhower will not yield, he is no diplomat, settling conflicts peaceably is out of his way (as he is a soldier): Eisenhower is a soldier, he will draw the line somewhere, if the Russians commit some sort of outrage, Eisenhower will strike; because he hates the Russians and he is a military man, he doggedly will go his own way; because he won't yield on anything, if none of the opponents will give in, there must be a clash some day; as he will not yield the situation will become critical; because he will be more firm dealing with the Russians; because he is a soldier by profession and to act as mediator in settling disputes will just not be in his line; Eisenhower is a militarist, he has little diplomatic skill, he will misjudge things; because he is much more vigorous, thus it's possible that he will start a war right away; because he isn't willing to compromise on an issue; etc.	6	5	8	7

(cont'd on next page)

	WEST GERMANY	Brit. Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Eisenhower will step up the armament program and strengthen the armed forces - Russia will feel threatened: Because under Eisenhower the United States will become a country ruled by a military clique, and that will have a great influence on a possible future war; Eisenhower is in favor of the armament drive and strong armed forces, he works towards a new war and means to win it; now things will be pushed ahead, as to an army it will probably be set up soon now, I guess; because Eisenhower will resort to power politics to a greater extent, they will use cannons and the like; I guess the Russians won't look on for too long while the West strengthens its defense, they feel threatened; etc.	1%	1%	2%	1%
Other answers: Because Eisenhower wants to continue the war in Korea; because he is inexperienced in the fields of politics and business; etc.	1	1	-	1
No opinion / No answer:	15%	15%	16%	13%

04681

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER:
AS APPRAISED BY THE WEST GERMAN PEOPLE:
A Continuing Study of Civilian-Troop Relations

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
OPINIONS/ANALYSIS STAFF

04682

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER
AS APPRAISED BY THE WEST GERMAN PEOPLE

A Continuing Study of Civilian-Troop Relations

Report No. 174
Series No. 2
March 5, 1953

04683

INTRODUCTION

In the past months, US Armed Forces authorities have cooperated closely with American public affairs officials in a program designed to further good relations between the American forces stationed in West Germany and the German people. So far, the joint efforts have largely been directed toward improving personal relations, as for example during the 1952 Christmas season. But the current study suggests that the effect of such efforts may extend beyond personal relations and contribute also higher regard for the soldierly qualities of the US forces.

The Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, conducted a survey in late 1951* the results of which pointed out areas where need for greater understanding of the American Armed Forces on the part of the West German people, and improvement in relations was indicated. The present study constitutes a follow-up on this initial appraisal - including similar questions for trend comparisons as well as new inquiries designed to throw more light on basic issues.

The results as found in the present survey disclose an upward trend in estimates of the American soldier in every area where comparisons are available. And in areas where no trends exist, opinions also tend to be favorable rather than unfavorable. Though it is always difficult in survey research to relate effects to particular causes, the consistently upward trend in appraisal of the American troops makes it possible to infer that the joint Armed Forces - Public Affairs program has had a good deal to do with the results.

This does not mean that no problems remain. It would be unreasonable to expect this, and the findings continue to point out many areas in which there is considerable scope for increased efforts to improve the situation. But on the whole, the gains are impressive and the basic appraisal good.

HIGHLIGHTS

I. Civilian - Troop Relations

EFFORTS TO IMPROVE CIVILIAN-TROOP RELATIONS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVE.

The development of better rapport during the past year between American soldiers and the German public is noted by 44 per cent of the US Zone population. Only 2 per cent assert that relations have worsened. Total West German figures are equally impressive - 36 per cent say rapport is better, 2 per cent worse, 28 per cent no change and the rest - 34 per cent - express no opinion.

THAT AMERICAN SOLDIERS DO THEIR PART IN PROMOTING GOOD RELATIONS ... is apparent from the comments of the German public. Germans note a more friendly approach - soldiers "pass the time of day" with them; they act with consideration and politeness in public (they do not quarrel and argue as much in bars any more); they yield seats on trolleys to aged or infirm Germans; they drive their cars more carefully, and the like.

* RAS Report No. 119, entitled "The German Appraisal of the Allied Forces in West Germany - With Recommendations for Improved Citizen-Soldier Relations," dated January 28, 1952.

04684

CHRISTMAS ACTIVITIES ... among the US troops and German civilians went over very well. Two thirds of the US Zone residents know of them and over half of the West German public.

Almost all who know of the program say it was a real contribution to improved relations.

The soldiers' part in the interchange - gifts to children and the needy and parties - are mentioned more frequently than the German public's part - invitations from German families to soldiers.

AWARENESS OF OTHER ARMED FORCES PROGRAMS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS IS MORE LIMITED. Only 16 per cent say they know of such efforts, and many of these mention US programs and activities that are not Army - sponsored. This supports the interpretation that as far as most West Germans are concerned, improvement in relations operates on an everyday, more personal basis rather than formally. It should be kept in mind in this connection, that unawareness of the program does not necessarily mean that it is ineffective. Indeed, actual effectiveness may well be greater if people are not aware that there is an organized effort to improve relations than if they are aware of such efforts.

BEHAVIOR OF THE US SOLDIERS CONTINUES TO BE RATED GOOD ... by the preponderance of West Germans.

Though estimates in this regard have always tended to the favorable rather than otherwise, indications in the present study are that an upward rise may be in progress.

Probably the hardest-to-reach group from the standpoint of civilian - soldier relations is that which thinks the American soldiers are badly behaved. It is important to note that this group, always small, may have become even smaller during the year. For the time being a decrease cannot be proved reliably beyond chance, but if succeeding studies should indicate that the drop is an actual one, it would signify an important gain for the Armed Forces.

II. Appraisal of Combat Qualities

ON COMBAT QUALITIES, A HIGHER EVALUATION IS ALSO ACCORDED THE AMERICAN SOLDIER THIS YEAR THAN LAST ...

On the key question in this regard - how would American soldiers fight if attacked by the Russians - the US troops emerge in a much more favorable light than they did a year ago. Taking US Zone reactions as an illustration, the number saying Americans would put up a good fight against the Russians has risen 11 points during the year with a corresponding decline of 8 points in the proportion saying they would fight badly in such an event. In all, 54 per cent now say the US soldiers would fight fairly well or well against Russian aggression as compared with 42 per cent as of last year.

Indications are also that Britain and French zone residents place a higher evaluation on the fighting abilities of the American troops than they did last year vis-a-vis British and French troops. However, as stated in the body of this report, caution is required in interpreting these findings.

THE KOREAN RECORD ... has raised German regard for the American soldiers among more than a quarter of the population.

In contrast, only about one in ten say their impression has been worsened as a result of what they have heard or read about Korea. Thus the advantage to the US soldiers from the Korean conflict is over two to one.

Indications are also that this advantage can be raised by added informational efforts. The comments of the 10 per cent whose estimate of the American troops has worsened as a result of Korea reveal that they are generally misinformed about the state of affairs there. More accurate information could contribute to changing the estimates not only of this group but of the larger group which seems to know little or nothing about the American position in Korea.

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER COMPARED AS A FIGHTING MAN ... with troops of the four occupying powers and former German soldiers is now ranked in second place behind the Germans more frequently than a year ago, and less often placed last.

HOWEVER, THE RUSSIAN SOLDIER CONTINUES TO BE RATED SUPERIOR TO THE AMERICAN SOLDIER ... for reasons that offer little scope for emulation on the part of the US Armed Forces.

Germans apparently drawing on their past experiences stress what they regard as the Russians' primitive, brutal qualities, as explaining their superiority to the Americans.

Unless the Germans are persuaded of the paramount role played by training, materiel, education and brains in a modern army their relatively high regard for the Russians as soldiers will probably continue to prevail.

BY FAR THE MOST FREQUENTLY NAMED STRENGTH (49%) OF THE AMERICAN ARMY IN GERMAN OPINIONS IS THE MATERIEL AND EQUIPMENT. BUT OTHER FACTORS ARE ALSO NAMED: among them are the strength of character of the US soldier, his high living standard, his good health and interest in sports, and the informal relations between officers and men.

AMONG THE WEAKNESSES CITED - each of which is mentioned by relatively small fractions - are that the American soldiers are not particularly brave, lack endurance or are soft, are not disciplined enough, are pampered.

III. General Evaluation of the Forces' Presence in Germany

IN LISTING ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS' PRESENCE IN GERMANY ... the number declaring there are no advantages has dropped by almost half - from 33 per cent in 1951 to 19 per cent in 1953. Correspondingly, those saying there are no disadvantages has risen from 4 to 16 per cent.

THE SECURITY AGAINST AGGRESSION AFFORDED BY THE TROOPS' PRESENCE GAINS LEADING (51%) MENTION.

Next are the economic benefits - largely dollar-mark exchanges (38%). Greater international understanding consequent to improved German - American relations is also mentioned.

DISADVANTAGES CITED ARE ALMOST ENTIRELY (75%) CONCERNED WITH THE COSTS OF THE OCCUPATION.

It is important to note in this regard, however, that the proportion mentioning economic advantages has almost doubled during the past year, which points up the value of such information as has been given on the overall dollar expenditures in Germany of the Armed Forces.

Only 2 per cent suggest that the presence of the American Forces might tend to provoke Russian aggression.

CONFIDENCE IN THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS ... is expressed in another direction - large majorities recommend that the American as well as the Allied Forces in general should stay in Germany rather than withdraw.

Here also an upward trend is apparent - more people this year than last want the Western Forces to remain.

THE DESIRE TO HAVE THE TROOPS STAY ON IN GERMANY CUTS THROUGH ALL AREAS OF CRITICISM OF THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS.

Almost without exception majorities of the people who voice criticisms want the troops to stay in Germany. Even the highly critical group which predicts that the Americans would fight poorly in the event of Russian aggression gives majority preference for retention of the Forces.

THUS THE CRITICISMS AS VOICED IN THIS STUDY MAY BE REGARDED MORE IN THE NATURE OF IRRITATIONS OR "GRIPES" THAN AS AN INDICATION OF BASIC ESTRANGEMENT ON THE PART OF SOME GROUPS TOWARD THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS.

ADDITIONAL ALLIED FORCES IN WEST GERMANY ... are, however, disapproved by the preponderance (46%) of West Germans.

Only three in ten would welcome more troops should such a step be contemplated.

THE FINANCIAL BURDEN ... to the West German people is the leading argument advanced by those who oppose increase in troop strength.

IV. Reactions to Some Issues and Problems

THE WAY AMERICAN FAMILIES LIVE IN WEST GERMANY ... causes little criticism among West German people.

A few say Americans live too extravagantly, but the great bulk of the German public have nothing adverse to say, despite the fact that the inquiry was phrased to invite expressions of such critical views as might exist.

WHETHER OR NOT AMERICAN FAMILIES SHOULD BE IN GERMANY ... is however another matter.

Opinions on this issue devide fairly evenly pro and con.

THE FINANCIAL BURDEN AND THE HOUSING SHORTAGE ... are cited frequently as reasons for saying it would be better if army families did not come to Germany.

ON THE ISSUE OF THE CARE GIVEN TO US TROOPS IN GERMANY ... the German people lean slightly toward the view that it is just about what it should be, though a third say American soldiers are coddled.

EXTRAVAGANT LIVING, TOO HIGH PAY, TOO MUCH PAMPERING ... are among the points given by the minority who find fault with the treatment accorded US troops.

Only a very few (4%) allege that the Americans are poor soldiers because they live too comfortably.

THE PROBLEM OF REQUISITIONING IN GERMAN OPINION APPEARS TO BE A THING OF THE PAST DESPITE THE RELATION MANY SEE BETWEEN THE HOUSING SHORTAGE AND AMERICAN DEMANDS.

THE US ARMY NO LONGER REQUISITIONS, according to three in ten West Germans (36% in the US Zone).

AND MAKES EVERY EFFORT TO DE-REQUISITION ... as much as possible, in the opinion of a majority.

BUT PAST EXPERIENCES WITH REQUISITIONING HAVE LEFT A BAD TASTE AMONG MANY GERMANS, NOTABLY IN THE US ZONE.

In the US Zone a preponderance of more than two to one say people were unjustly treated when their property was taken over.

These bitter memories together with the continuing lack of adequate housing, now aggravated by the influx of refugees, could probably create difficulties should large-scale requisitioning be resumed.

THE CURFEW FOR US FORCES ... is not well known among West Germans. Only about a fifth say American soldiers are subject to a curfew, and only about one in ten know it went into effect fairly recently.

BUT THE IDEA OF A CURFEW IS ENDORSED BY A LARGE PREPONDERANCE OF WEST GERMANS ... 82 per cent are for it, and only 4 per cent are against it. That a curfew reduces the chance for incidents is the main argument for it, but others also point out that it improves troop quality.

A DECISION TO PERMIT AMERICAN SOLDIERS TO WEAR CIVILIAN CLOTHING WHEN OFF-DUTY ... would be welcomed by about as many West Germans as would oppose it. In the US Zone, however, the weight of opinion is against the idea.

Disadvantages cited reflect a general view that it would be better for all concerned - the German people, German and US authorities, and the soldiers themselves - if it remains possible to recognize the soldiers because of their uniform.

Advantages seen from permitting the soldiers to wear civilian attire are mainly that it would lead to improved civilian-troop relations, and that the soldiers would feel less restricted, more like human beings if they could get out of uniform on occasion.

04688

MILITARY DISPLAYS - PARADES AND WEAPON SHOWS ... are disapproved by a large preponderance of West Germans.

They encourage militarism, are not interesting and cost the Germans money according to opponents of such displays.

The few who favor military displays argue that they demonstrate American strength and protection, frighten the Russians, and give the troops needed training.

The survey on which the most recent findings in this report are based was made in January 1953, by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. The probability sample used included 1,600 cases representative of the populations in the US, British and French zones of West Germany. Throughout the report reference is made to findings of an earlier survey made in December 1951. This study utilized a probability sample of 1,200 cases, also representative of the West German population.

Interviews in both studies were conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German interviewing organization under contract to the Reactions Analysis Staff.

Evidence that the sample employed is accurately representative of the West German population (18 to 79 years of age) lies in the close correspondence between sample proportions on certain test variables and census values from the latest official statistics:

	Males	Age (20/39)	Catholics	Natives
January sample	46.0%	38.5%	46.0%	81.0%
Census values	45.4%	39.1%	45.3%	80.2%

04689

I. APPRAISAL OF RELATIONS BETWEEN GERMAN CIVILIANS AND US TROOPS

MANY WEST GERMANS SAY SOLDIER-CIVILIAN RELATIONS HAVE IMPROVED ...

Efforts on the part of the US Armed Forces and the High Commissioner's Office to improve soldier-civilian relations in West Germany have been effective, judging by West German opinions. More than a third (36%) in West Germany as a whole - and 44 per cent in the US Zone, where most of the troops are stationed - have noted an improvement in relations between the US troops and the German people during the course of the past year. Only a miniscule 2 per cent assert that relations between the two groups have deteriorated.

"Do you have the impression that the relations between the American soldiers and the German civilian population have improved or worsened during the last year?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Improved	36%	31%	44%	34%
Worsened	2	2	2	1
Remained unchanged	28	30	26	26
No opinion	34	37	28	39
	100%	100%	100%	100%

A more pointed test is the appraisal of people who actually come in contact with American soldiers, either in passing or through acquaintanceship with them. Among such people the reaction is even more favorable - the more American soldiers West Germans see the more likely they are to note an improvement in relations. Similarly, those who are well acquainted with some US soldiers declare more frequently than those who do not know any that rapport is better.

	During the Past Year, Relations Between American Soldiers and German Civilians Have:				
	Improved	Worsened	Remained unchanged	Undecided	No. of cases
Average Number of US Soldiers Seen Weekly:					
Eleven or more	52%	3%	31%	14%...100%	249
Ten - 4	50	2	27	21	98
Three or less	42	3	25	30	132
None	31	1	28	40	1111
Know Some US Soldiers:					
Well	53%	2%	29%	16%...100%	205
Superficially	39	2	31	28	327
Know none	32	2	27	39	1061

IMPROVEMENTS NOTED AT GRASS-ROOTS LEVEL ...

The illustrative comments of those noting improved soldier-civilian relations indicate that increased mutual understanding is operating informally at the grass-root level. Observations such as the following bear out the influence of informal contacts: "The soldiers are cordial- they are very friendly, talk to Germans, ask them how they are and where they work"; "Christmas parties were arranged, opinions exchanged, there is a growing familiarity with each other"; "Soldiers in street cars offer their seats to aged Germans, they drive more cautiously, a soldier saved a child from drowning," and "The average American got to know and appreciate the Germans - he is polite, affable, friendly - feelings of hatred have almost completely disappeared." Detailed comments are listed below in order of frequency of mention.

"Do you have the impression that the relations between the American soldiers and the German civilian population have improved or worsened during the last year?"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
<u>More mutual cordiality, understanding and friendliness</u>				
Because we are used to each other, we got to know the free American way of thinking so that we are now able to appreciate their opinions - I don't meet them very often; the Americans treat our people more cordially now, they have become more friendly; because of a more friendly attitude on the part of the American soldiers, relations in all fields have improved; they are more friendly toward the civilian population; they have come to a closer understanding as one human being to the other - up to now the soldiers were regarded as a foreign power; through close contact with the Germans many wounds have healed in the course of time - they found out that the Germans are not the bad lot as that they had been described; through the cordiality of the soldiers - they are very friendly, they talk to Germans, ask them how they are and where they work; you see it when they talk to people, exchanging opinions and so on, it's no longer as bad as it used to be; mutual understanding and consideration have grown; well, there was sufficient time to get to know each other - relations between civilians and soldiers have improved considerably; today people are more inclined to get together with soldiers, they often have talks with them; because they are more often in company with Germans, formerly they were chiefly in their billets, now they go out and come in contact with the civilian population; etc.		13%	12%	15%	15%
<u>Personal contacts through joint entertainment, invitations, etc.</u>				
Because Christmas parties were arranged - opinions were exchanged, there's a growing mutual familiarity; for instance, soldiers were invited for Christmas by German families, from that I take it that relations have improved; with regard to relations between one human being and the other, many soldiers and officers were invited to German homes for Christmas; by opening homes to the soldiers, invitations, American families inviting German children; there's a feeling of belonging				

(Cont'd on next page)

04691

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
together; a sort of comradeship was formed by closer contacts; Germans are now invited to receptions; through contacts between families and soldiers; etc.	5%	6%	6%	3%
Their behavior has improved - fewer incidents				
Because they behave more politely, they treat us better than they used to do; that they behave decently; the Americans are no longer so inconsiderate as regards traffic; there are no longer so many quarrels, as for children they are outright friendly toward them; the number of assaults on Germans has decreased; you don't hear of incidents of any kind; on better terms with the German population - there are fewer incidents; for instance that soldiers in street cars offer their seats to aged Germans, they drive more cautiously, a soldier saved a child from drowning; etc.	5	3	8	4
They no longer feel as conquerors - hatred has subsided - German equality of rights				
The Americans don't act the conquerors anymore, I mean they are not so bossy any longer; it could still be better but I feel that the Americans have adapted themselves to our way and do no longer show off as the victors; there's more contact now and that leads to a better mutual understanding; the Americans show more interest for our way of living and get more and more friendly - the old hatred seems to be buried; the average American got to know the Germans and begins to appreciate them, he is polite, affable, friendly, feelings of hatred have vanished almost completely; they take more notice of us and our suggestions, they have done away with 'occupation manners,' - there is even, in my opinion, a beginning equality of rights; the Americans no longer regard us as beggars but as people with equal rights; hatred has subsided - we are again regarded as human beings; etc.	4	3	4	4
Mutual cooperation and assistance, politically and economically				
By laws which affect both sides, MP and German police - excellent cooperation; MP and our police have a better cooperation; cooperation with the local police functions more smoothly, Americans now have to pay themselves for the people they employ and that's better; economically, by exchange of consumer goods - EDC treaty; the Americans try hard to improve living conditions; by supplying food - and both, Germans as well as Americans are eager to get into contact with one another; etc.	3	3	4	1
It's generally said that relations have improved				
Well, I heard that relations have improved; morale has generally improved - that's all I could say because I don't know any Americans; everything has calmed down in the course of time, people got used to the soldiers; it must have improved since 1945, that's clear as daylight; from what I read in the papers their behavior should be good; etc.	3	2	3	4

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Marriages between Americans and Germans The soldiers married German women, that brought about a closer contact; there's no American occupation here, but it's what I think - the Americans marry German girls after all; there are more cases of soldiers marrying German girls; etc.	1%	1%	1%	2%
The attitude of the Americans has become more friendly because they need us as their Allies (against the East) I suppose that the former hatred isn't stirred up anymore because they need us and recognize the value we might have for them; recently the Americans have tried hard to get on better terms with the Germans, they might very well need us; because it dawned on them that it might be useful to be on friendly terms, menace from the East; etc.	1	1	2	-
Other reasons By cultural exchange, exchange of students, Amerika-Haeuser, thereby promoting mutual understanding between both nations; if you hear people talk about their fear of Russians they are glad that we have them (the Americans) here; what young people get out of it, you get better wages now so it's easier to get along with them; regarding the language; they show consideration for the people; etc.	3	1	4	2
No opinion/No answer	2	2	1	2
	40%@	34%@	48%@	37%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04693

CHRISTMAS PROGRAM CONSIDERED AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO GOOD RELATIONS ...

During the 1952 Christmas season, a vast effort was made to increase good rapport between the German people and the American troops. In the undertaking, US military authorities, troop contingents and individual soldiers worked closely with German groups and individuals.*

Not only is the West German public widely informed of this undertaking, but it is generally greeted as a major contribution to mutual good will. In the US Zone, the center of the activities, almost two thirds are aware; more noteworthy, perhaps, is that about a half of the people in the British and French zones are informed about the undertaking. In all regions, preponderances declare that the interchange was a basic contribution to improved soldier-civilian relations.

"Have you perhaps heard or read of anything that was undertaken on the part of the American army and the German population during the X-mas season for the purpose of improving the friendly relations between soldiers and the civilian population? (What was undertaken?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes	53%	47%	63%	50%
Nothing was undertaken, don't know	47	53	37	50
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"As far as you know, did these efforts contribute essentially to improve the relations between the American soldiers and the civilian population, or did they have no essential influence on them?" (Asked of those who answered "Yes" to initial question.)

Contributed essentially	34%	33%	37%	32%
No essential influence	8	5	11	9
No opinion	11	9	15	9
	53%	47%	63%	50%

* According to a HICOG Information Report, 175,000 German families invited US servicemen to their homes for Christmas - in contrast to 20,000 such invitations the previous year; plus this an uncounted number of Air Force personnel received invitations. An estimated 200,000 West Germans and refugees received gifts from US soldiers. In many small towns, the American forces and the German population held joint community celebrations and church activities.

SOLDIERS' PART IN CHRISTMAS ACTIVITIES MOST FREQUENTLY MENTIONED ...

Added indication of the full impact of the joint Christmas activities is the fact that without exception, the people who are aware of the undertaking can specify things that were done. Leading mention (37%) is given to troop activities - parties and gifts for German children and needy adults. Donations by American soldiers to refugees, the old and the sick are cited by 5 per cent. Christmas invitations to soldiers from German families are mentioned by 22 per cent.

"Have you perhaps heard or read anything that was undertaken on the part of the American army and the German population during the Christmas season for the purpose of improving the friendly relations between soldiers and civilian population? (What was undertaken?)" (Asked of those who answered "Yes, the following was undertaken ...")

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Christmas parties; distribution of gifts to German children and others: I heard and read quite a lot about it, I saw picture stories about Christmas activities, orphans received presents, etc.; poor children were presented with gifts by the Americans; every American child gave a Christmas present to a German child; X-mas parties for orphans; American units arranged Christmas parties for German children; collections were carried out in individual army units, with the money raised, gifts for orphans and underprivileged children were bought; I saw something about it in the newsreel, Santa Claus arrived at an air base and children living in orphanages were presented with gifts; Christmas parties were held at some barracks and children received gifts there; etc. Christmas parties were arranged not only by the Americans but by all occupation powers; members of the American army distributed Christmas presents; gift parcels were distributed; etc.	37%	33%	43%	39%
Joint Christmas celebrations (mutual invitations): Americans were invited by Germans; American soldiers were received into German families; Americans were guests in German homes; soldiers had the opportunity to celebrate Christmas together with a German family; German families often invite American soldiers, especially during the Christmas season; they celebrated Christmas together; Germans and Americans joined in Christmas parties; joint Christmas parties; gifts were exchanged; people invited each other; etc.	22	20	26	19

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Donations to refugees, old, underprivileged and sick people The Americans donated money for expellees; refugees received aid; donations for needy people; in Ansbach soldiers distributed parcels to old people; American companies gave donations to Germans, individual soldiers sponsored a needy family; presentation of gifts to aged people; gifts were presented to sick people; Christmas parties for old age pensioners were arranged; etc.	5%	3%	6%	6%
Aid for Germans in the East Zone and in Berlin Christmas parcels to our brothers in the East Zone; help for refugees in Berlin; I heard over an American radio station something about Spandau, I'm not sure whether or not that's true; etc.	2	1	2	1
No opinion/No answer	*	*	1	-
	66%Q	57%Q	78%Q	65%Q

* Less than one half of one per cent.

Q Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

LIMITED AWARENESS OF OTHER ORGANIZED ACTIVITIES ...

Awareness of any general organized effort by American authorities in West Germany to improve troop-civilian relations is much less extensive than knowledge of the Christmas interchange. Sixteen per cent in West Germany as a whole - 22 per cent in the US Zone - know of any such undertakings on the part of the US Armed services; the great bulk of the population is unaware of them. This supports the interpretation stated previously that as far as most West Germans are concerned, improvement in relations operates on an everyday, more personal basis rather than formally. It should be kept in mind in this connection, that unawareness of the program does not necessarily mean that it is ineffective. Indeed, actual effectiveness may well be greater if people are not aware that there is an organized effort to improve relations than if they are aware of such efforts.

The examples of the activities cited by the minority who know of them tend frequently to be stated in general terms. Also on occasion some may be referring to programs that are not a part of US military activities, e.g. the America Houses. In other instances, e.g. films and cultural activities, it is not always clear whether the reference is to Army-sponsored activities such as GYA or German-American clubs, or to the America Houses, the HICOG film program and so on. This is just another way of saying that West Germans frequently consider all Americans in Germany, whether in uniform or not, as one and the same; they generalize in a similar fashion regarding American activities.

"Do you perhaps know of any efforts or activities of the American army which are meant to bring about a better understanding between the American soldiers and the German civilian population? (What are they?)"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, known ...	16%	13%	22%	17%
Not known, don't know	84	87	78	83
	100%	100%	100%	100%

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Establishment of America Houses and other cultural activities: The America House is meant to contribute to a better understanding with the German people; America House (creates a bridge between nations); the Americans established places for entertainment in the big cities; film evenings, to promote mutual understanding; a friendly get together of Americans and Germans, joint visits to movies, the theater, and other activities; libraries, perhaps cultural activities; movie theaters; etc.	8%	7%	10%	9%
Joint clubs, German Youth Activities: American clubs to which Germans are invited; German-American clubs, mainly for young people, and other organizations; American youth clubs, where German and American youngsters meet and play; German Youth Activities; American clubs where young Germans can engage in sports, can read and see films without having to pay for it; clubs; the youth home at Noller Allee; etc.	5	3	6	7

(Cont'd on next page)

04697

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Gifts presented to underprivileged and sick children Christmas parties, they are doing a lot for German children; doesn't there exist an aid fund for polio, too?; they raised money in order to support orphans; by donating gifts to children; they gave parties for children all over Germany; children received gifts at Christmas time; etc.	3%	2%	6%	1%
German families extended invitations They were invited to join German families at Christmas; soldiers were guests in German homes at Christmas and the soldiers on their part gave presents to the children; it's planned to introduce American soldiers to German families; American soldiers visit German families; some office of the American army called upon to establish contact with the local people; people should invite American soldiers; etc.	2	2	3	2
Aid is given generally All I know is that they helped people and did them many a good turn when times were hard; I acknowledge that America has helped us a great deal by supplying food to us; aid for the needy; child feeding program; they established play-grounds for children; etc.	2	1	5	2
Facilities for sports, camps, etc. Sports facilities for young people, camps; sports activities; American-sponsored clubs where young Germans can engage in sports; etc.	1	*	1	1
Other answers Students went to America under the exchange program; the soldiers are always told to behave decently; in general, the situation regarding German women has been clarified; sentences passed on American soldiers who assaulted Germans (women, taxi drivers) are very stiff, in order to give Germans satisfaction; etc.	1	1	2	1
No opinion/No answer	1	1	1	1
	23%@	17%@	34%@	24%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04698

SOLDIERS' BEHAVIOR CONTINUES TO BE RATED AS GOOD ...

The reputation of the American soldiers stationed in West Germany continues to remain at a high level. The prevailing opinion throughout Western Germany is that their behavior is good (53%); a fifth say it is fair, and only a small fraction (4%) assert their conduct is poor.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, how do you find the behavior of the American soldiers - is it good or bad in general?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Good	53%	52%	57%	42%
Fair	22	20	24	21
Bad	4	4	5	6
Don't know	21	24	14	31
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Comparisons with favorable opinions expressed in the US Zone a year ago suggest that an upward trend may be in process, although the differences are too slight for any definite statement to this effect at this time. When, however, the "good and fair" replies are combined, the upward trend is a real one. The two-point trend for the US Zone follows:*

	Dec 1951	Jan 1953
Behavior of American Soldiers Is:		
Good	55%	57%
Fair	20	24
Bad	8	5
Don't know	17	14
	100%	100%

Probably the hardest-to-reach group from the standpoint of civilian-soldier relations is that which thinks the American soldiers are badly behaved. It is important to note that this group, always small, may have become even smaller during the year. Though the drop may not appear great, it means - if it is real - that the group most critical of soldier conduct has in going from 8 to 5 per cent decreased by about 40 per cent. For the time being the drop cannot be proved reliably beyond chance, but if succeeding studies should indicate that the drop is an actual one, it would signify an important gain for the Armed Forces.

* No trend figures for West Germany are available since in the December 1951 survey, respondents in the British and French Zone were queried about British and French soldiers, respectively.

04699

CONTACTS WITH TROOPS RAISE ESTIMATION OF THEIR CONDUCT ...

West Germans who see American soldiers or who know some of them are more likely than those who neither see nor know them to rate their behavior good. There is, however, an indication that the people who see many soldiers during the week are also slightly more inclined to characterize their conduct as bad, than are people who see relatively few. Finally the fact that hearsay plays a role in present connection is indicated by the finding that 4 per cent who report never having seen American soldiers give them a poor conduct rating. The comparative tables follow:

	Behavior of US Soldiers Is:			
	Good	Fair	Bad	Don't know
Know Some US Soldiers:				
Well	70%	22%	4%	4%...100%
Superficially	61	25	4	10
Know none	47	20	5	28
Average Number of US Soldiers Seen During Week:				
Eleven or more	62%	26%	7%	5%...100%
Ten - 4	54	28	4	14
Three or less	62	26	1	11
None	49	20	4	27

ACTIVITIES INCREASE GOOD REPUTATION ...

By way of summing up the subject of civilian-troop relations, a cross-comparison of opinions on troop behavior and relations to the public with knowledge of the Christmas program is revealing. As the following tables show, persons who know of the Christmas activities are much more likely than the uninformed both to rate the American soldier as well-behaved and to note improved relations between the German people and the soldiers. Evidently, then, organized efforts to increase good rapport do pay off in good will, once the rank-and-file German is apprised of them.

	Behavior of US Soldiers Is:			
	Good	Fair	Bad	Don't know
Informed of Christmas activities	62%	22%	4%	12%...100%
Not informed	43	21	5	31

	During the Last Year Soldier-Civilian Relations Have:			
	Improved	Worsened	Not changed	Undecided
Informed of Christmas activities	47%	1%	27%	25%...100%
Not informed	24	2	30	44

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON CIVILIAN-TROOP RELATIONS ...

An improvement in relations between German civilians and US soldiers is more frequently noted by those population groups that are generally better informed and constitute the opinion leadership elements - people with more than elementary schooling, in the higher salaried and occupational groups and the men. Veterans of World War II and younger people - in contrast with their elders - are also more often of this opinion. However, in no group does any but an insignificant handful say relations have deteriorated.

In general, group divisions follow the same pattern in the US Zone, though as may be noted in the tables which follow, larger proportions among US Zone residents have noted improved relations.

"Do you have the impression that the relations between the American soldiers and the German civilian population have improved or worsened during the last year?"

WEST GERMANY

	Improved	Worsened	Remained unchanged	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	44%	2%	27%	27%...100%	735
Women	29	1	29	41	858
Education:					
Elementary school	35	2	28	35	1283
Beyond elementary	41	1	28	30	307
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	28	1	28	43	335
150 - 299 DM	35	2	29	34	567
300 - 399 DM	42	2	26	30	379
400 DM and more	39	2	32	27	284
Age:					
18 - 24 years	43	3	31	23	153
25 - 34 years	42	1	25	32	335
35 - 44 years	37	1	29	33	359
45 - 54 years	34	3	25	38	363
55 years and over	30	1	31	38	381
Party Preference:					
SPD	45	3	26	26	361
CDU/CSU	37	1	28	34	357
FDP/DP	47	4	26	23	112
Other parties	42	4	30	24	70
No party	29	2	31	38	497
Don't know	26	-	24	50	196
Occupation:					
Professionals	45	-	26	29	65
Businessmen	45	3	30	22	175
White-collar workers	39	2	30	29	212
Skilled laborers	38	2	26	34	322
Semi-skilled laborers	37	1	27	35	191
Farmers	27	2	32	39	155
Unemployed	35	5	28	32	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	33	1	26	40	287
Religion:					
Catholics	37	1	27	35	732
Protestants	35	2	28	35	789
Origin:					
Natives	35	2	29	34	1295
Expellees, Refugees	40	1	23	36	295
Veteran Status:					
Yes, against America	45	3	29	23	140
Yes, in other countries	51	2	21	26	285
Worldwar I	35	2	34	29	135
No	39	4	30	27	164

04701

"Do you have the impression that the relations between the American soldiers and the German civilian population have improved or worsened during the last year?"

US ZONE

	Improved	Worsened	Remained unchanged	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	53%	3%	26%	18%...100%	247
Women	36	2	27	35	303
Education:					
Elementary school	42	2	27	29	452
Beyond elementary	52	1	26	21	96
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	37	1	29	33	134
150 - 299 DM	41	3	27	29	214
300 - 399 DM	52	3	20	25	112
400 DM and over	48	1	31	20	81
Age:					
18 - 24 years	52	2	23	23	61
25 - 34 years	48	1	24	27	120
35 - 44 years	40	2	31	27	132
45 - 54 years	43	4	26	27	117
55 years and over	41	2	26	31	120
Party Preference:					
SPD	58	1	25	16	125
CDU/CSU	38	2	29	31	123
FDP/DP	67	7	15	11	27
Other parties	53	3	28	16	32
No party	38	3	30	29	177
Don't know	27	2	18	53	66
Occupation:					
Professionals	59	-	23	18	22
Businessmen	53	4	32	11	56
White-collar workers	46	3	27	24	70
Skilled laborers	54	2	24	20	80
Semi-skilled laborers	45	-	23	32	66
Farmers	31	4	28	37	83
Unemployed	36	4	31	29	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	42	1	27	30	99
Religion:					
Catholics	43	2	28	27	319
Protestants	43	2	24	31	203
Origin:					
Natives	43	3	27	27	438
Expellees, Refugees	48	-	23	29	110
Veteran Status:					
Yes, against America	41	2	36	21	42
Yes, in other countries	64	3	19	14	95
World War I	36	6	33	25	36
No	56	1	24	19	68

04702

AWARENESS OF CHRISTMAS ACTIVITIES AMONG WEST GERMAN GROUPS ...

Those segments of the population usually better informed, on current developments - that is, the higher status groups - follow the customary pattern by being more frequently aware of the Christmas activities than are their counterparts. The large proportion of veterans knowing of the activities is noteworthy.

"Have you perhaps heard or read anything that was undertaken on the part of the American army and the German population during the X-mas season for the purpose of improving the friendly relations between soldiers and the civilian population? (What was undertaken?)"

WEST GERMANY

	Yes	Nothing was undertaken, don't know	No. of cases
Sex:			
Men	62%	38%...100%	735
Women	45	55	858
Education:			
Elementary school	48	52	1283
Beyond elementary	72	28	307
Income (per month):			
0 - 149 DM	44	56	335
150 - 299 DM	49	51	567
300 - 399 DM	58	42	379
400 DM and more	66	34	284
Age:			
18 - 24 years	56	44	153
25 - 34 years	58	42	335
35 - 44 years	55	45	359
45 - 54 years	52	48	363
55 years and over	46	54	381
Party Preference:			
SPD	59	41	361
CDU/CSU	51	49	357
FDP/DP	69	31	112
Other parties	37	63	70
No party	54	46	497
Don't know	38	62	196
Occupation:			
Professionals	77	23	65
Businessmen	57	43	175
White-collar workers	68	32	212
Skilled laborers	58	42	322
Semi-skilled laborers	48	52	191
Farmers	36	64	155
Unemployed	51	49	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	43	57	287
Religion:			
Catholics	49	51	732
Protestants	56	44	789
Origin:			
Natives	53	47	1295
Expellees, Refugees	53	47	295
Veteran Status:			
Yes, against America	72	28	140
Yes, in other countries	67	33	285
World War I	54	46	135
No	55	45	164

04703

US ZONE GROUPS AND CHRISTMAS ACTIVITIES ...

Awareness of the Christmas interchange is higher among the US Zone population with very high proportions in almost all segments knowing of the Christmas interchange between American troops and the German people. A noteworthy exception is found among farmers, among whom the preponderance is uninformed. As in West Germany, the people usually well informed, most frequently know about the joint Christmas activities.

"Have you perhaps heard or read of anything that was undertaken on the part of the American army and the German population during the X-mas season for the purpose of improving the friendly relations between soldiers and the civilian population? (What was undertaken?)"

	US ZONE		
	Yes	Nothing was undertaken, don't know	No. of cases
Sex:			
Men	69%	31%...100%	247
Women	59	41	303
Education:			
Elementary school	59	41	452
Beyond elementary	83	17	96
Income (per month):			
0 - 149 DM	51	49	134
150 - 299 DM	61	39	214
300 - 399 DM	69	31	112
400 DM and more	83	17	81
Age:			
18 - 24 years	61	39	61
25 - 34 years	63	37	120
35 - 44 years	70	30	132
45 - 54 years	63	37	117
55 years and over	58	42	120
Party Preference:			
SPD	75	25	125
CDU/CSU	60	40	123
FDP/DP	85	15	27
Other parties	37	63	32
No party	65	35	177
Don't know	45	55	66
Occupation:			
Professionals	91	9	22
Businessmen	66	34	56
White-colllar workers	86	14	70
Skilled laborers	71	29	80
Semi-skilled laborers	68	32	66
Farmers	41	59	83
Unemployed	44	56	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	56	44	99
Religion:			
Catholics	61	39	319
Protestants	67	33	203
Origin:			
Natives	62	38	438
Expellees, Refugees	66	34	110
Veteran Status:			
Yes, against America	67	33	42
Yes, in other countries	78	22	95
World War I	58	42	36
No	66	34	68

04704

ALL GROUPS APPLAUD THE CHRISTMAS PROGRAM ...

That the Christmas activities were a basic contribution to better rapport between American soldiers and the West German people is the strongly dominant view among all population groups who know about the interchange, both in West Germany as a whole and in the US Zone.

"As far as you know, did these efforts contribute essentially to improve the relations between the American soldiers and the civilian population, or did they have no essential influence on them?"

WEST GERMANY

	Contributing essentially	No essential influence	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	41%	10%	11%	38%...100%	735
Women	28	6	11	55	858
Education:					
Elementary school	32	7	10	51	1283
Beyond elementary	46	12	14	28	307
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	30	4	10	56	335
150 - 299 DM	29	8	12	51	567
300 - 399 DM	39	8	10	43	379
400 DM and more	45	10	11	34	284
Age:					
18 - 24 years	36	10	9	45	153
25 - 34 years	40	8	10	42	335
35 - 44 years	33	8	13	46	359
45 - 54 years	34	8	11	47	363
55 years and over	30	6	10	54	381
Party Preference:					
SPD	43	9	8	40	361
CDU/CSU	37	5	9	49	357
FDP/DP	50	6	13	31	112
Other parties	26	3	9	62	70
No party	30	11	14	45	497
Don't know	21	4	12	63	196
Occupation:					
Professionals	51	12	14	23	65
Businessmen	40	7	10	43	175
White-collar workers	40	14	13	33	212
Skilled laborers	37	9	12	42	322
Semi-skilled laborers	31	6	12	51	191
Farmers	23	4	8	65	155
Unemployed	31	5	14	50	99
Not employed: pensioners; students, retired; etc.	29	5	9	57	287
Religion:					
Catholics	32	8	9	51	732
Protestants	37	7	12	44	789
Origin:					
Natives	35	7	11	47	1295
Expellees, Refugees	34	9	10	47	295
Veteran Status:					
Yes, against America	54	9	7	30	140
Yes, in other countries	45	11	11	33	285
Worldwar I	33	7	15	45	135
No	32	9	13	46	164

"As far as you know, did these efforts contribute essentially to improve the relations between the American soldiers and the civilian population, or did they have no essential influence on them?"

US ZONE

	Contributing essentially	No essential influence	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	45%	12%	12%	31%	247
Women	30	10	18	42	303
Education:					
Elementary school	35	10	14	41	452
Beyond elementary	48	17	19	16	96
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	34	4	13	49	134
150 - 299 DM	34	12	15	39	214
300 - 399 DM	40	13	15	32	112
400 DM and more	45	20	18	17	81
Age:					
18 - 24 years	36	15	10	39	61
25 - 34 years	41	10	12	37	120
35 - 44 years	40	11	19	30	132
45 - 54 years	34	14	15	37	117
55 years and over	33	9	15	43	120
Party Preference:					
SPD	46	14	15	25	125
CDU/CSU	40	8	12	40	123
FDP/DP	59	11	15	15	27
Other parties	28	3	6	63	32
No party	31	15	19	35	177
Don't know	24	8	14	54	66
Occupation:					
Professionals	50	14	31	5	22
Businessmen	43	5	18	34	56
White-collar workers	41	26	19	14	70
Skilled laborers	45	14	12	29	80
Semi-skilled laborers	36	14	18	32	66
Farmers	25	5	11	59	83
Unemployed	29	2	13	56	45
Not employed: pensioners; students, retired; etc.	35	8	11	46	99
Religion:					
Catholics	39	12	10	39	319
Protestants	34	10	22	34	203
Origin:					
Natives	37	10	16	37	438
Expellees, Refugees	40	14	13	33	110
Veteran Status:					
Yes, against America	50	14	2	34	42
Yes, in other countries	53	16	9	22	95
Worldwar I	30	3	25	42	36
No	41	12	13	34	68

ESTIMATES OF TROOP BEHAVIOR AMONG VARIOUS GROUPS ...

In appraising US troop behavior, majorities of the upper status groups in the West German population - people with more than average education, those in the higher income brackets, and the men - rate it as good. Affiliates of the three major political parties do likewise, as do professional and business groups. This is not to say that other population elements tend to give a harsher appraisal of American conduct, since no appreciable differences occur in the "fair" and "bad" estimates. It is rather that the upper status and other groups referred to tend less frequently to be undecided on the matter.

Group opinions take a similar direction in the US Zone.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, how do you find the behavior of the American soldiers - is it good or bad in general?"

WEST GERMANY

	Good	Fair	Bad	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	59%	22%	5%	14%...100%	735
Women	48	21	4	27	858
Education:					
Elementary school	51	22	4	23	1283
Beyond elementary	61	21	4	14	307
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	46	22	2	30	335
150 - 299 DM	48	24	6	22	567
300 - 399 DM	60	20	4	16	379
400 DM and more	61	19	4	16	284
Age:					
18 - 24 years	54	28	8	10	153
25 - 34 years	53	25	4	18	335
35 - 44 years	52	23	4	21	359
45 - 54 years	56	15	4	25	363
55 years and over	49	22	4	25	381
Party Preference:					
SPD	59	22	5	14	361
CDU/CSU	58	17	3	22	357
FDP/DP	58	20	7	15	112
Other parties	51	20	10	19	70
No party	49	24	5	22	497
Don't know	39	23	2	36	196
Occupation:					
Professionals	66	15	-	19	65
Businessmen	57	19	8	16	175
White-collar workers	57	23	6	14	212
Skilled laborers	54	22	4	20	322
Semi-skilled laborers	48	23	6	23	191
Farmers	50	20	1	29	155
Unemployed	49	26	3	22	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	48	24	3	25	287
Religion:					
Catholics	53	23	5	19	732
Protestants	52	21	4	23	789
Origin:					
Natives	53	22	5	20	1295
Expellees, Refugees	52	20	3	25	295
Veteran Status:					
Yes, against America	62	22	7	9	140
Yes, in other countries	58	22	4	16	285
Worldwar I	55	21	4	20	135
No	60	21	6	13	164

04707

"According to everything you have seen or heard, how do you find the behavior of the American soldiers - is it good or bad in general?"

US ZONE

	Good	Fair	Bad	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	62%	23%	6%	9%...100%	247
Women	53	24	4	19	303
Education:					
Elementary school	55	25	5	15	452
Beyond elementary	65	22	5	8	96
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	56	21	2	21	134
150 - 299 DM	52	28	7	13	214
300 - 399 DM	67	21	5	7	112
400 DM and more	61	21	4	14	81
Age:					
18 - 24 years	40	38	11	11	61
25 - 34 years	52	29	2	17	120
35 - 44 years	59	24	4	13	132
45 - 54 years	71	12	3	14	117
55 years and over	56	23	6	15	120
Party Preference:					
SPD	66	25	4	5	125
CDU/CSU	54	22	5	19	123
FDP/DP	70	22	4	4	27
Other parties	60	25	6	9	32
No party	54	28	6	12	177
Don't know	47	17	3	33	66
Occupation:					
Professionals	59	32	-	9	22
Businessmen	59	21	9	11	56
White-collar workers	62	23	4	11	70
Skilled laborers	55	29	7	9	80
Semi-skilled laborers	61	21	6	12	66
Farmers	54	19	1	26	83
Unemployed	51	31	-	18	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	57	26	5	12	99
Religion:					
Catholics	57	24	6	13	319
Protestants	55	24	3	18	203
Origin:					
Natives	57	25	5	13	438
Expellees, Refugees	60	21	2	17	110
Veteran Status:					
Yes, against America	55	29	9	7	42
Yes, in other countries	67	22	2	9	95
Worldwar I	61	19	6	14	36
No	60	25	9	6	68

II. EVALUATIONS OF COMBAT QUALITIES

MORE PEOPLE NOW SAY US TROOPS WOULD FIGHT WELL AGAINST THE RUSSIANS ...

As to the combat qualities of the American troops, opinions have also tended to rise in a more favorable direction during the past year. A case in point is the estimate made by US Zone residents on how American soldiers are likely to react should the Russians attack. As will be seen in the two-point trend below, the proportion predicting the Americans would fight well in such an event has risen by 11 points since late 1951; correspondingly the percentage saying they would not put up a good fight has dropped 8 points.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, do you believe that the American soldiers who are here now would fight well or poorly in case of a Russian attack?"

	US ZONE	
	Dec 1951	Jan 1953
Well	27%	38%
Fairly well (volunteered)	15	16
Poorly	34	26
Undecided	24	20
	100%	100%

PREPONDERANCE IN WEST GERMANY PRAISES AMERICAN TROOPS ...

Added indications of confidence in the fighting qualities of the American soldiers are found in the estimates of British and French zone residents. In combination with US Zone people, they total up to a preponderant opinion that the Americans would fight well against the Russians.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, do you believe that the American soldiers who are here now would fight well or poorly in case of a Russian attack?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Well	43%	49%	38%	39%
Fairly well (volunteered)	18	19	16	16
Poorly	18	13	26	16
No opinion	21	19	20	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Revealing also is the estimate British and French zone residents make of the combat qualities of the American soldiers as compared with their last year's evaluation of British and French troops. More of the people living in the two zones now say that the Americans would put up a good fight against the Russians than said - a year ago - that the British and French troops, respectively, would do so. The

comparisons also suggest that even if favorable estimates on the fighting qualities of British and French soldiers have gone up 11 per cent as in the US Zone trend, the Americans would still have the advantage. (That there might be a tendency to place a higher evaluation on the relatively unfamiliar US troops than on those which are stationed in the respective zones must also be taken into consideration here.)*

	BRITISH ZONE		FRENCH ZONE	
	British (1951)	Americans (1953)	French (1951)	Americans (1953)
If Russians Attacked Would Fight:				
Well	27%	49%	19%	39%
Fairly well (volunteered)	14	19	10	16
Poorly	26	13	40	16
Undecided	33	19	31	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* In the December 1951 survey the question was put in terms of the forces stationed in each of the three zones; that is residents of the British Zone were queried on British soldiers, in the French Zone about the French soldiers, and in the US Zone regarding the Americans. Since the main object of this year's study was to obtain appraisals of the American forces, most inquiries, including the one now under consideration, dealt only with the American soldiers.

REASONS GIVEN FOR SAYING THE AMERICANS WOULD NOT PUT UP A GOOD FIGHT ...

The reasons advanced by the people who assert that the Americans would not fight well if the Russians attacked fall into four categories. The two most frequently mentioned are that the soldiers would not be defending their homeland - or its obverse, they would have no interest in defending Germany, and that they would put too much reliance on their superior equipment. (This latter contention as will subsequently be seen is almost a stereotype reaction to the American soldier.) Somewhat less frequently contended is that the US troops would not fight well because they are poor soldiers or are afraid of the Russians.*

"For what reasons would, in your opinion, the American soldiers here not fight well?" (Asked of those who answered "Fairly well" or "Poorly" to initial question.)

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
They would not fight in their own country and, therefore, would have no interest in defending Germany	20%	16%	25%	16%
They will rely too much on their superior war material	18	18	21	14
They are afraid of the Russians	13	10	19	13
They are generally poor soldiers, namely poorly trained, pampered and without discipline	10	9	13	8
No opinion	1	1	1	-
	62%@	54%@	79%@	51%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

* No comparison with last year's findings is possible as this question was only put to those who said the troops would fight poorly in the December 1951 survey.

04711

THE US TROOPS' KOREAN RECORD HAS A FAVORABLE EFFECT ON ATTITUDES TOWARD SOLDIERS ...

Esteem for American soldiers is much more likely to be raised than lowered as a result of the Korean conflict. By a ratio of two to one - three to one in the US Zone - West Germans declare that what they have heard about the Korean fighting has given them a better rather than a worse opinion of American soldiers.

"From all you have heard about the fighting in Korea: do you have a better impression of the American soldiers or a worse impression?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Better	26%	26%	27%	23%
Worse	10	10	9	7
The same	28	28	27	27
Can't decide whether better or worse	30	31	29	32
Heard nothing about Korea	6	5	8	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The impressions gained from Korea carry over to appraisals of the way US troops are likely to meet Russian aggression in Europe. A large majority of the people who have gained increased respect for Americans as a result of their Korean combat record say the troops would put up a good fight against the Russians. In contrast, most of those whose opinions of US soldiers has worsened because of what they think has been going on in Korea do not expect the Americans to offer much resistance in the event of a Russian attack. The relationships between opinions on the Korean conflict and expectations of American reaction to Russian aggression are set forth in the paired comparisons below.

	If the Russians Attacked, US Soldiers Would Fight:				
	Well	Fairly well	Poorly	Undecided	No. of cases:
Impression of American Soldiers As a Result of Korea is:					
Better	67%	14%	11%	8% ...100%	415
Worse	21	27	45	7	151
The same	44	23	21	12	434
Can't decide whether better or worse	35	18	14	33	480
Heard nothing about Korea	22	1	13	64	113

MORE INFORMATIONAL EFFORT ON THE US RECORD IN KOREA IS INDICATED ...

It might be argued that, since some few people say their opinion of the American soldier has become lower because of the Korean record, more publicity about Korea might work both ways - even though the good results might outweigh the bad. But the reasons advanced by those whose estimates have worsened indicate clearly that they are especially in need of more accurate information about the Korean situation. As may be seen in their comments listed below, almost without exception the small fraction (10%) of the West German public who fall into this category appear to misunderstand completely the facts of the military situation in Korea, and blame the present stalemate on to lack of fighting spirit among the troops.

"What is it that has given you a worse impression of the American soldiers? (Could you perhaps name a few examples?)"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Long duration of the war in Korea: This war should have been won by the Americans long ago - it takes far too much time; they don't progress, otherwise it couldn't last that long; you can't say that they are good with that affair going on for such a long time; don't have any success, can't pull themselves together to strike the big blow; that they don't make any progress, there just has to be an end to it; I should have thought it wouldn't take them that long to finish the war over there; they don't make any progress worth mentioning, it's two years now and they don't get on in spite of their better equipment and the greater number of planes they have; all this forwards and backwards in the front-line area, they couldn't enforce an armistice in spite of the superiority of their material; they are unable to win even with the latest types of weapons, the North-Koreans attacked without artillery support and the Yanks beat it; they don't make any progress - if they have better weapons, more ammunition and more planes and still don't get on - then it must be the soldiers' fault; etc.	6%	7%	5%	3%
Lack of fighting spirit - no valor: Because they don't put up a good fight in Korea; I noticed that they haven't enough courage; if they were good fighters the Korean conflict would have been finished long ago - it takes too much time, that war; a nation like America should have settled that affair long ago - the weakness of these troops is a catastrophe - a German army would have got that done long since; they don't fight, otherwise this little war would have been over a long time ago; they show that they're no soldiers - they don't fight with so much enthusiasm as the Germans do - they don't take things so seriously; etc.	2	2	2	2

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Great number of deserters: Because so many soldiers in Korea deserted; 45000 Americans went over to the enemy - such things simply must not happen; according to the papers 40000 deserted; etc.	1%	1%	2%	-
Lack of toughness and insufficient power of resistance: Because so many had to die - just because they are not resistant enough; they had gone so far beyond the parallel and now they're so far back again - they're not tough enough - they have not yet adapted themselves to the climate and to the country; because they can't stand the cold over there, from all you hear; etc.	1	1	1	1
Other replies: They fired at their own troops; germ warfare in Korea, the treatment of POWs at Koje, terror raids on North Korean territory, murder of POWs; as far as I know they let others fight for them: the UN troops, the Amis just play about with their air force; they should make peace everywhere, enough people die even if there's no war on, well, I don't know, I can't understand it anyway; etc.	1	1	1	1
	11%@	12%@	11%@	7%

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

AMERICAN SOLDIERS COMPARED WITH OTHERS ...

Bearing out the general upward trend toward increased esteem for the American troops is that when compared, man for man, with the British, French, German and Russian soldier, more people now than a year ago rank the American in second place, and fewer put him in the last category. The German soldier continues as formerly to be rated as best and the Russian to lead as runner-up to the German. This is seen in the replies to three questions which, though they must be cautiously interpreted because of their obvious limitations,@ were included both to provide trend comparisons and as a lead-off to further comparison of the Russian and American soldier.

"All in all, who in your opinion makes the best fighter as an individual? And who is in second place? And who is in last place?" (The various nationalities as listed below were presented on a card to the respondent.)

	WEST GERMANY		British Zone		US Zone		French Zone	
	Dec 51	Jan 53	Dec 51	Jan 53	Dec 51	Jan 53	Dec 51	Jan 53
First place								
Germans	77%	80%	74%	80%	80%	80%	75%	80%
Russians	5	4	5	3	5	6	8	3
Americans	1	2	1	3	1	2	-	2
British	1	1	1	1	1	*	2	1
French	*	*	*	*	*	1	*	-
No opinion/No answer	16	13	19	13	13	11	15	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Second place								
Russians	31%	31%	26%	28%	38%	36%	29%	31%
British	13	12	12	11	15	14	14	14
Americans	12	20	13	23	10	16	10	16
French	8	6	9	8	7	4	6	5
Germans	5	6	5	5	5	7	6	5
No opinion/No answer	31	25	35	25	25	23	35	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Last place								
French	25%	32%	21%	28%	31%	35%	22%	42%
Americans	20	16	20	15	19	18	23	11
Russians	9	9	9	12	8	7	7	4
British	8	11	10	14	7	9	7	4
Germans	*	*	-	*	1	-	-	*
No opinion/No answer	38	32	40	31	34	31	41	39
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The relative ranking given the British and American soldier here does not necessarily contradict the previous finding that American troops are more frequently than the British expected to fight well against the Russians. It will subsequently be seen that American equipment and materiel is important in overall estimates of American strength, while the issue here is the individual soldier.

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Since it can be expected that most Germans will name their own former soldiers as the "best," other troops must of necessity fall into a lower rating. Furthermore, the word "last" in the context as used here was not always clearly understood, according to interviewers. (It was used in order to avoid the invidious terms "very last place" or "worst," a rating few would be happy to make, or the innocuous rating of "third" place.) Thus some people who placed soldiers as "last" had in mind third place, while others apparently had in mind "worst."

PRIMITIVE QUALITIES EXPLAIN RUSSIAN SUPERIORITY ...

Obviously, as the foregoing rankings indicate, the West German people have more respect for the prowess of the Russian than of the American soldier. In order to ascertain what factors enter into this judgment, everyone who rated the Russian above the American in any of the classifications was queried as to the basis for Russian superiority. The results as set forth in the comments below appear to spring in large part from personal experiences or those of fellow-Germans with the Russians in the last war. Emphasized throughout are the brutish, primitive qualities of soldiers not far removed, in German estimations, from barbarism. Russian soldiers they say can undergo every kind of privation, live on a handful of sunflower seeds, fight to the death either because as Russians they do not hold life dearly, or because they are Communist zealots or conversely forced at gun-point to fight by their Communist overlords.

Clearly these observations as to Russian superiority offer little scope for emulation on the part of the US army. What probably can be done in this regard is to make added efforts to educate the German public on the paramount role played by training, materiel, education, skill and brains among the troops in a modern army.

"Why is the Russian soldier superior to the American? (In what respect, which points?)"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Russian soldiers are more enduring, harder, more brutal, tougher, have more resistance than American soldiers: The Russians are inured to hardships and cold, they can stand hunger and want better than the Americans; more endurance, that's the only quality in which they excel the Americans; the upbringing of the Russians is tougher and harder than that of the Americans; the Russians are more hard-boiled and more persistent; the Russians are more brutal; they aren't soft in any way, the rugged climate has made them tough; the Russians are more rigorous, more robust and more brutal than the Americans; because they are one up on the others, they can stand extreme cold; etc.	17%	15%	22%	16%
Russian soldiers are more easily satisfied and more frugal than American soldiers: Russian soldiers can very easily be satisfied, and they are very patient, they can live on a handful of sunflower seeds for a long time; during combat Russian soldiers can live on a piece of plain bread for a whole week while American soldiers need coffee and other good stuff before they get going; because Russian soldiers don't demand anything for themselves; the Russians don't make pretensions concerning food and equipment, they don't care what they look like; they don't need modern conveniences, they are more than a match for the Americans; etc.	11	10	12	10

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
<u>The Russian soldiers are bolstered by Communist ideas and the Communist regime demands strict obedience:</u> Though Communist ideas are wrong, the Russians have got something to worship and to fight for; the Russians know an ideal, that, even though it is a false one, fills them with enthusiasm; if a Russian soldier retreats he'll be shot, therefore he fights to the last bullet, the American soldier doesn't risk his life and relies upon his superiority in the technical field; because the discipline is very strict in the Russian army, and the soldiers know that they've got no other choice but to fight; the Communist ideas were hammered into the Russian soldiers, they fight because the commissars force them to do so; the pressure exerted by the commissars leaves the soldiers no choice, they have to fight and to die, the American commanders spare their men; the Russian soldiers feel the pistol in their back, they have been fed with Communist ideas for a long time; Russian soldiers fight more doggedly because they know that execution will follow acts of cowardice or failures; etc.	10%	10%	9%	8%
<u>The Russian soldiers are dull, fanatical, indifferent, they fight to the last bullet:</u> As soldiers the Russians don't think much but act stubbornly and fight fanatically to the last breath; when full of vodka the Russian soldier storms straight ahead in an attack; the Russians don't attribute much importance to their lives, they fight to the last breath; the Russians don't care about anything, they don't mind whether they are dead or alive, the Americans take care of themselves; all they have to do is to obey their superiors' orders; the Russians have been imbued with fanaticism since early childhood; the Russian soldier doesn't care about his own life, it doesn't amount to much, anyway; etc.	7	6	9	7
<u>Russian soldiers have a more courageous spirit, are better soldiers than the Americans:</u> The Russians are better infantrymen, they are braver than the American soldiers, they are dare-devils; because they are more audacious, Russian soldiers never retreat but advance continuously, one can't always say that of the Americans; they are more courageous; the Russians aren't afraid of anything, they are a fierce people and no cowards; fear is unknown to the Russians; the Russians are better soldiers than the Americans, the latter are cowards, they proved that when they advanced into Germany; the Russians are better infantrymen, the Americans are superior in the air; etc.	7	5	7	7

(Cont'd on next page)

04717

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
The Russians are a primitive race: The Russians lead a simple, natural life, they aren't very civilized yet, and this simplicity gives them a fierce fighting spirit; because they are a primitive race, I mean they aren't so spoiled, but very crude; they are close to nature, they are rugged; because they are barbarians; etc.	5%	4%	6%	4%
The Russians are superior in numerical strength: The Russians are superior to the Americans as to the number of soldiers; there are enough people in Russia, it's of little importance how many die in action; it's the mass of soldiers that makes Russia so strong; etc.	1	2	1	-
The Russian soldiers adapt more easily to external conditions: Russian soldiers adjust themselves to the terrain, they know where to take cover; the Russians are more mobile in the field than the Americans; they adapt themselves to all conditions; because the Russians are experts in camouflage; as far as camouflage is concerned the Russians are tops; they are extraordinarily good at taking advantage of the terrain; etc.	1	1	1	1
Other answers:	1	1	1	2
No opinion / No answer:	1	1	2	*
	61%@	55%@	70%@	55%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04718

THE STRENGTHS OF THE AMERICAN SOLDIER ...

A more direct inquiry sought evaluations of the strength and weakness of US soldiers. In the enumeration of strong points, it is worth some note that about one in ten (12%) allege the American soldier has none, although as many as 41 per cent in West Germany - 44 per cent in the US Zone - are not prepared to come up with any statement, positive or negative. (This is balanced, as will be seen, by 4 per cent asserting the American has no weak points, and a 49 per cent no opinion on the issue.)

By far the most frequently advanced strong point (47%) is the equipment and material resources available to the American soldier. In other words almost everyone who has anything good to say about the US soldier mentions this fact, which, as previously stated, appears to be almost a stereotyped German explanation of American military success in war as well as in peace. But almost all of the people who mention materiel also name other strengths. The generally high level of character and intelligence of American soldiers (9%), their physical health and sportsmanship (9%), their high standard of living (9%) and the cooperation and fellowship between the ranks and officers are all listed among their strong points.

"In your opinion, wherein lie the strong points of the American army?"

"And what others?"

IF "Equipment and Materiel" mentioned:

"Aside from equipment and materiel wherein lie the strong points of the American army?"*

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Ample materiel resources, high quality materiel and equipment:				
They've got more planes, more tanks and enough arms and ammunition and gasoline and the atom bomb thrown in - therefore they've got a better chance to win, all their units are motorized, they can be moved more quickly to any spot where they're needed; technically they are far in advance of any other nation; technically they are better equipped in every field than the Russians are and than the Germans used to be, above all, in their air force; their equipment is more modern and better in quality; the strength of the Yanks lies in their air force, and in their materiel, tanks and aircraft, and the infantryman isn't packed so heavily as he used to be in the German army, they are more motorized; in their materiel superiority only, air force and hydrogen bomb; in the good quality and the enormous depots of arms and in the good quality of their materiel and their limitless resources; their nearly inexhaustible reinforcements and supplies; in their vast number of tank units and of motorized troop and aircraft; etc.	47%	50%	44%	42%

* This probe was included in anticipation of the emphasis on materiel resources and equipment. However, all of the points listed were made prior to the probe, although a few of the people who initially mentioned only materiel named added points when queried farther.

(Cont'd on next page)

04719

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Firmness of character of men, intellectual level: The soldiers are very honest, very upright; in that the Americans are more human and have more backbone than the Russians have, for instance; in their conduct they are better than all other soldiers and in combat they are best, too; they are ready to help others and like to share what they've got with others; they are good people; even as soldiers they remain human beings, contrary to the Prussian and the Hitler army; in the intelligence of the individual; as a rule they are rather peaceful, but once they decide to strike, it's certainly effective; Americans are brave and ready at any time to risk their lives fighting for their country; furthermore, I'm sure the overall education is more liberal and thus people, soldiers included, become more independent; etc.	9%	10%	9%	5%
High standards of living, good food, high pay, etc.: That American soldiers have plenty of everything, they get ample reinforcements from back home, too, they fare best of all in every respect, chow is the most important thing, after all; the good food they get; because they have plenty of everything they need; the good chow they get boosts their morale in combat; they know they are citizens of a country that has the highest standard of living; better rations, good pay; they are generously supplied with all they need; etc.	9	12	6	8
Healthy, sportsmanlike, physically well-trained men: They're very strong and healthy boys; they're all strong young people; considering them as individuals, they combine sound strains (Canadians, strong German strain, etc.); Americans are physically well trained sportsmen; maybe one of their strong points is that they're good sportsmen; etc.	9	12	5	7
The United States is a powerful and rich country: At present they are the most powerful country in the world - they have established bases throughout the world; they know they are backed by a world-wide economy, a world power and the largest armament industries throughout the world; America is the richest country in the world, they have enough funds for any project whatever; the army is backed by the combined industries and the armament drive; in their unlimited production capacity, there are no deficiencies in any field, they can draw freely from their resources; they are backed by a mighty power and can expect aid from all sides; the funds they have, they can buy large quantities of material and all the rest; etc.	7	6	7	7

(Cont'd on next page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Fellowship between the ranks and their superiors, favorable treatment of soldiers: The solidarity that exists, superiors treat their men as comrades; in their easy companionship that knows no blind obedience; the casual tone between officers and men, there's a more personal contact between them than it used to be in our army; a soldier is treated like a human being, not as if he were a machine, as was the practice in our army; etc.	6%	7%	5%	4%
Unlimited manpower: They can draw on a large manpower reservoir; the great mass of people; the great mass that the nation makes up; etc.	3	4	1	1
Smoothly functioning organization within the armed forces: The smoothly functioning organization within the army; their transportation system, the way they organize things in all fields; etc.	1	1	2	1
No strong points: They've got no strong points whatever; they weren't any too good during their advance in the war, as soldiers I mean; they have no strong points as soldiers; they have no good points, they are only good at boasting; they're best at dropping bombs and at pressing pants, our boys never wore such well pressed pants; I don't think they will be as good as our boys, the German soldiers are pretty good, to be sure; I can't think of any strong points, when they are drunk they feel very strong, very strong, too, when they have lots of women around; etc.	12	12	13	14
No opinion:	41	38	44	46
	144%@	152%@	136%@	135%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER'S WEAK POINTS ...

As already indicated, about half of the West German public does not express an opinion on this issue, and 4 per cent declare that the US troops do not have any notable weaknesses. The remainder tend to bring up criticisms similar to those they have already advanced when comparing American soldiers disadvantageously to Russian soldiers. Thus they assert that the American soldiers are not particularly brave (12%), lack endurance or are soft (12%), not sufficiently disciplined (9%), are pampered (6%), rely too much on materiel (6%), are poorly trained (5%) and so on. It is to be noted that the charge of misconduct and bad manners is made more frequently by US Zone people than by others.

In interpreting these findings, the fact that the query deliberately sought out criticisms must be taken into consideration as should the finding that no single criticism receives particular emphasis.

"And wherein lie their weak points?"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
<u>The Americans are bad soldiers, are not brave:</u> To tell the truth, they are cowards; they are not as brave as are the Germans, perhaps they don't have so keen a sense of duty; because they are yellow and they are not such brave soldiers as were the Germans or maybe the Russians; they aren't so brave, it's not in line with a soldier's code to throw bombs on civilians; they are somewhat cowardly, they dare attack only if they have a superior force; they are terrible cowards, when they took over our town they were afraid of the women, they are no dare-devils; they are afraid of war, they don't like to fight; people in general say that they'll run away when the Russians come; etc.	12%	11%	14%	11%
<u>They can't bear hardships, too little endurance, too pampered, too lazy:</u> They can't take what our soldiers endured in Russia, I think if they had to live on short rations they wouldn't last, either; their very limited endurance when faced with privations and hardships; they tend to be soft; when I compare our former soldiers to the Americans, then the Americans seem to me to be rather soft; they are lazy, slow; when there are privations, they fizzle out; the American soldiers are as lazy as the soldiers of all armies, but they have more time to give way to this lazyness; they are too soft, they should be rotated from one post to another, as things are now, it's no good, they get too pampered; etc.	12	12	11	10
<u>They have too little discipline:</u> American soldiers are undisciplined; democracy should not mean such boundless freedom that the Americans can just let things slide; there is no difference between soldiers and officers, no respect for superiors; too little discipline; they are carelessly dressed; they are undisciplined - speaking of soldiers only, it's not a good thing if there is too much freedom for the individual; etc.	9	8	10	6

(Cont'd on next page)

04722

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
<u>They are pampered:</u> They can't do without those things that make life pleasant, in Korea the other day when they didn't get pudding, they started a riot, they need things like heated bath-rooms, etc.; they are too fond of a comfortable life and forget that they actually should fight a war; the reason is they lead a pretty good life and love the luxuries of life; they have too much money to spend; they eat too well and have too much money; etc.	6%	7%	8%	6%
<u>They rely too much on the superiority of their materiel:</u> They rely too much on their superior materiel and their good equipment, if they aren't sure any longer that they have the biggest planes or the biggest and most numerous cannons, their self-confidence deflates quickly; if the present development continues, they will be exclusively technically trained and will be nothing but machines, but I guess things will not go on that way, I mean that they won't depend so much on technical means; perhaps they rely too much on their materiel and their airplanes; without the support of money and materiel the American soldier is no good; etc.	6	8	4	4
<u>They are bad mannered, they drink, they fool around with women:</u> They drink schnapps and smoke when on duty; they neglect their duty and everything because of women; they chew gum all the time; in chewing gum, in holding up taxi drivers; recklessness, German women and boozing; they like to drink heavily and then they start fighting in bars; in the streets they are too loud, they haven't got good manners; sometimes they behave like Indians; in the night hours when they are tight they start kicking up a row and attacking people; they drink too much, they have too many women and too much money; etc.	6	2	11	7
<u>They have a poor infantry:</u> They are poor infantry soldiers; I don't believe that the infantrymen could stand hardships, like the German soldiers did in Russia, if he would be without fresh supplies for weeks; they aren't good infantry soldiers, they only achieve something if the battle area has been bombed beforehand; their infantry is weak; I will tell you, they are the strongest power in the air, but as infantry soldiers they are not as good as the Germans; poor showing of the infantry; on foot they make poor soldiers; etc.	5	4	6	8

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
<u>They are poorly trained:</u> No exact military training; they are not treated firmly enough by their leaders, perhaps the drill isn't as tough as it should be, just think of the Russians, they are treated differently and you have to take that into consideration; the training is not as good as in the German army; the Americans lack the ruthless training the Germans had formerly, even under rain and great cold; etc.	5%	5%	6%	5%
<u>They are arrogant and conceited:</u> They are still rather arrogant towards the German population; they have a certain arrogance because they grew up in the country of unlimited opportunities and thus they overestimate everything; that they behave as if they were in America and not in Germany, they seem to think that everything belongs to them; they are arrogant and underestimate their opponents; etc.	3	3	4	1
<u>They have no idealism and no interest to fight for a foreign country:</u> That they don't have any ideals; a soldier will show his best abilities only when he defends his home country; American soldiers cannot be expected to be so enthusiastic about the prospect of fighting in Europe; that they would have to fight on a foreign continent and that they won't go all out in such a struggle; etc.	3	4	1	1
<u>They do not take a soldier's life seriously enough:</u> Their private lives come first with them; they are in Germany for their recreation only, take, for instance, the bowling alley in Garmisch; they don't like to be soldiers, they are carpet knights; they are gentlemen and no soldiers; it seems to be a sport to them, a hobby, deep down they have some misgivings about being a soldier, they just join in adventures to get some experiences; they aren't soldiers in the German sense of the word, no fighters for their fatherland but sportsmen; etc.	2	2	2	2
<u>Their army is composed of too many races:</u> The military spirit doesn't run in his blood as much as it does with us, because so many races live in America; the Americans are composed of many peoples and therefore they have no national spirit; their weakness, as I see it, lies in the relationship between white and colored people; that 60% are against the colored people; etc.	2	2	1	1
<u>They are like children:</u> Often they just behave like kids, their upbringing leaves much to be desired; they hop around in the streets and play ball in the streets, going on a merry-go-round they spend so much money that a whole family could live on it; etc.	1	1	1	*

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
They engage in black market activities: They have cocoa and coffee in their bags and sell it on the black market; in the years after the war many Americans were engaged in black market deals and other rackets, I don't know if that's still true today; etc.	*	*	*	*
They don't have any weak points: As far as I know, they are well equipped, otherwise we wouldn't have been overrun, because we were strong enough and still they did it; I don't think that they have any weak points, otherwise America would not have won the war; wherein should their weak points lie? - they won the war, consequently they can't be weak; etc.	4	4	2	5
Others: They are too superficial in everything; politically they are not stable, they don't have a great ideal; with the same amount of money spent for an American division, the Russians would equip ten of them; they are always in a hurry when they drive a car, they make too much noise; maybe it's a weak point that the Americans don't know much about the Russians as soldiers, as enemies; etc.	5	4	6	4
No opinion:	49	49	47	53
	130%@	126%@	134%@	124%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON THE WAY US TROOPS MIGHT MEET AGGRESSION ...

No marked group differences, reliably beyond chance, occur regarding the way American troops would meet any future aggression. The prevailing opinion among all population segments being that the US forces would fight well rather than only fairly well or poorly.

The direction of opinions among US Zone groups is similar, though the tendency there is for somewhat smaller proportions predicting the American soldiers would put up a good fight against the Russians.

"According to everything you have seen or heard, do you believe that the American soldiers who are here now would fight well or poorly in case of a Russian attack?"

WEST GERMANY

	Well	Fairly well	Poorly	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	45%	20%	23%	12% ...100%	735
Women	42	15	15	28	858
Education:					
Elementary school	43	17	18	22	1283
Beyond elementary	43	21	20	16	307
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	41	12	16	31	335
150 - 299 DM	42	20	19	19	567
300 - 399 DM	44	19	20	17	379
400 DM and more	49	18	17	16	284
Age:					
18 - 24 years	47	21	22	10	153
25 - 34 years	44	22	16	18	335
35 - 44 years	44	17	19	20	359
45 - 54 years	41	20	19	20	363
55 years and over	43	12	18	27	381
Party Preference:					
SPD	49	17	21	13	361
CDU/CSU	49	19	12	20	357
FDP/DP	46	24	21	9	112
Other parties	43	16	30	11	70
No party	39	19	20	22	497
Don't know	34	10	13	43	196
Occupation:					
Professionals	48	17	15	20	65
Businessmen	40	19	22	19	175
White-collar workers	46	17	22	15	212
Skilled laborers	47	19	19	15	322
Semi-skilled laborers	39	21	18	22	191
Farmers	40	20	17	23	155
Unemployed	46	18	18	18	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	42	11	17	30	287
Religion:					
Catholics	42	18	18	22	732
Protestants	47	17	17	19	789
Origin:					
Natives	42	18	19	21	1295
Expellees, Refugees	49	18	15	18	295
Veteran Status:					
Yes, against America	41	27	22	10	140
Yes, in other countries	43	21	23	13	285
World War I	51	13	22	14	135
No	48	18	23	11	164

"According to everything you have seen or heard, do you believe that the American soldiers who are here now would fight well or poorly in case of a Russian attack?"

US ZONE

	Well	Fairly well	Poorly	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	37%	20%	29%	14% ...100%	247
Women	38	13	24	25	303
Education:					
Elementary school	38	16	26	20	452
Beyond elementary	36	16	30	18	96
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	40	11	25	24	134
150 - 299 DM	38	18	24	20	214
300 - 399 DM	37	17	29	17	112
400 DM and more	32	20	32	16	81
Age:					
18 - 24 years	31	26	35	8	61
25 - 34 years	38	23	21	18	120
35 - 44 years	39	11	29	21	132
45 - 54 years	35	20	26	19	117
55 years and over	40	7	26	27	120
Party Preference:					
SPD	43	14	31	12	125
CDU/CSU	37	21	18	24	123
FDP/DP	37	26	33	4	27
Other parties	41	15	38	6	32
No party	35	16	30	19	177
Don't know	32	8	16	44	66
Occupation:					
Professionals	32	23	27	18	22
Businessmen	34	11	32	23	56
White-collar workers	39	14	34	13	70
Skilled laborers	41	19	29	11	80
Semi-skilled laborers	35	21	23	21	66
Farmers	40	19	18	23	83
Unemployed	40	27	18	15	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	39	7	29	25	99
Religion:					
Catholics	36	20	26	18	319
Protestants	40	10	25	25	203
Origin:					
Natives	36	17	27	20	438
Expellees, Refugees	42	14	22	22	110
Veteran Status:					
Yes, against America	29	33	29	9	42
Yes, in other countries	38	17	28	17	95
World War I	42	8	31	19	36
No	41	19	31	9	68

LEADERSHIP GROUPS HAVE GAINED A BETTER IMPRESSION AS A RESULT OF KOREA ...

The Korean record has raised the reputation of the American soldiers more frequently among the better informed, opinion leading elements than among their counterpart groups. It is to be noted, also, that in no case do these people depart appreciably from the public as a whole in the view that what they have heard about Korea has lowered their estimation of the fighting quality of the US soldiers.

"From all you have heard about the fighting in Korea: do you have a better impression or worse impression of the American soldiers?"

WEST GERMANY

	Better	Worse	Un-changed	Can't decide whether better or worse	Heard nothing about Korea	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	32%	12%	33%	20%	3%...100%	735
Women	20	7	23	39	11	858
Education:						
Elementary school	24	10	26	32	8	1283
Beyond elementary	34	9	33	21	3	307
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	18	10	23	34	15	335
150 - 299 DM	27	10	27	31	5	567
300 - 399 DM	27	8	30	30	5	379
400 DM and more	34	10	29	25	2	284
Age:						
18 - 24 years	33	10	31	25	1	153
25 - 34 years	28	7	35	24	6	335
35 - 44 years	25	12	26	31	6	359
45 - 54 years	27	10	26	31	6	363
55 years and over	21	8	22	36	13	381
Party Preference:						
SPD	30	12	25	29	4	361
CDU/CSU	31	8	23	32	6	357
FDP/DP	37	11	34	14	4	112
Other parties	26	17	33	17	7	70
No party	23	9	32	30	6	497
Don't know	13	4	20	43	20	196
Occupation:						
Professionals	35	5	35	20	5	65
Businessmen	29	15	31	22	3	175
White-collar workers	31	6	31	29	3	212
Skilled laborers	28	13	28	27	4	322
Semi-skilled laborers	27	7	28	31	7	191
Farmers	20	10	22	35	13	155
Unemployed	23	13	34	24	6	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired;etc.	20	7	21	39	13	287
Religion:						
Catholics	26	8	27	30	9	732
Protestants	26	11	27	30	6	789
Origin:						
Natives	25	10	28	30	7	1295
Expellees, Refugees	30	8	25	30	7	295
Veteran Status:						
Yes, against America	30	14	37	17	2	140
Yes, in other countries	35	11	36	16	2	285
World War I	27	13	31	22	7	135
No	35	13	24	26	2	164

04728

PREVAILING VIEW IN MOST POPULATION GROUPS IS TO RANK RUSSIANS SECOND BEST ...

Since the main importance in the rankings on second and last place is the relative standing of Americans vis-a-vis the Russians, only figures for the two are shown in the following tables of group breakdowns.

It will be noted that the Russians are ranked as second best (i.e. ranking just below the Germans) considerably more frequently than are the Americans by almost all elements in the West German as well as US Zone populations. Higher status groups are more likely to rate the Russians as second than are their counterpart, relatively lower status elements. Younger people, especially in the American Zone, also tend to follow this pattern.

Indications are, on the whole, that US Zone residents are somewhat more inclined than West Germans as a whole to give the advantage to the Russians, though not enough cases are always on hand to consider this a firm trend.

"All in all, who in your opinion, makes the best fighter as an individual? And who is in second place?"

	WEST GERMANY		
	Americans	Russians	No. of cases
Sex:			
Men	16%	37%	735
Women	23	26	858
Education:			
Elementary school	20	31	1283
Beyond elementary	19	33	307
Income (per month):			
0 - 149 DM	20	24	335
150 - 299 DM	20	33	567
300 - 399 DM	18	31	379
400 DM and more	22	35	284
Age:			
18 - 24 years	20	41	153
25 - 34 years	14	41	335
35 - 44 years	19	35	359
45 - 54 years	22	29	363
55 years and over	24	18	381
Party Preference:			
SPD	18	37	361
CDU/CSU	22	31	357
FDP/DP	18	40	112
Other parties	21	42	70
No party	19	29	497
Don't know	19	19	196
Occupation:			
Professionals	17	34	65
Businessmen	15	37	175
White-collar workers	21	35	212
Skilled laborers	18	37	322
Semi-skilled laborers	20	28	191
Farmers	18	31	155
Unemployed	22	39	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	24	18	287
Religion:			
Catholics	18	30	732
Protestants	21	32	789
Origin:			
Natives	19	30	1295
Expellees, Refugees	22	35	295
Veteran Status:			
Yes, against America	13	39	140
Yes, in other countries	14	43	285
World War I	24	24	135
No	17	35	164

"All in all, who in your opinion makes the best fighter as an individual? And who is in second place?"

	US ZONE		
	Americans	Russians	No. of cases
Sex:			
Men	14%	41%	247
Women	18	34	303
Education:			
Elementary school	17	36	452
Beyond elementary	10	42	96
Income (per month):			
0 - 149 DM	16	27	134
150 - 299 DM	17	38	214
300 - 399 DM	18	42	112
400 DM and more	12	46	81
Age:			
18 - 24 years	15	49	61
25 - 34 years	12	38	120
35 - 44 years	16	43	132
45 - 54 years	17	39	117
55 years and over	19	19	120
Party Preference:			
SPD	17	44	125
CDU/CSU	20	31	123
FDP/DP	7	45	27
Other parties	19	47	32
No party	15	39	177
Don't know	12	20	66
Occupation:			
Professionals	9	32	22
Businessmen	11	44	56
White-collar workers	13	48	70
Skilled laborers	12	43	80
Semi-skilled laborers	21	35	66
Farmers	16	34	83
Unemployed	20	38	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	22	23	99
Religion:			
Catholics	16	36	319
Protestants	16	37	203
Origin:			
Natives	14	37	438
Expellees, Refugees	22	37	110
Veteran Status:			
Yes, against America	10	45	42
Yes, in other countries	11	43	95
World War I	19	22	36
No	18	43	68

POPULATION GROUP DIFFERENCES ON LOWEST RATING ...

American soldiers are more frequently than Russians given the lowest ranking though the differences are not as great as in the second - place rating. (French troops are ranked last most frequently in all population groups.) Also noteworthy here is that differences between the upper status groups and others are not very great.

"All in all, who in your opinion makes the best fighter as an individual? And who is in last place?"

	WEST GERMANY		
	Americans	Russians	No. of cases
Sex:			
Men	18%	9%	735
Women	12	10	858
Education:			
Elementary school	16	9	1283
Beyond elementary	16	9	307
Income (per month):			
0 - 149 DM	12	10	335
150 - 299 DM	16	8	567
300 - 399 DM	15	9	379
400 DM and more	17	11	284
Age:			
18 - 24 years	24	7	153
25 - 34 years	18	8	335
35 - 44 years	15	10	359
45 - 54 years	13	9	363
55 years and over	12	12	381
Party Preference:			
SPD	19	10	361
CDU/CSU	13	11	357
FDP/DP	17	7	112
Other parties	23	10	70
No party	14	9	497
Don't know	13	5	196
Occupation:			
Professionals	14	6	65
Businessmen	18	9	175
White-collar workers	17	7	212
Skilled laborers	18	10	322
Semi-skilled laborers	15	8	191
Farmers	14	10	155
Unemployed	20	9	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	10	12	287
Religion:			
Catholics	16	9	732
Protestants	15	10	789
Origin:			
Natives	16	9	1295
Expellees, Refugees	10	10	295
Veteran Status:			
Yes, against America	17	9	140
Yes, in other countries	21	5	285
World War I	17	15	135
No	18	7	164

[redacted]

"All in all, who in your opinion makes the best fighter as an individual? And who is in last place?"

US ZONE

	Americans	Russians	No. of cases
Sex:			
Men	19%	6%	247
Women	17	8	303
Education:			
Elementary school	17	8	452
Beyond elementary	22	6	96
Income (per month):			
0 - 149 DM	15	10	134
150 - 299 DM	17	7	214
300 - 399 DM	21	4	112
400 DM and more	22	7	81
Age:			
18 - 24 years	31	5	61
25 - 34 years	19	5	120
35 - 44 years	19	7	132
45 - 54 years	14	5	117
55 years and over	12	13	120
Party Preference:			
SPD	18	5	125
CDU/CSU	16	11	123
FDP/DP	18	4	27
Other parties	31	9	32
No party	19	7	177
Don't know	12	5	66
Occupation:			
Professionals	13	5	22
Businessmen	20	7	56
White-collar workers	21	3	70
Skilled laborers	24	6	80
Semi-skilled laborers	17	8	66
Farmers	16	8	83
Unemployed	27	4	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	9	13	99
Religion:			
Catholics	19	8	319
Protestants	17	5	203
Origin:			
Natives	20	7	438
Expellees, Refugees	9	7	110
Veteran Status:			
Yes, against America	14	5	42
Yes, in other countries	20	5	95
World War I	11	17	36
No	27	1	68

III. GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE FORCES' PRESENCE IN WEST GERMANY

A summation of the overall reactions of the West German people to the complex of issues associated with the presence of foreign troops in their country is afforded by results of the broad inquiries set forth below. The issues here considered are the comparative advantages and disadvantages to the Germans of the presence of US troops, and recommendations as to their continued presence in West Germany.

ADVANTAGES/DISADVANTAGES OF US TROOPS' PRESENCE IN WEST GERMANY ...

Despite the fact that many West Germans can come up with criticisms regarding the combat qualities of the American soldiers, the main advantage in having them here, in West German opinion, is that they are a protection against external or internal aggression.

Scarcely anyone (2%) when enumerating disadvantages expresses the view that the American troops by their presence might provoke aggression. Economic matters - occupations costs, requisitioning, damages caused in maneuvers - largely make up the bill of particulars regarding the disadvantages, as may be seen in the summary table below listing advantages and disadvantages.

	WEST GERMANY	US Zone
Advantages:		
Security: external, internal	51%	51%
Economic: general, jobs, food	38	37
Promotes international friendship	8	4
Others	8	9
Undecided	20	19
No advantages	19	20
	144%@	140%@

	WEST GERMANY	US Zone
Disadvantages:		
Provocation of Russia	2%	2%
Economic: occupation costs, requisitioning, damage thru maneuvers, food	76	76
Personal: limitations of freedom, corruption of morals, racketeering	15	12
Others	3	3
Undecided	18	18
No disadvantages	16	17
	130%@	128%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

IMPROVEMENT OVER LAST YEAR'S APPRAISAL IS APPARENT ...

Despite the concentration on the economic disadvantages, the proportion of West Germans citing economic advantages incident to the troops' presence has increased considerably during the year. In December 1951, only 16 per cent mentioned such things as increased dollar exchange or D-mark buying as an advantage, which suggests that the publicity regarding expenditures of the Armed Forces in West Germany, both officially and privately, has not been without influence on opinions. Also to the good is the indication that considerably fewer people now say that there are no advantages at all in having the troops here; correspondingly, the proportion declaring there are no disadvantages has increased. Comparative figures are:

	WEST GERMANY		US ZONE	
	Dec 51	Jan 53	Dec 51	Jan 53
No advantages	33%	19%	31%	20%
No disadvantages	4	16	4	17

SECURITY AND ECONOMIC BENEFITS MAIN ADVANTAGES ...

"First of all: what advantages does the population have through the presence of American troops in West Germany? (What else?)"

IF "Security of West Germany" or the like is mentioned:

"Aside from the question of West Germany's security: what other advantages does the population have through the presence of American troops in West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
NO ADVANTAGES:				
There's no advantage; none whatever; I can't think either of an advantage nor of a drawback; there are no advantages whatsoever; we don't have any advantages; etc.	19%	18%	20%	17%
SECURITY:				
Protection from the Russians				
We can be sure that we will not be swamped by the East because we ourselves have only a police force at our disposal; I always think that when they are here they will protect us in case the Russians should come; we are more secure against the Russians, because as long as they are here, the Russians will not attack; it means a protection for us, it's a deterrent for Russia which otherwise might occupy West Germany, there are no other advantages but rather drawbacks; we need not have fear that the Russians will awake us tomorrow morning; the Russians feel respect for these troops, thus we have a certain protection; if the Americans wouldn't be here, the Russians would have come here long ago; that we are safe from the menace of the Soviet army which is already in Thuringia, we need this protection; they needn't have so much fear that the Russians will attack us all of a sudden; they are our safeguard, if they wouldn't be here the Russians would be here, no doubt; etc.	28	32	27	15

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Protection and security (no mention of Russians)				
It means a certain protection for us; they provide a certain measure of protection; we are more secure; the simple-minded masses have a feeling of security; so we are protected from invasions by other nations; that the troops are here to protect us; if there would be another war, we'll at least have a protection as we ourselves don't have military forces; etc.	15%	16%	16%	10%
Maintaining peace and order in Germany				
Peace will be maintained in our country, Nazis and Communists can't make trouble; it's a safeguard against Communism to take over in Germany, as well as another dictator; that peace and order will be preserved, without domestic peace we won't get anywhere; it means a greater protection against radical elements; there's peace and order throughout the country, there are very many foreigners over here, if the Americans weren't here these people could do with us what they please; if the Americans weren't here any longer I'm afraid the so-called DP's will do evil things; under their rule peace will be maintained, otherwise we might be quarrelling again by now; I told you already, it means we are safe against outrages on the part of the KPD or similar parties; we live here as individuals, as free Europeans, that means very much; that through the Americans we have a democracy over here; etc.	8	7	8	8
ECONOMIC:				
Increased dollar exchange, D-mark purchases				
Our economy is stimulated, the Americans are interested in trading with the Germans, that's all the advantages I can think of; American firms are more likely to invest capital over here; our economy profits from the well paid members of the army; they bring foreign currency to our country, they spend the pay they get over here; the number of American tourists has multiplied, largely due to reports given by former occupation soldiers; the Americans spend dollars over here which we can use very well, that's the only advantage; only those towns will profit where American soldiers are stationed, I mean economic advantages for shops and so; a large portion of their pay goes to the German economy; quite a lot of money in foreign currencies remains in Germany, they buy articles of luxury like watches, cameras, they spend money in restaurants; through a greater volume in foreign currency transactions, through exports; many artisans earn a lot of money through the Americans, just think of the big building firms; business people are glad about it, for many of them the presence of the American troops means profit; etc.	23	24	23	27
Increased job possibilities				
There is the one advantage in that Germans have found jobs through them who were formerly unemployed; advantages insofar as Germans work with Americans; when they are here, many people have work, they pay well; many unemployed get jobs through them; many Germans got a job with the occupation forces, not only men but also many women, partly in an office, partly in domestic service; etc.	10	9	9	16

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Helps food situation				
They helped us with food; the people were supported with food stuffs; only that one can buy coffee cheaply from time to time; above all, they supported us at the time we were starving; the food situation would be worse if the Americans wouldn't be here, then America would not be interested in West Germany; in that way the food problem is handled more satisfactorily, we can't support ourselves from our small country alone, it's too densely populated, and they can help us with imports; only people who smoke and drink coffee profit from it, they get coffee and cigarettes more cheaply that way; etc.	5%	4%	5%	3%
OTHERS:				
Promotes friendship between nations				
There is more confidence between Germany and America, I'm sure the relations will get even more friendly; Americans get better acquainted with Germans and vice versa, the danger of war between the two nations is diminished that way; they help to further mutual understanding between Germans and Americans, they tell us how things are in the US; they help to promote peace between all nations; friendship between nations; the Americans can see for themselves that we are no criminals and murderers; the German people get together with other nations, many Germans never get beyond the borders of their country, in that way they get at least an idea of the mentality of another people, that's an invaluable experience; etc.	8	13	4	5
Advantages for women				
Many girls will get married; the soldiers who have German girl friends often help the girls' folks when they are poor; the connections, women can marry Americans, I think that's a good thing; it's only the camp-followers of the Yanks and the people who rent rooms to them who have advantages; etc.	3	2	2	3
MISCELLANEOUS:				
Compared to the Russians it's the lesser evil; besides we like the Americans better than any of the other occupation powers, it's a good thing that we're not under the administration of the others; if there are many Yanks over here, Germans may not be drafted; the Americans watch traffic discipline, so there won't be so many accidents; through America Houses and cultural institutions; etc.	5	4	7	4
No opinion/No answer	20	17	19	28
	144%@	146%@	140%@	136%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[illegible] ...

"And what di[illegible]vantages, in your opi[illegible], does the population [illegible]e through the presenc[illegible] American troops in [illegible] Germany? (What else?

IF "Provoca[illegible]" or the like mention

"Aside from [illegible]s point, what disadva[illegible]es does the population have through the presence of American troops in West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
NO DISADVANTAGES - RATHER ADVANTAGES:				
There are no disadvantages in my opinion; none, they get in nobody's way; none whatever, some time ago people used to say we had to bear the occupation costs, but now the Americans foot the bill, as far as I know; they provide jobs for Germans; the Americans spend a lot of money in this country, it's very good for us to earn money in foreign currencies; mutual understanding between the two nations is promoted, money will circulate freely; etc.	16%	16%	17%	17%
ECONOMIC:				
(Heavier) financial burden, occupation costs, taxes, increased prices				
The people have to pay, it's the occupation costs; the government has to pay for the upkeep of troops; the upkeep of the occupation forces costs too much money; it would mean a heavier financial burden, above all for the man in the street; it's we who have to pay for them, taxes are increasing all the time; it's a costly protection, we have to raise a lot of money in taxes; we have to foot the bill regarding the costs of maintenance, the money should rather be used for social projects; it's too bad about the heavy occupation costs, it means high taxes for us; the price of goods goes up, we have to bear the excessive occupation costs; prices go up, because of the high occupation costs there is a continual rise in prices; etc.	42	42	46	35
Requisitioning of housing space, public buildings, land, etc.				
They requisitioned so many houses over here; it was quite a blow for those Germans who had to vacate their houses; in that case many more apartments would be needed which we ourselves need badly; they requisition the homes of people, and swimming pools, too; they requisitioned many nice homes that belonged to us and we have to content ourselves with whatever quarters we may find; they confiscated people's homes and landed property; they requisitioned woodland, houses and real estate; thus the housing shortage is more acute, they requisitioned quite a lot of our arable land; they take apartments and land for training grounds from us; they make drill-grounds out of the richest arable land; etc.	29	32	24	28
Damage through maneuvers, damage of other kind				
During the maneuvers damage was caused in woods and fields, the roads were damaged by tanks; much damage was done in the course of the maneuvers and the roads in rural areas were clogged; much land was ruined during the maneuvers, they really shouldn't do a thing like that; that you are reminded of the military all the time, often because of the damage done during the maneuvers, only once a year our claims are paid; that they plough up the fields with their tanks; etc.	4	3	5	*

(Cont'd on next page)

[redacted]

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Deterioration of the food situation We have to feed them, that's the dark side of the picture; we have to provide food for the American soldiers, in that way we'll have less; they get food stuffs from us if they can't manage on their rations; etc.	1%	1%	1%	*%
Unfavorable effect of the high American living standard They have too much money, because of them others get discontended; the high living standard of the Americans arouses envy and discontent; etc.	1	2	-	1
PERSONAL:				
Limitation of personal freedom, moral pressure, political tensions, tutelage Well, it means a limitation of our freedom of action, the individual can't just do what he pleases; we aren't free to do what we please, many laws issued by Military Government are still in force; we aren't our own masters any more; a great many people wouldn't be under sort of a restraint, above all people who were of some importance in the Third Reich they always feel somewhat pressed down; there still exists sort of a restraint, a moral pressure, there still is always some party who controls us, we still have to comply to orders; everything is rather complicated, German authorities use the excuse that it's the Americans who turn thumbs down on this and that; etc.	6	7	5	5
Corruption of manners and morals, bad influence on the younger generation Many German girls make up to the Yanks because they've got dough, and thus they become demoralized; all those many illegitimate children, and the girls come down in the world; well, it's just because of the girls, all those many babies by soldiers and colored boys; Well, the Negroes, that so many colored children are born; the young people will be turned into rowdies through films, they will imitate the screen heroes; the disadvantages mostly lie in the fact that the younger generation in Germany will become demoralized, the boundless freedom Americans enjoy in their own country doesn't do for our young people; the moral standards of the American army aren't always high, they don't set a good example for our young people; etc.	5	5	4	5
Incidents, racketeering Time and again some incidents occur, assaults and the like; that now and then incidents occur, that people must always be on their guard in the streets at night, not in this vicinity, however, there are no Americans stationed here; there were riots, civilians have been molested, they have been pretty fresh at times; smuggling of coffee and cigarettes means a loss in customs revenues to us; through the selling of American goods, revenues are defrauded; etc.	3	3	4	3
SECURITY:				
Endangering the country's security - provoking Russia If the Americans weren't here, the Russians might not be in the East Zone either; etc.	2	2	2	2

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
MISCELLANEOUS:				
That they placed the Czechs who murdered so many Germans outside of German jurisdiction; when they carry out maneuvers, people aren't safe in the street; it's hard to tell, they are an occupation power, after all; that capable workers and scientists are hired to work abroad; in city traffic they make up quite an obstacle, streets are still more congested, I'm sure there are other disadvantages, I can't think of any right now; etc.	3%	3%	3%	3%
No opinion/No answer	19	16	18	28
	131%@	132%@	129%@	127%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

MANY STILL REGARD OCCUPATION AS FUNCTION OF US SOLDIERS ...

Though half of the West German public list security against external or internal aggression as an advantage derived from the American soldiers' presence in Germany, when asked directly what they consider the soldiers chiefly to be - security or occupation forces, as many (41%) say occupation as security (42%). Probably as long as the occupation statute remains on the books, many West Germans will continue to hold this view.

"In what way do you regard the American soldiers in West Germany: chiefly as occupation troops or chiefly as a protection for European and West German security?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
As occupation troops	41%	43%	42%	36%
As a protection	42	42	42	38
No opinion	17	15	16	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The reasons cited by those who continue to think of American troops as occupation forces do not for the most part indicate any particular unfriendliness or hostility. A fraction do suggest this, however, among which are the group (6%) that alleges that the Americans will run out if the Russians should attack; those (5%) that assert the Americans wish to control Germany for economic gain or other reasons, and the handful (1%) who still consider the US their enemy. But more people reason in a more detached fashion, even though some reveal misconceptions of the situation. Thus 10 per cent argue that occupation is a consequence of defeat; others (7%) assert that the mere presence proves it - for there is no other reason for Americans to be here, or (5%) that the Germans continue to pay occupation costs, or because no treaty has been concluded the occupation still exists (3%). Their detailed comments follow:

"In what way do you regard the American soldiers in West Germany: chiefly as occupation troops or chiefly as a protection for European and West German security?"

"For what reasons do you believe that?" (Asked of those who answered "As occupation troops" to initial question.)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Occupation is the consequence of defeat				
Because they wouldn't be over here if we hand't lost the war; I can't give a reason, it's just what happens after a lost war, they send occupation troops; because they won the war, they are now the occupation powers in a conquered country; in 1945 they conquered Germany, and now they keep it occupied, a special occupation statute was drawn up; because the victorious powers always occupy the conquered countries; after the war the troops occupied our country and haven't withdrawn since then, that means they are occupation troops; they've got the right to stay here because we lost the war, we can't send them packing; etc.	10%	9%	10%	9%

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Their presence proves it There is no other reason for their being here, for everything is all right over here; they behave more like occupiers than like protectors, conditions here are certainly better than in the East Zone, but nevertheless they remain occupation troops in my eyes; because so many years have passed and the occupation troops haven't yet withdrawn from Germany; their actions in general, and sometimes even that of top rankers, are still very similar to that of occupiers; etc.	7%	7%	7%	5%
They can't defend us because they don't take any interest in it, because they are cowardly Because I don't expect much from their protection, I think that, in case of war, they wouldn't defend Germany but only attend to their own interests; the security of Germany and Europe doesn't rank first; the Americans don't care whether they will be able to protect us one day, they will beat it when the Russians invade the country; in case of war the Americans are the first who'll scram; in case the Russians start making trouble again we'll have to manage things ourselves, the Yanks won't do anything for us then; if a war should break out, they, as well as the others, will let us down, as they have always done; they are afraid of the East, they can't protect us; etc.	6	5	7	7
We have to pay for them Since we have to pay for the maintenance of the troops I consider them to be occupation troops; we have to pay for them, occupation costs haven't been cancelled yet; etc.	5	5	4	3
They want to intervene in or rule over Germany for economic gain or other reasons Because they still want to control us; the only reason for their staying here is to find out where they can make a profit; they want to keep Germany under their control; to look after their economic interests, and to expand their influence in West Germany; they all have their advantage in mind, they'd better leave us alone; the main task of the troops over here is to control and to protect American capital investments in Germany; through the occupation the Americans find new markets; they only want to exploit us; etc.	5	6	5	5
Because we have not got a peace treaty yet As we haven't got a peace treaty yet, the American soldiers represent an occupation power; I guess that they will stay here until a peace treaty is concluded; as long as the EDC treaty and the Germany treaty aren't ratified we won't have peace, that means I have to consider the American soldiers as occupation troops; because America hasn't yet concluded a peace treaty with us; etc.	3	4	3	3

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
They cannot protect us because the number of soldiers is too small Those few divisions here at the zonal border can hardly protect us; in order to protect West Germany the number of soldiers has to be considerably increased; there are too few of them to protect us; looking at the small number of soldiers, one can't consider them as a safeguard, the soldiers who are over here would never be able to defend us; I don't believe that they will be able to hold out in case of war because there are too few of them over here; etc.	3%	3%	3%	*
We do not need any protection, we can manage on our own We can protect ourselves; we don't need them as a safeguard, we have the German police for protection; because we have enough police forces to prevent trouble in case of an emergency, German men would be drafted; etc.	2	3	1	3
They distrust a resurgent powerful, nationalistic Germany They admit themselves that they want to prevent our becoming too strong again; they stay here in order to prevent the revival of national socialism and militarism in Germany; etc.	2	2	3	1
They are still our enemies They are still our enemies; they are enemies for me, they bombed our towns; etc.	1	1	1	-
Other reasons Many soldiers over here came back from Korea to have a rest in Germany, they don't represent a safeguard; if they would stay here for our defense they wouldn't have brought over such a lot of female assistants, and they wouldn't exert such a great influence on German policy; etc.	3	4	3	2
No opinion/No answer	1	-	2	-
	48%@	49%@	49%@	38%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS US SOLDIERS ARE CONSIDERED PROTECTIVE FORCES ...

Emphasis on the part of those who see the American soldiers as a protective force is given to the security they provide against outward aggression: 27 per cent specify protection against the East and an added 5 per cent speak in more general terms. Only a very small fraction (3%) allege the troops must be for defense because the "real" occupation has come to an end.

"For what reasons do you believe this?" (Asked of those who described troops as "protection.")

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Because they protect Germany against a menace from the East				
To stop the danger from the East, to prevent Communism gaining ground, as we have no troops of our own; to protect the West against aggression from the East; they protect us against the Russians, so that they (the Russians) cannot occupy our country; if it comes to a Russian invasion we need protection; the Russians would have gobbled us up long ago - it's better to be free - even if living in want than under the Russian knout; as a protection against the Russians, because the Russians are in Berlin already; the zonal border is so near and so is the Volkswagen plant - the Russians would have taken that long since if it were not for the presence of the Americans and the British; if the American were not here but only the British and the French that would never have prevented the Russians from coming here - but they are afraid of the Americans; because there is always the danger of a Russian attack - our only protection is the frontier police (Grenzschutz) and that's really hardly any protection; etc.	27%	26%	29%	22%
Because they protect and defend the unarmed Germany (no mention of Russia)				
As long as we have no protection of our own they have to do it; we are a defenseless people and have to have a protection; because now Germany belongs to the West and cannot defend itself; because USA has assumed responsibility for Germany's protection; because we have no army, we have nobody to help us if we are attacked; etc.	5	5	6	7
Because they protect their own interests				
I believe that they are here not only for our protection but at the same time protect their own countries; of course they are a protection, that's also in their very own interest because it's a lot they could lose here; they came as occupation, today they are protection, of their own interests as well; a defense army, not only for Western Europe but for America too because it is closely connected to the fate of West Europe - the Americans regard Europe as a kind of bridge-head; etc.	3	5	2	2

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Because they maintain inner security and order Their presence prevents parties from fighting each other; so that peace and order at home will be maintained; the internal disorderly state in Germany demands troops; if the Americans weren't here we would have had a civil war long ago; for the sake of internal security - if there were no occupation troops it would be very unsafe - leftist radicals would start agitating, not only by propaganda but by creating disturbances; for reasons of home policy - so that Nazism won't get the upper hand again; etc.	3%	4%	3%	1%
The days of occupation belong to the past I think the time of occupation, real occupation I mean, is over now, they behave far more decently than in the early days - because otherwise the American troops would have been withdrawn long since, occupation troops won't stay that long after the war in one country, not if they are just occupation troops; because you heard and read about it everywhere in newspapers and radio; because all those treaties did away with occupation; I read in the papers that the occupation statute was abolished, there won't be anymore requisitionings for the former occupation troops; etc.	3	3	3	3
Other reasons They started supporting us in every respect right from the beginning - when they came they behaved unobjectionably, we would rather have kept them here instead of having the French; the Americans are the most likeable, we have much confidence in the Americans; etc.	3	3	2	3
No opinion	1	1	1	2
	45%@	47%@	46%@	40%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04744

WESTERN TROOPS SHOULD STAY ...

Probably the most telling criterion, since it cuts across the whole complex of the various issues dealt with in this report - evaluations of combat qualities as well as civilian-troop relations - is the judgment of the West German people on whether the troops should remain in Germany or be withdrawn. Considered from this point of view, confidence, or if this is too strong a term, dependency, not only regarding the American soldiers, but the Allied Forces as a whole is apparent. A seven in ten majority in the US Zone and almost that in West Germany as a whole recommend that the troops remain. In contrast only 19 per cent advocate withdrawal.

"Considering everything, should the military forces of the Western powers leave West Germany now or should they stay on?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Leave	19%	18%	18%	20%
Stay on	67	68	70	56
No opinion	14	14	12	24
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Another indication to the good is the finding that the wish to have the Allied troops remain has increased during the year as these trend figures show.*

	WEST GERMANY		US ZONE	
	Dec 51	Jan 53	Dec 51	Jan 53
West Troops Should:				
Leave	22%	19%	22%	18%
Stay on	58	67	58	70
No opinion	20	14	20	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* These figures provide only a rough comparison since the question asked in last year's survey differed somewhat from the one used this year. Last year's query read: "If you consider the question of West Germany's security, what would be better for us - if all troops of the Western powers leave West Germany, if as many troops remain here as there are at present, or if more troops were brought here?" Replies to the two last alternatives add to the 58% reported above. Since this question is posed in terms of security, it is of course more favorable to the Western powers. Thus, the fact that the percentage recommending the troops remain is higher this year than last is further indication of increased good rapport.

[redacted]

MAJORITIES, REGARDLESS OF CRITICAL VIEWS IN OTHER AREAS, WANT THE FORCES TO REMAIN ...

The way the issue of the troops' staying on or leaving cuts through appraisals of the American troops in the areas already reported on can be demonstrated by cross comparison of questions. This reveals that with one exception, majorities in all groups, regardless of their appraisal of the American soldiers on specific points, want them to remain in West Germany.

	Western Troops Should:			
	Leave	Remain	Undecided	No. of cases
US Soldiers in Germany Are:				
Occupation troops	29%	58%	13%...100%	660
Protective troops	7	88	5	662
If Russians Attacked, Americans Would:				
Fight well	13	79	8	692
Fairly well	20	72	8	281
Poorly	33	56	11	291
Behavior of the Soldiers Is:				
Good	13	78	9	840
Fair	26	64	10	342
Bad	42	41	17	71
Know Some Soldiers:				
Well	16	77	7	205
Superficially	16	72	12	327
Know none	20	64	16	1061
Average Number of Soldiers Seen Weekly:				
Eleven or more	17	74	9	249
Ten - 4	14	76	10	98
Three or less	21	68	11	132
None	19	65	16	1111

The above findings are notably important. They make it clear that such fault-finding and irritations as are expressed regarding the American soldiers stop quite short of outright rejection. Whatever the areas of criticism, majorities - except in one instance - of those who voice these criticisms want the Forces to remain. Even the highly critical group which predicts the Americans would fight poorly should the Russians attack gives majority preference for retention of the Forces in Germany. The criticisms previously reported thus can be envisaged as more in the nature of irritations and "gripes" than as an indication of any basic estrangement on the part of segments of the German people vis-a-vis the American Forces in Germany.

BUT MANY OPPOSE ADDITIONAL TROOPS ...

West Germans are less agreeable to an increase in Allied troop contingents in their country, should such a step be contemplated. Although as many as three in ten would approve of having more troops, the weight of opinion is against it.

"And what would you say if the Western powers brought more military forces to Western Germany: would you approve or would you disapprove of it?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Approve	30%	34%	28%	25%
Disapprove	46	44	48	48
No opinion	24	22	24	27
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Almost all of the people who want the troops to leave oppose increased Allied contingents in West Germany. Though this probably is not a surprising finding, it also suggests the lack of popular appeal in the argument advanced by some German politicians that many West Germans do not want the Western forces to stay because their troop strength is not sufficiently great, but if more troops were brought in people would be more agreeable to their remaining. Of more interest is that those who want the troops to stay divide fairly evenly on whether additional contingents should be brought in or not. Here are the comparative views on additional troops between people who want the present forces to remain and those who want them to leave.

	Additions to the Troops		
	Approve	Disapprove	Undecided
Allied troops should leave	1%	16%	2%...19%
Allied troops should stay	29	26	12 ...67

Trend comparisons suggest that no appreciable change has occured over the year in the matter of additional Western forces.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST ADDITIONAL WESTERN TROOPS ...

Over half of the people who dislike the thought of more Allied troops in West Germany base their argument on economic disadvantages - added financial burdens (19%) or more requisitioning or aggravation of the housing shortage (8%). Others contend (9%) that increased troop contingents might provoke the Russians and lead to countermeasures, even war. (It will be recalled that only 2 per cent mention this possibility when listing disadvantages incident to the presence of the American troops now stationed in Germany.) A similar proportion (8%) argue that there are already sufficient troops, and a few say that foreign troops won't be needed when West Germany gets its own army (3%) or the Allies should get out and leave the Germans in peace (3%) or war is not imminent so more troops aren't needed (3%).

"Why should the Western powers not bring more military forces to Western Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
The financial burden would be too heavy: The occupation costs we have to pay at present are already too high; the financial burden would become still heavier for our country; we have to pay for their upkeep, they'll eat our food-stuffs; the costs for those who are stationed here are just high enough, heavier expenditures for the benefit of the Allies would unbalance the budget; because it's the German people that has to bear the increased occupation costs; we are unable to raise the money needed for this purpose; the financial burden would become unbearable for us; occupation costs would become higher and higher; food-stuffs would become even more expensive and scarce; because to provide for so many people is a bad enough problem as it is, it's impossible to feed even more Americans, English, French and Belgians; etc.	19%	14%	22%	18%
Russia would feel provoked, relations between East and West would get worse, the danger of war would increase: Russia would take countermeasures at once, and Germany would be the loser; that would cause nothing but political trouble: the East German and Russian governments would attribute a wrong meaning to such a move; the tension between East and West would be aggravated through it; to prevent the Russians' claiming the same right; because it would just mean provoking Russia to do the same in East Germany; it might encourage the Russians to launch an attack, they would in any case feel threatened; the Russians would be even more provoked, and the East Zone residents would have to suffer still more from them; the more troops they send the more grows the danger of war, the Russians would react immediately; the Russians will then send more troops to the border too, and another war will be brought on; in my opinion, more troops will increase the danger of war; what are they good for? - we don't want another war over here, the more Americans in Germany, the sooner there will be a Russian invasion; etc.	9	9	7	10

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
<u>There is a sufficient number of troops over here:</u> There was no demand for more troops up to now, why should we need them now?; I think there are enough soldiers for our protection, provided the Eastern peril doesn't increase; there are enough foreign troops here for the present, and later on every nation has to contribute its share to the defense of its country; why should they send more? - there are enough troops over here, it's not the quantity that counts but the quality; if the troops over here are able to check the first Russian onset, we don't need additional troops in West Germany; because we are already swamped with American soldiers; etc.	8	5	9	13
<u>Housing shortage would be aggravated:</u> Houses, barracks, stadiums and training grounds will be requisitioned if more soldiers are sent over here; we haven't got housing space for these people; we would be even more crowded, housing projects would be carried out for occupation troops only, and not for our own needs any more; there are enough troops here, the housing shortage would become even more acute, the Federal Republic is overpopulated anyway, the number of refugees is still increasing; still more? - I think we've got enough, they would requisition more private homes, for they won't be satisfied with barracks; so there won't be an additional demand for housing space which we need badly for refugees and expellees; what a question - because it wouldn't be better for us, look at all the refugees over here, you can't get a decent place of your own over here; they'll requisition all houses and places, and refugees have no place to live; etc.	8	8	9	8
<u>A national army would make additional foreign troops unnecessary:</u> They should let us have an army of our own, we then can manage things ourselves, but they mustn't stab us in the back as they did before; they should allow German military forces to be set up, thus foreign troops wouldn't be needed any more; there are enough German men who can be drafted, there are so many unemployed in Germany, we can raise an army of our own; we don't need them, they'd better set up a strong German army; because Germany will have an own army and will be independent before long, all the foreign troops can be withdrawn then, that can't take too long; if we get arms we can defend ourselves, and the others can go packing; because I plead for remilitarization; because we want our own army and full equality of rights; etc.	3	5	2	2

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
There is no imminent danger of war:				
There will be no war between East and West, therefore, additional troops are not necessary; I'm sure the Russians won't start a war, barking dogs never bite, but the Americans shouldn't slight the Russians too much; there is no imminent danger of the Russians attacking, besides that, the struggle for world domination between Russia and America won't take place over here, but in Asia; there is no war, why should they send more troops? the Russians keep quiet, more soldiers might make them sore; I don't think that the Russians themselves will invade our country, they might send the soldiers from the East Zone, and these are easy to cope with, for they'll desert in bands; etc.	3%	3%	3%	3%
We want peace and independence:				
They should conclude a peace, peace will make military forces unnecessary; we want peace and no military forces; they should all quit and leave us alone so that finally there's peace, that's what I would like best, but on the other hand, we might need them again one day; because there are enough of them over here, we want to get independent after all; we want to be on our own, at long last; they all should withdraw so that Germany can handle its affairs alone; etc.	3	4	3	2
Other reasons:				
As things are today troops can be moved in in no time in case of emergency; etc.	3	3	4	3
No opinion / No answer:	1	1	1	*
	57%@	52%@	60%@	59%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

VIEWS OF POPULATION GROUPS ON THE FUNCTION OF US TROOPS IN GERMANY ...

The tendency in all population groups is to split more or less evenly between regarding the US forces as occupation or defense troops. Among groups, however, where the balance of opinion leans toward the defensive character of the troops are men, including veterans who fought against American troops, the upper income group, refugees, affiliates of the Christian Democratic party, and the middle aged (45 - 54). Younger people (under 35) in contrast, are inclined more frequently to consider the American forces as still an army of occupation. A similar pattern occurs in US Zone population groups, except that there the upper income group splits evenly between "occupation" and "defense."

"In what way do you regard the American soldiers in West Germany: chiefly as occupation troops or chiefly as a protection for European and West German security?"

WEST GERMANY

	As occupation troops	As a protection	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	42%	48%	10% ...100%	735
Women	40	37	23	858
Education:				
Elementary school	40	41	19	1283
Beyond elementary	47	46	7	307
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	37	36	27	335
150 - 299 DM	44	39	17	567
300 - 399 DM	42	45	13	379
400 DM and more	42	49	9	284
Age:				
18 - 24 years	48	39	13	153
25 - 34 years	50	40	10	335
35 - 44 years	44	41	15	359
45 - 54 years	35	49	16	363
55 years and over	34	38	28	381
Party Preference:				
SPD	47	43	10	361
CDU/CSU	37	47	16	357
FDP/DP	48	45	7	112
Other parties	54	30	16	70
No party	42	42	16	497
Don't know	29	31	40	196
Occupation:				
Professionals	42	52	6	65
Businessmen	51	38	11	175
White-collar workers	44	47	9	212
Skilled laborers	42	44	14	322
Semi-skilled laborers	40	40	20	191
Farmers	34	43	23	155
Unemployed	46	42	12	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	38	34	28	287
Religion:				
Catholics	38	42	20	732
Protestants	44	41	15	789
Origin:				
Natives	46	44	10	1295
Expellees, Refugees	37	47	16	295
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	41	49	10	140
Yes, in other countries	44	46	10	285
World War I	39	44	17	135
No	43	50	7	164

"In what way do you regard the American soldiers in West Germany: chiefly as occupation troops or chiefly as a protection for European and West German security?"

US ZONE

	As occupation troops	As a protection	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	42%	47%	11% ...100%	247
Women	42	39	19	303
Education:				
Elementary school	41	42	17	452
Beyond elementary	47	44	9	96
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	34	38	28	134
150 - 299 DM	45	40	15	214
300 - 399 DM	42	48	10	112
400 DM and more	47	47	6	81
Age:				
18 - 24 years	56	31	13	61
25 - 34 years	52	38	10	120
35 - 44 years	43	43	14	132
45 - 54 years	30	56	14	117
55 years and over	36	37	27	120
Party Preference:				
SPD	45	46	9	125
CDU/CSU	35	46	19	123
FDP/DP	48	52	-	27
Other parties	57	37	6	32
No party	45	43	12	177
Don't know	32	26	42	66
Occupation:				
Professionals	45	50	5	22
Businessmen	61	34	5	56
White-collar workers	48	39	13	70
Skilled laborers	47	44	9	80
Semi-skilled laborers	36	50	14	66
Farmers	30	46	24	63
Unemployed	40	40	20	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	39	36	25	99
Religion:				
Catholics	41	45	14	319
Protestants	45	37	18	203
Origin:				
Natives	44	40	16	438
Expellees, Refugees	32	53	15	110
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	38	50	12	42
Yes, in other countries	42	49	9	95
World War I	36	36	28	36
No	47	46	7	68

04752

INFLUENCE GROUPS MOST FAVORABLE TO ALLIED TROOPS' REMAINING ...

Majorities in all population groups want the Western forces to remain in West Germany, but this sentiment reaches particularly high proportions among the better educated, upper income and higher occupational groups. Refugees and World War II veterans are also highly in favor of their remaining.

"Considering everything, should the military forces of the Western powers leave West Germany or should they stay on?"

WEST GERMANY

	Leave	Stay on	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	19%	72%	9%...100%	735
Women	18	63	19	858
Education:				
Elementary school	20	64	16	1283
Beyond elementary	12	80	8	307
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	20	59	21	335
150 - 299 DM	21	65	14	567
300 - 399 DM	15	73	12	379
400 DM and more	15	77	8	284
Age:				
18 - 24 years	24	67	9	153
25 - 34 years	16	73	11	335
35 - 44 years	18	68	14	359
45 - 54 years	17	68	15	363
55 years and over	21	60	19	381
Party Preference:				
SPD	20	71	9	361
CDU/CSU	13	76	11	357
FDP/DP	15	78	7	112
Other parties	24	67	9	70
No party	23	62	15	497
Don't know	15	53	32	196
Occupation:				
Professionals	11	81	8	65
Businessmen	16	71	13	175
White-collar workers	13	74	13	212
Skilled laborers	23	67	10	322
Semi-skilled laborers	18	69	13	191
Farmers	19	64	17	155
Unemployed	22	66	12	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	22	57	21	287
Religion:				
Catholics	19	66	15	732
Protestants	18	69	13	789
Origin:				
Natives	20	65	15	1295
Expellees, Refugees	12	78	10	295
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	18	76	6	140
Yes, in other countries	17	76	7	285
World War I	21	70	9	135
No	21	67	12	164

PREPONDERANCE IN ALL GROUPS DISAPPROVE OF ADDITIONAL WESTERN FORCES IN WEST GERMANY ...

But though majorities want the Western forces to stay on in Germany, in no population group does the recommendation that troop contingents be increased predominate over disapproval of such a step. Among those most inclined to disapprove are young people and sympathizers with the Social Democratic party. As to latter, it may be recalled that the late leader of that party, Dr. Schumacher, used to say that unless more Western troops were brought into Germany, West German integration with the West was impossible.

"And what would you say if the Western powers brought more military forces to Western Germany: would you approve or would you disapprove of it?"

	WEST GERMANY			
	Approve	Disapprove	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	36%	49%	15% ...100%	735
Women	26	43	31	858
Education:				
Elementary school	29	46	25	1283
Beyond elementary	38	45	17	307
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	24	41	35	335
150 - 299 DM	31	49	20	567
300 - 399 DM	35	41	24	379
400 DM and more	32	52	16	284
Age:				
18 - 24 years	24	55	21	153
25 - 34 years	37	45	18	335
35 - 44 years	33	45	22	259
45 - 54 years	30	45	25	363
55 years and over	25	45	30	381
Party Preference:				
SPD	28	56	16	361
CDU/CSU	40	40	20	357
FDP/DP	39	48	13	112
Other parties	23	66	11	70
No party	28	45	27	497
Don't know	21	33	46	196
Occupation:				
Professionals	37	45	18	65
Businessmen	26	53	21	175
White-collar workers	42	38	20	212
Skilled laborers	30	52	18	322
Semi-skilled laborers	33	48	19	191
Farmers	28	44	28	155
Unemployed	33	46	21	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	25	41	34	287
Religion:				
Catholics	29	47	24	732
Protestants	31	46	23	789
Origin:				
Natives	28	48	24	1295
Expellees, Refugees	40	38	22	295
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	41	47	12	140
Yes, in other countries	39	48	13	285
World War I	32	52	16	135
No	30	51	19	164

IV. REACTIONS TO SOME ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

In this section the West German reactions to a number of more specific matters which bear on relations between the Armed Forces and the German people and in certain instances on evaluation of combat qualities are examined. The items range from reactions to the presence of American families in West Germany, requisitioning, the way US soldiers live, to parades, civilian dress for soldiers and the curfew.

A. American Families in Germany

CRITICISM OF THE MODE OF AMERICAN FAMILY LIFE IN GERMANY IS LIMITED ...

Clearly most West Germans, including those living in the US Zone, do not share the charge that has been made by some American as well as German publicists and others that the American families in Germany "never had it so good." In fact even though the query deliberately invites criticism of the way US army families live, the large preponderance (43%) say positively that there is nothing to criticize on that score. Such statements are typical, "No, there isn't anything - they only have more money to spend, but there are Germans who can afford such a life, too" or, "No, I haven't any objections, once they are here they should feel at home so that they have pleasant memories about Germany," or "We would have done just the same - we had a good time in France, too, in those days."

Among the minority who do have something to criticize, the allegation of luxury leads with 11 per cent mention. Other charges made in each instance by only small handfuls are that the US families occupy disproportionately large houses or apartments, keep servants at German expense, or are arrogant. Over a third have no opinion on the matter. Their comments listed in order of frequency follow.

"From all you have heard or read about it: is there anything to be criticized about the way the American soldiers' families here in West Germany live?"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.

No objections and other positive answers

There's nothing to object to; it's quite all right; no, it's quite understandable from a human point of view; laisser faire, laisser aller (don't intervene, let people do what they please); no, there isn't anything to be criticized, the American way of life is different from ours, that's all; no, it's o.k., they often are of German descent; no objections, they may do what they please; no, there isn't anything, they only have more money to spend, but there are Germans who can afford such a life too; no, I wouldn't say so, they probably live more comfortably than the Germans do, but that doesn't affect me; no, I don't object, if you reside far from your homeland it's not an easy life anyway; I think that conditions have improved, the families got accustomed to the new life, and as far as I know, there are hardly ever any differences; generally they keep pretty much to themselves, and don't have frequent contacts with Germans, their manners are all right; no, on the contrary, they treat their German staff well; they have settled down over here, they adjust themselves better to German conditions than they did in the past;

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
No, I haven't any objections, once they are here, they should feel at home, so that they keep Germany in pleasant memory; why should I criticize the life American families lead in Germany? Everybody can live according to his means, the Americans have more money than we have, consequently they can lead a better life, that's only natural; we would have done just the same, we had a good time, too, in France in those days; it's the conqueror's right to live the way he wants to, we would do the same, it's o.k.; no, I don't object, you don't even notice them, they visit their clubs, you just see them pass by in their luxury cars, that's all; I have no objections for a family belongs together, otherwise the husband is after other women; etc.	43%	43%	45%	40%
<u>They live in too grand a style, with greater luxury than in the US, and we have to foot the bill</u> I condemn the luxurious life of the officers' families because so many German families are still hard up; there is too much luxury compared to the average German family; they live too well that causes envy and discontent; they live in too grand a style, they live in luxury flats, don't work much, are extravagant and have too many maids; they lead a more comfortable life than we do, they have several rooms and enough servants, they've got everything they need, furniture, central heating and all the rest is provided for them; they lead the life of grand dukes in requisitioned residences, they might as well do without that; they live in an abundance - that would be impossible in America; the soldiers' families certainly live much better than they can do at home; they enjoy all kinds of advantages and privileges, that's not right in my opinion, for they live at our expense and we can't be called wealthy; etc.	11	11	11	12
<u>They require too much housing space</u> They should content themselves with less housing space; two people, a married couple, take up a whole house consisting of six rooms while the German owner and his family have to crowd into a small place that costs a high rent; the best houses are requisitioned to accommodate the soldiers' families; they take up too much space and requisition our houses; etc.	4	4	4	3
<u>They keep servants at our expense</u> The housewives are provided with maids who are paid with our money, it wouldn't be asking too much if the housewives would do a few household chores themselves; they get enormous salaries but the numerous domestics they keep are paid from the occupation cost budget; that the Americans don't lift a finger but each family keeps a maid for whom we have to pay; some families hired two or three maids, it would be good for them if they would do their work alone as the German women do, too; etc.	1	1	2	*

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Their behavior is arrogant They talk too big, they feel as conquerors and look down on us; I learned that they put on airs over here; they want to be given preference, and consider themselves to be in a better class than we are; I spent my holidays in Bavaria where the Americans annoyed me all the time by their arrogance and their extravagances; etc.	1%	1%	1%	-%
They engage in black market deals Yes, this business with cigarettes and coffee, everything and everybody (coal, the dressmaker etc.) was paid with such goods, they did everything to exploit the Germans; etc.	*	*	*	-
They live a simple life They are more unpretentious than the Germans are, they use tinned foods for cooking, they take it easy, there are no curtains in their homes; etc.	*	*	*	-
Other answers I was told that all left-overs are thrown away, no foods are saved for supper or given to other people; I'm very much against it, we are so hard up in West Germany that the maintenance of the American families would be simply too much, there are enough people over here, West Germany is full of refugees and similar people; they didn't handle the furniture so carefully as they would have done if it had been their own stuff; etc.	3	3	3	3
Indifferent answers I don't care; they can do what they please, I don't mind; etc.	2	1	3	2
No opinion/No answer	37	38	34	41
	102%@	102%@	103%@	101%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04757

BUT MANY WOULD PREFER THAT AMERICAN FAMILIES DID NOT COME TO GERMANY ...

Because the bulk of West Germans have nothing to criticize about the way army families live once they are in the country does not mean that most of them approve of the families' being here. On the contrary, opinions in the US Zone split evenly on the advisability of bringing US army families over to Germany; in West Germany as a whole 45 per cent approve and 37 per cent take a negative stand.

"Do you think it right that also the families of the American soldiers may come to West Germany or would you think it better if they weren't allowed to come along?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Right that they are here	45%	46%	40%	48%
Better if not	37	36	41	35
No opinion	18	18	19	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%

ARGUMENTS PRO AND CON ...

The burden of costs to the West German people and the housing shortage are the main reasons for advising against bringing families to Germany. Only a very few (6%) argue that family responsibilities detract attention from performance of military duties. On the issue of costs it should be noted in the comments that US Zone residents make this complaint much less frequently than do British Zone people.

As to the people who prefer to have American families in Germany, their arguments are almost entirely on the benefits both to the Americans involved and to the German people, derived from keeping families together.

"What are the reasons for your opinion?" (Asked of those saying "Better if not" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
We have to pay for their upkeep They live at our expense, we have to pay for everything; I think we have to pay for their maintenance; when the families come over they want money, cars, and the Germans have to foot the bill by paying taxes; Germany can do without foreign troops and their families, it's our money that's spent for them; because the families are too heavy a financial burden on the impoverished German people; because all what they do over here is to enjoy themselves, they don't carry out useful work, and we have to pay for them; etc.	25%	35%	14%	12%
The housing shortage Because we haven't got enough housing space for our own needs; it's a question of accommodation: if we had enough housing units, as many Americans as possible might come so that they can get to know us; the housing situation is very bad, six to seven refugees have to live in one room, and an American family often has six or seven rooms; there is a housing shortage, and the Americans are very pretentious as far as comfortable quarters are concerned, the never ending influx of East Zone refugees makes it				

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
impossible to allow more American families to come over; we needn't provide so many flats for them, though, on the other hand, I quite understand their desire to bring their families over here, it has advantages,too, it would ensure orderly family relations; they crowd us out of our homes and apartments that are already scarce without that, this is the sole reason why I'm against accommodating American families over here; etc.	18%	19%	20%	13%
<u>A soldier should be nothing but a soldier, through family responsibilities the fighting spirit is reduced</u> Military service is military service, the moment family affairs are involved, it's no longer a real army; even in peace time soldiers aren't allowed to take their families along to barracks or garrisons; because those soldiers who don't live in barracks are more negligent in performing their duty as compared to the others; the soldier develops a keener sense of duty when he lives in barracks rather than with his family; without wives they are better soldiers, when their wives are with them, everything is lost; soldier and family is not the right combination, soldiers should be on their own, that's what they are destined for; because the American soldiers were sent over to protect us, that means their activities are similar to those of soldiers in the front-line, and these can't take their families with them either; etc.	6	5	6	5
<u>West Germany is already overpopulated</u> Because our country is already overpopulated; there are enough people living here without them; there are too many people in West Germany as it is; etc.	2	2	3	3
<u>The families should stay in America</u> In case of war the families are more secure in America; soldiers over here are quite enough, women and children should remain in America; they should stay in the States, what are they coming here for?; etc.	2	2	2	1
<u>The German soldiers were not allowed to have their families with them either</u> No German women were permitted to accompany their husbands; when France, Belgium, etc. were occupied by us, we couldn't live there with our wives either; we Germans didn't do so in France either; etc.	2	2	1	2
<u>The soldiers would then want to stay over here indefinitely</u> The families feel so happy over here, I think we'd never get rid of them; if the families of the soldiers would live in the States, the soldiers would be more keen to go home, but as it is they live better over here than at home, and thus they don't want to return; etc.	1	2	1	1
<u>Other reasons</u> They often set a bad example because they live in such a grand style; the life the Americans lead over here exerts a bad influence on the Germans, this way of life isn't suitable for us; they should station only single soldiers over here; etc.	3	3	3	4
	59%@	70%@	50%@	41%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

ARGUMENT FAVORING US FAMILIES IN GERMANY ...

"Do you think it right that also the families of the American soldiers may come to West Germany, or would you think it better if they weren't allowed to come along?"

"What are the reasons for your opinion?" (Asked of those answering "Right that they are here" to initial question.)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Family life is to be maintained and promoted A family belongs together, it's no good when the husband lives over here but his wife and children in America; everybody wants to live with his family; if one can manage, it's better to live with one's folks; American soldiers are human too, they have children and a wife just as other people, they belong together; because everybody is happy when the family is united; a family should live together, no matter what the circumstances are; the married couples are entitled to this right; a family mustn't be split up, it's the place of refuge for the individual; etc.	16%	16%	15%	16%
There would be fewer conflict, divorces among American couples and German girls would be left alone A married couple wants to live together, long periods of separation often cause rupture in a marriage; when the whole family lives here the men know where they belong, adultery and other offenses won't occur; everybody wants to be united with his family, otherwise disputes among partners will come about, soldiers won't be after German girls so much any more; the number of broken marriages would decrease, if they aren't together married couples become estranged; that the soldiers make their own wives happy and leave the German women in peace; with their own folks around they leave German women alone, then they'd have a home life; etc.	13	12	12	20
Out of human considerations - a soldier is entitled to live with his family They should be allowed to live together with their folks, they should even be permitted to settle down over here, for we too can go to America if we want to; out of human considerations it's quite all right, we women do understand that; since the state of war is ended, the occupation troops should be allowed to live with their families, the individual should suffer as little as possible from the consequences of war; etc.	10	10	9	9
It furthers German-American understanding Understanding between individual German and American families is promoted by it; chiefly because of the close relations which will then be established between American and German families, they should meet socially; it would be easier for families to become friendly, especially children can help in establishing friendly relations; etc.	4	4	2	9

(Cont'd on next page)

[redacted]

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
It increases the men's fighting spirit and interest in the defense As long as they are surrounded by their folks, soldiers show more interest in defense matters; all fathers would be glad to be able to live with their families, and it would give their service for America and for freedom a special meaning; when their families live in Germany the American soldiers are more keen on defending this country; etc.	2%	3%	1%	1%
The US government need neither pay allowances to the women in America nor grant long leaves to the soldiers It's better when they live together with their families, that's more satisfactory, otherwise they had to be granted long leave periods, and that causes trouble and costs; the soldiers needn't go on leave; it's too expensive for the American government to keep up the soldiers over here, and to pay allowances to the women in the States as well; etc.	1	1	1	1
We derive economic advantages from it It boosts business, the American families buy what they need in German shops; they bring dollars to Germany; provided the Americans will build houses, they should leave their money in Germany, that's only fair; etc.	1	1	1	1
Approval only on the condition that it will mean no further burden or additional requisitionings On the condition that the United States will bear all costs for the necessary projects; only if no additional housing space is needed; it's o.k. if they can pay the expenses, it would be better anyway; if they can pay for their upkeep, if they don't charge our budget; etc.	2	3	2	2
Other reasons It would be a small number that wouldn't be of great importance; it would exert a favorable influence on the soldiers; etc.	2	2	2	2
	51%@	52%@	45%@	61%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON US ARMY FAMILIES IN GERMANY ...

Although in many population groups opinions divide on the advisability of army families' living in Germany, some notable exceptions favoring the practice occur. West German women are among those who tend to favor the idea, as are the better educated upper income, professional and business groups. Affiliates of the government coalition parties, CDU and FDP also more frequently approve than the SPD opposition. In general a similar pattern of opinions occurs among US Zone groups.

"Do you think it right that also the families of the American soldiers may come to West Germany or would you think it better if they weren't allowed to come along?"

	WEST GERMANY			
	Right that they are here	Better if not	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	45%	42%	13%...100%	735
Women	44	33	23	858
Education:				
Elementary school	41	39	20	1283
Beyond elementary	57	31	12	307
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	40	34	26	335
150 - 299 DM	38	43	19	567
300 - 399 DM	50	35	15	379
400 DM and more	57	33	10	284
Age:				
18 - 24 years	43	39	18	153
25 - 34 years	48	37	15	335
35 - 44 years	46	38	16	359
45 - 54 years	47	35	18	363
55 years and over	38	38	24	381
Party Preference:				
SPD	44	43	13	361
CDU/CSU	50	34	16	357
FDP/DP	52	35	13	112
Other parties	30	54	16	70
No party	42	38	20	497
Don't know	40	27	33	196
Occupation:				
Professionals	62	29	9	65
Businessmen	53	33	14	175
White-collar workers	56	32	12	212
Skilled laborers	45	40	15	322
Semi-skilled laborers	38	40	22	191
Farmers	33	42	25	155
Unemployed	37	47	16	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	39	38	23	287
Religion:				
Catholics	46	35	19	732
Protestants	43	39	18	789
Origin:				
Natives	46	37	17	1295
Expellees, Refugees	39	39	22	295
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	47	42	11	140
Yes, in other countries	47	41	12	285
World War I	32	50	18	135
No	46	40	14	164

[redacted]

"Do you think it right that also the families of the American soldiers may come to West Germany or would you think it better if they weren't allowed to come along?"

US ZONE

	Right that they are here	Better if not	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	36%	48%	16%...100%	247
Women	44	35	21	303
Education:				
Elementary school	36	43	21	452
Beyond elementary	60	32	8	96
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	37	36	27	134
150 - 299 DM	35	44	21	214
300 - 399 DM	43	45	12	112
400 DM and more	56	34	10	81
Age:				
18 - 24 years	36	48	16	61
25 - 34 years	39	43	18	120
35 - 44 years	47	38	15	132
45 - 54 years	42	39	19	117
55 years and over	34	40	26	120
Party Preference:				
SPD	38	49	13	125
CDU/CSU	43	35	22	123
FDP/DP	63	30	7	27
Other parties	25	53	22	32
No party	37	46	17	177
Don't know	42	23	35	66
Occupation:				
Professionals	55	45	-	22
Businessmen	59	30	11	56
White-collar workers	53	40	7	70
Skilled laborers	30	50	20	80
Semi-skilled laborers	38	39	23	66
Farmers	30	40	30	83
Unemployed	36	51	13	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	39	37	24	99
Religion:				
Catholics	41	41	18	319
Protestants	38	41	21	203
Origin:				
Natives	40	42	18	438
Expellees, Refugees	38	38	24	110
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	33	53	14	42
Yes, in other countries	40	44	16	95
World War I	11	64	25	36
No	42	43	15	68

04763
[redacted]

B. The Treatment of US Troops

Additional inquiries sought reactions to the way Armed Forces personnel - officers and men - live in West Germany. The central purpose was to ascertain how many of the German public as a whole when invited to criticize would spontaneously allege that the high American living standard was not conducive to high military standards. As has been noted, this argument is threaded through the comments of those people who are skeptical of the American soldiers' fighting qualities. The initial approach was to ask people to give their spontaneous pro and con criticisms of the way they think American soldiers are cared for by Army authorities. Thereafter, their overall judgment on the matter was sought. As will be seen in the results, though many West Germans are not reluctant to state that in their judgment the American soldiers are treated too well, only a small fraction allege that what they consider coddling makes for poor combat troops.

MANY THINK AMERICAN FORCES ARE CODDLED ...

As to the general, overall judgment regarding the care given American troops, West Germans lean slightly (39%) to the view that it is just about as it should be, though a third think the men are coddled.

"We would like to know what you think about the living conditions of the American soldiers and officers here in West Germany."

"All in all, how are the American soldiers here in West Germany cared for: in your opinion, do they as soldiers live too well, just right or too poorly?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Too well	32%	29%	35%	33%
Just right	39	38	43	32
Too poorly	*	*	*	-
No opinion	29	33	22	35
	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

FOUR IN TEN HAVE NOTHING TO CRITICIZE ...

Given an opportunity to specify criticisms of the American soldiers' life in Germany, many have nothing to say. Indeed about four in ten - almost half in the US Zone - claim they have no criticisms to make and a quarter are undecided on what to say. Only 4 per cent in the entire country (3% in the US Zone) say that they are poor soldiers because they are pampered too much. Most of the criticisms have to do with the extravagant mode of life which a few (5%) say is lived at the expense of the German people. The relatively high pay the American troops receive also comes in for some criticism (7%).

"What criticism do you have to make on the way the American soldiers live in West Germany?"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
NOTHING TO CRITICIZE				
I've no more objections now, at first they lived too extravagantly, but now they've cut down considerably; no, formerly it was the case, but things have changed, the Americans also start economizing; I've no longer anything to criticize; I couldn't tell, at first they surely were rather impudent, but, I think that's better now; no, the way they live is quite right, they also can't afford extravagances; they lead a life as it should be; I haven't anything against it, they can live here as they please; well, not really, you see, they are soldiers just the same as in all nations, you should try to understand them, it's not so easy for them to live in a foreign country; the Germans have other ways than the Americans have, so let them do as they please; no, for I heard they live here in much the same way as they live at home; nothing, I also want to live well; no, I think it's all right; etc.	44%	40%	49%	43%
They live too extravagantly - general				
All they have - it's almost a sin - they got all and everything, could purchase so cheaply - it was more than enough what they had, they couldn't use all of it; they drink too much, eat too well and use up too much gasoline; they live too well, many Germans think that it should be possible for them to live on the same scale and, as they can't afford it, they get discontented; their food is so ample that they can take home plenty of it; if it's true what I've heard they live like princes; I think their living standard is too high - they live in grand style and somebody has got to pay for it; they live in abundance - people shouldn't get more than they can possibly use; etc,	10	10	9	8
Their pay is too high				
One should not give them so much, so that they don't kick over the traces; it's not only that they get very good food and are well dressed, they are also overpaid, they are a heavy financial burden; money is being spent for them with both hands, I think that's too generous - they are better off than a skilled laborer in Germany; their pay is too high, that causes annoyance; when I remember that I got 33 Pfennigs pay per day I must say that the American soldier is too highly-paid, but otherwise they behave very decently; we never got so much pay, it's a shame; their pay is too high, a private soldier gets more than 300 DM, that's more than a worker gets here; etc.	7	6	7	13

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
They live extravagantly at our expenses - they live better than in the US We have to look on while they spend our money with both hands; they shouldn't waste our money in such a way, they have the electric lights on all day long; too luxurious at our expense; the unemployed are starving and others, for the sole reason that they are American soldiers don't know what to do with the surplus food - we have to pay for all that; they live here at our expense; etc.	5%	5%	5%	7%
They are pampered - no discipline They have too much to eat and too much to smoke - that's why they are pampered and don't observe discipline; they are pampered by too much luxury, if they go AWOL as it often happens they get away with a minor disciplinary punishment; that they get soft and in case of trench warfare won't be able to stand hardships and privations; if soldiers live toowell they get pampered, they are then unable to face hardships and in case of war, are no good; I don't care, but I'm sure that it affects the striking-power of an army if they live too comfortably - they don't know Russian conditions yet; etc.	4	5	3	2
Too much extravagance in respect to servants and apartments They have apartments in the latest style whereas the Germans have to live under primitive conditions, they (the Americans) have everything, beginning with motor cars and ending with refrigerators; sometimes they live extravagantly, every sergeant has his own car, that provokes our working class; they do too much for the soldiers - if they are transferred to another station servants are provided for them as if they were very important persons; etc.	2	2	2	2
Black market activities I think some people have advantages - for instance by selling cigarettes in cafés, coffee and cocoa also are often sold on the black market; incidentally they smuggle a bit as a side-line, but still it's better than as if the Russians came here; etc.	2	2	3	1
They waste so much food There is too much food and too much is thrown away instead of giving it to the poor; above all that they destroy all that's left over from meals; we don't have 6 courses for dinner - so much bread is thrown into the garbage cans - much remains to be said but it's no use; etc.	2	1	4	-
They have too much freedom They have too much leisure time that's why they get into mischief; as soldiers they have too much freedom; they shouldn't drink so much, they have too much freedom; etc.	2	1	3	1
Other reasons The other soldiers could not live as well in other countries; as they are used to such an easy life they just have to procure means, even if by force, if they fall short of money, that's why there are all these outrages; in such hard times it's not exactly a good example - chiefly these affairs with women; etc.	3	2	4	3
No opinion/No answer	26	32	18	27
	107%●	106%●	107%●	107%●

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

AND MANY CANNOT MENTION ANY GOOD ASPECT ...

When it comes to particularizing beneficial aspects in the way the US troops are cared for, the comments are also varied and for the most part a repetition of points made in other connections regarding the favorable sides of the American soldier. About a quarter, however, do not think there is anything good to say about their care and treatment, and many are not prepared to express an opinion.

"What criticism do you have to make on the way the American soldiers live in West Germany?"

"And what do you find good about it?"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
NOTHING GOOD: They live too well, otherwise they would have gone back to their own country, as it is, more and more people come here because conditions are so favorable; the soldiers live beyond their means; that now the government urges them to live more modestly, the Eisenhower government is something they have needed for a long time; etc.	19%	14%	25%	22%
They live well, good food: They have excellent food - good pay; because the food is packed under sanitary conditions, it keeps fresh for a long time; they don't have to worry about how to provide food, they live better than German laborers; all these canned foods and ready-to-eat packages for breakfast and supper; that the soldiers are well cared for; that they have enough to eat; the soldiers have plenty of everything, they have no need to economize; etc.	10	11	9	13
An advantage for the German economy: That now they buy in local shops which formerly they didn't do; the money remains in the country, somehow; they earn quite a lot and the Germans who work for them get something out of it; they set money circulating; economically it is an advantage for us, if they live well, they spend money over here; the soldiers often buy in German shops, thereby bringing money into the country; they can afford a lot and the German economy gains by that; etc.	3	3	3	2
They are helpful, considerate and friendly: They behave very correctly, they are considerate toward the Germans and willing to make friends with us; that they gave a lot of food and gifts to poor people; they help us Germans wherever they can; they behave well toward the civilian population and are helpful when there are accidents of any kind; as far as I know the Americans are good-natured fellows and very tidy; etc.	5	6	4	5
They are treated well, they are free: They lead a free life; that they live as free people; they are treated as free human beings and are allowed to enjoy life and to take it easy; as soldiers they are treated well; that they lead a life worthy of human beings; that they are treated like human beings; etc.	3	3	1	3

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
A soldier should live well They have comfortable billets, they have an orderly life, that's good as it is, nobody is to be envied because he is a soldier; young men have to be fed well, criticisms about a 'luxurious life' are out of place; a soldier should be fed well, he shouldn't be a poor starveling as we formerly were; he should have all he needs so that he remains strong; the best is just good enough for a soldier, regardless of what nationality he is; they deserve to live well, they are entitled to it because of their exploits; etc.	4%	4%	4%	5%
They should live as well as possible so that their interest may be aroused and they are content A soldier has to live well, then he will enjoy being a soldier; a soldier has to be well cared for in order to keep him satisfied; they should live better over here as a compensation for not being in their home country; that the soldiers here should live in much the same way as they do at home; they engage in sports, the American soldiers, that's why they don't make such an oversmart impression and enjoy being soldiers - through sports discipline as well as the mind is relaxed; because of their privileged way of living they will be more active trying to improve conditions generally; etc.	4	5	2	2
They get everything from the US, they don't bother us Their food comes from America and so they don't take anything from us; that the Americans get plenty of everything and so they have no need to demand anything from us; that they are fed with their own (American) food stuffs; that the Americans are mostly fed from the USA and that there's no necessity for them to requisition products from farmers the way we did in the East when there were no provisions (for the army); etc.	2	3	2	1
They fare better than the German soldiers They live more freely than the German soldiers, they don't have so much drill; if we would have had a life like theirs in the German army we would have been happy - they have more freedom, not so much military drill as we had; that they are better off than the German soldiers, they don't have this exaggerated military drill; that they have more freedom than the German soldiers, they don't have such strict military drill; etc.	2	1	2	4
There is no difference between officers and other ranks That the American soldiers need not stand at attention before their officers, my son always says they have equal rights whereas a German soldier was alway at a disadvantage as compared to his officers; they don't practice this overdone discipline, relations between soldiers and officers are more friendly, there is no obligation to salute superiors; etc.	*	*	1	2
Other reasons That they have, to a slight degree, adopted the Prussian drill; they changed slowly but perceptibly from an army of occupation to a protective army, restriction of privileges, severe punishment for incidents of any kind; etc.	4	4	5	4
No opinion/No answer	47	49	44	41
	103%@	103%@	102%@	104%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON CARE GIVEN US TROOPS ...

In West Germany generally, the higher status groups - better educated, upper income and men - tend to divide evenly between the view that the US troops in Germany get the right amount of care or are coddled. The same tendency is apparent in the US Zone except that there people with higher income lean toward the opinion that too much care is given the soldiers. Young people in the American Zone also are more frequently inclined than those in the rest of West Germany to say the US troops are treated too carefully. Other differences between US Zone and West Germany are not reliably beyond chance.

"All in all, how are the American soldiers here in West Germany cared for: in your opinion, do they as soldiers live too well, just right or too poorly?"

	WEST GERMANY				
	Too well	Just right	Too poorly	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	39%	42%	*%	19%...100%	735
Women	26	36	*	38	858
Education:					
Elementary school	30	39	*	31	1283
Beyond elementary	39	40	1	20	307
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	26	34	-	40	335
150 - 299 DM	34	36	1	29	567
300 - 399 DM	27	46	-	27	379
400 DM and more	39	41	-	20	284
Age:					
18 - 24 years	37	47	-	16	153
25 - 34 years	33	43	-	24	335
35 - 44 years	31	39	1	29	359
45 - 54 years	30	38	-	32	363
55 years and over	31	33	*	36	381
Party Preference:					
SPD	35	40	-	25	361
CDU/CSU	25	45	-	30	357
FDP/DP	45	42	-	13	112
Other parties	39	37	1	23	70
No party	32	39	*	29	497
Don't know	27	24	-	49	196
Occupation:					
Professionals	43	37	-	20	65
Businessmen	37	42	1	20	175
White-collar workers	34	43	*	23	212
Skilled laborers	33	40	*	27	322
Semi-skilled laborers	30	40	-	30	191
Farmers	26	39	-	35	155
Unemployed	31	39	-	30	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	28	32	-	40	287
Religion:					
Catholics	28	42	*	30	732
Protestants	34	37	*	29	789
Origin:					
Natives	32	39	*	29	1295
Expellees, Refugees	32	37	1	30	295
Veteran Status:					
Yes, against America	44	46	-	10	140
Yes, in other countries	40	40	-	20	285
World War I	36	40	-	24	135
No	36	42	-	22	164

* Less than one half of one per cent.

[redacted]

"All in all, how are the American soldiers here in West Germany cared for: in your opinion, do they as soldiers live too well, just right or too poorly?"

US ZONE

	Too well	Just right	Too poorly	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	43%	41%	-	16%...100%	247
Women	28	45	*	27	303
Education:					
Elementary school	32	44	-	24	452
Beyond elementary	46	48	1	15	96
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	29	40	-	31	134
150 - 299 DM	37	41	*	22	214
300 - 399 DM	28	53	-	19	112
400 DM and more	48	38	-	14	81
Age:					
18 - 24 years	41	41	-	18	61
25 - 34 years	36	43	-	21	120
35 - 44 years	31	40	1	28	132
45 - 54 years	36	49	-	15	117
55 years and over	32	42	-	26	120
Party Preference:					
SPD	38	41	-	21	125
CDU/CSU	28	53	-	19	123
FDP/DP	55	41	-	4	27
Other parties	47	31	-	22	32
No party	34	45	1	20	177
Don't know	26	29	-		66
Occupation:					
Professionals	50	32	-	18	22
Businessmen	38	46	2	14	56
White-collar workers	33	47	-	20	70
Skilled laborers	40	43	-	17	80
Semi-skilled laborers	30	49	-	21	66
Farmers	25	42	-	33	83
Unemployed	36	40	-	24	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	36	38	-	26	99
Religion:					
Catholics	34	47	*	19	319
Protestants	35	37	-	28	203
Origin:					
Natives	35	42	-	23	438
Expellees, Refugees	32	47	1	20	110
Veteran Status:					
Yes, against America	48	40	-	12	42
Yes, in other countries	42	41	-	17	95
World War I	39	39	-	22	36
No	41	43	-	16	68

* Less than one half of one per cent.

C. Requisitioning

NEW REQUISITIONING APPARENTLY NOT ANTICIPATED, BUT PAST RECORD HAS LEFT A BAD TASTE ...

The problem of requisitioning as such appears in German thinking to lie in the past, despite the relation many see between the housing shortage and the Americans. At the same time considerable bitterness remains over the way requisitioning was carried out. This together with the lack of adequate living quarters, which many feel is being aggravated as time goes on especially by the influx of refugees, would undoubtedly create difficulties should large-scale requisitioning be continued.

In the first place, over a third (36%) in the US Zone - three in ten in West Germany generally - are under the impression that the Americans no longer requisition property. A fifth say they continue to do so, and a large proportion is undecided.

"As you may know, the Americans requisitioned apartments, houses and landed property after the war in West Germany. Do you happen to know whether the Americans still carry out such requisitionings or whether they don't?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Yes, carry out	19%	18%	21%	19%
No, don't carry out	29	24	36	29
No opinion	52	58	43	52
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Also, the opinion that the US forces make every effort to turn back as much property as possible outweighs the contrary view by a seven to one ratio in West Germany (five to one in the US Zone). The few skeptics again refer to the American fondness for comfortable living quarters.

"Do you have the impression that the American army seriously tries to derequisition as many as possible of the houses and apartments requisitioned by them or doesn't it try?"

Yes, tries	57%	55%	60%	58%
No, doesn't try	8	6	12	2
No opinion	35	39	28	40
	100%	100%	100%	100%

[redacted]

"Why doesn't the American army make efforts to de-requisition houses, apartments and landed property requisitioned by them?" (Asked of those who replied negatively to the preceding question.)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
They don't think of the Germans, they believe they can live in Germany in the same way they do in America They fail to understand conditions in Germany, we are more crowded here as compared to people living in that large country America; the Americans make great pretensions, they believe they can do that in Germany, too, without considering that we live under rather strained conditions over here; the American army is interested only in finding comfortable quarters for its soldiers within a short time, they don't care what happens to the Germans; once they are here, they want to be provided with comfortable living quarters, they don't think of the others who feel the same way; etc.	5%	6%	2%	-%
They don't make particular efforts to release housing space They didn't try too hard up till now, they could have done more; they didn't seriously try to do something about the situation; because they still occupy those homes and it doesn't look as if they were about to leave; etc.	2	2	4	-
They still need those homes They need these apartments, most of them have their families with them, therefore they need complete apartments; you don't know what reasons they have, maybe more troops will be moved in and they don't want to requisition additional housing space, they don't want to do that or they aren't allowed to do so; because more troops will arrive, that's why they need those apartments; maybe they will need those requisitioned houses for troop reinforcements; etc.	1	1	2	1
They like it in those nice homes Because they just like it that way; they want to stay in their nice apartments; because they are glad when they have some nice place where to live; probably because they like it so much over here; etc.	1	1	2	-
Other reasons Because none of the German governmental agencies does anything about this matter; I think they've got a bureaucracy the same we have, that works slowly and precisely; etc.	2	1	2	1
No opinion/No answer	1	1	1	-
	12%@	12%@	13%@	2%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

MANY SAY REQUISITIONING WAS DONE UNJUSTLY ...

But, as already indicated, whereas people think the US is now moving as fast as possible in derequisitioning, past experiences appear to have left a bad taste among many people, notably in the US Zone. There a preponderance of more than two to one asserts that people whose property was taken over were not treated justly.

"From all you know about it, do you have the impression that people were dealt with justly in these requisitionings, or that they were not dealt with justly?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Justly	22%	26%	18%	18%
Not justly	34	27	44	31
No opinion	44	47	38	51
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The three leading complaints about the way requisitioning was carried out are: more housing was taken over than was necessary or houses stood vacant and Germans were not allowed to live in them (15%), much furniture and household equipment which had to be left behind was damaged or stolen (11%) and people turned out of houses were treated arbitrarily (11%).

"From all you know about it, do you have the impression that people were dealt with justly in these requisitionings, or that they were not dealt with justly?"

"What are your criticisms of that?" (Asked of those who answered "Not justly" to initial question.)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
They requisitioned more housing space than was necessary, Germans were not allowed to live under the same roof with Americans				
Families had to get out and find other quarters, often there would have been room for them too; in many cases it wouldn't have been necessary to requisition a house for just one soldier and drive out 5 to 6 families; they could have made exceptions in some cases and manage with less space; the Americans are used to too much luxury and require too much housing space; they always requisition too much space, many houses stood empty and yet the Germans were not allowed to move in again; etc.	15%	23%	8%	2%
Furniture and household goods had to be left behind, or was damaged and stolen				
They had to leave all their belongings behind and had to look for a place where they would be taken in; that they took over houses complete with furniture, the Germans had to leave everything behind and found themselves without shelter; people had to leave all their furniture behind and sometimes they could not take along anything; many had to leave even their furniture behind and were driven out without any of their belongings; because people were not allowed to take their furniture and household equipment along and up to this day they haven't been compensated yet; that the entire furniture and equipment was damaged or just disappeared; the furniture was demolished they didn't take care of it one bit; that people had to leave their homes, when they were allowed to return they often found everything demolished, the Americans often				

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
behaved like vandals; people were driven out at such short notice; people were given too little time to move out, aged and weak people could hardly take anything along; as far as I have heard people had to clear out within 3 or 6 hours; that they drove people out of their homes like cattle; they were not even allowed to take the most essential things with them; that I had to leave everything as it was and couldn't even take the most essential linen; that people were not allowed to take anything along with them and afterwards had to steal the most essential things out of their property, that was a mean thing to do; etc.	13%	9%	20%	10%
Requisitionings were arbitrary and inconsiderate The Americans didn't ask whether people were wronged or not, they just took away what they liked; often they drove out people with small children; they just took what they wanted we lost the war and have to accept things as they come; people hadn't been asked, all the Americans wanted they took away from them by force; they very often behaved like louts; that they were pretty rude to people who were turned out; the way they went about requisitioning homes, it proves they are an occupation power; they overdid exercising the rights of the victor, many hardships could have been avoided if they had wanted to, but they wanted to punish the defeated; requisitionings were carried out in a brutal and inconsiderate manner, particularly during the war, as I know from my own experience; etc.	11	9	13	11
Damages paid didn't cover the actual loss Compensation wasn't given according to the actual value of things, if they got anything at all; what you got back was not of the same quality as the things you had had; what's taken away from you can never be replaced, it was especially hard for old people - such things shouldn't be done when there are so many refugees; they never got back their money's worth - a certain rate was paid and not a penny more; those who were turned out didn't get anything to replace their things - they also didn't receive any money; etc.	5	4	5	6
Suitable new homes were not provided Families had to get out of their homes with bag and baggage and didn't get suitable new homes - nobody cared about them; as far as I know only too small a number of new homes in exchange for those requisitioned was offered and it was impossible to provide equivalent accommodations; they didn't provide suitable homes for those people who were evacuated; people were put up in inferior lodgings, they were worse off than before, they had to manage as best they could; etc.	3	3	4	3

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Requisitionings are always unjust People were chased out of their homes, that can never be just; yes, that anybody should be turned out of his home at all, that's not right; I was always opposed to that in my very heart: how can people be simply robbed of their home?; I think requisitionings are never just; etc.	3%	2%	2%	4%
They should build homes for themselves or live in barracks They should build houses for themselves, but that also costs our money; soldiers should sleep in tents, barns or mass quarters, people have been robbed, that's what to call it; because we ourselves need the houses badly, the Americans could build houses of their own; etc.	1	1	2	1
Other reasons Just after the war it was understandable but even today, that's what's puzzles me; because for years they didn't derequisition the houses - when people were allowed to return and had everything fixed up again, they had to get out once more; those affected didn't know whom to turn to for help, to German or American authorities; etc.	2	2	3	2
	53%@	53%@	57%@	39%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON REQUISITIONING ...

Persons in the usually better informed groups, both in West Germany and in the US Zone, more often say that the American army continues to requisition property, though they together with all other groups somewhat more frequently declare that no requisitioning is now carried out.

"As you may know, the Americans requisitioned apartments, houses and landed property after the war in West Germany. Do you happen to know whether the Americans still carry out such requisitionings or whether they don't?"

	WEST GERMANY			
	Yes, carry out	No, don't carry out	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	20%	33%	47%...100%	735
Women	18	25	57	858
Education:				
Elementary school	17	28	55	1283
Beyond elementary	28	31	41	307
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	13	23	64	335
150 - 299 DM	18	24	58	567
300 - 399 DM	20	35	45	379
400 DM and more	28	35	37	284
Age:				
18 - 24 years	24	33	43	153
25 - 34 years	19	33	48	335
35 - 44 years	17	28	53	359
45 - 54 years	17	30	53	363
55 years and over	19	24	57	381
Party Preference:				
SPD	18	32	50	361
CDU/CSU	17	29	54	357
FDP/DP	30	30	40	112
Other parties	16	31	53	70
No party	22	28	50	497
Don't know	12	21	67	196
Occupation:				
Professionals	28	40	32	65
Businessmen	28	38	34	175
White-collar workers	22	31	47	212
Skilled laborers	19	32	49	322
Semi-skilled laborers	15	25	60	191
Farmers	16	23	61	155
Unemployed	12	33	55	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	16	22	62	287
Religion:				
Catholics	19	30	51	732
Protestants	19	27	54	789
Origin:				
Natives	20	29	51	1295
Expellees, Refugees	13	30	57	295
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	22	33	45	140
Yes, in other countries	19	35	46	285
World War I	20	27	53	135
No	18	36	46	164

[redacted]

"As you may know, the Americans requisitioned apartments, houses and landed property after the war in West Germany. Do you happen to know whether the Americans still carry out such requisitionings or whether they don't?"

US ZONE

	Yes, carry out	No, don't carry out	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	24%	38%	38%...100%	247
Women	18	35	47	303
Education:				
Elementary school	18	36	46	452
Beyond elementary	31	41	28	96
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	12	30	58	134
150 - 299 DM	21	32	47	214
300 - 399 DM	20	45	35	112
400 DM and more	32	46	22	81
Age:				
18 - 24 years	33	28	39	61
25 - 34 years	22	37	41	120
35 - 44 years	17	46	37	132
45 - 54 years	17	36	47	117
55 years and over	19	31	50	120
Party Preference:				
SPD	16	39	45	125
CDU/CSU	18	37	45	123
FDP/DP	37	37	26	27
Other parties	12	41	47	32
No party	26	38	36	177
Don't know	15	26	59	66
Occupation:				
Professionals	36	41	23	22
Businessmen	30	50	20	56
White-collar workers	26	44	30	70
Skilled laborers	31	40	29	80
Semi-skilled laborers	12	35	53	66
Farmers	10	28	62	83
Unemployed	13	31	56	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	18	33	49	99
Religion:				
Catholics	18	39	43	319
Protestants	24	30	46	203
Origin:				
Natives	23	34	43	438
Expellees, Refugees	13	45	42	110
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	26	29	45	42
Yes, in other countries	20	46	34	95
World War I	20	33	47	36
No	29	37	34	68

STRONGLY PREVAILING VIEW IN ALL POPULATION ELEMENTS IS THAT THE ARMY DEREQUISITIONS AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE ...

Large preponderances in all elements of the West German population declare that the American army derequisitions as much German property as possible. US Zone residents agree with this view.

"Do you have the impression that the American army seriously tries to derequisition as many as possible of the houses and apartments requisitioned by them or doesn't it try?"

	WEST GERMANY			
	Yes, tries	No, doesn't try	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	62%	7%	31%...100%	735
Women	52	9	39	858
Education:				
Elementary school	56	8	36	1283
Beyond elementary	59	8	33	307
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	51	7	42	335
150 - 299 DM	55	9	36	567
300 - 399 DM	60	6	34	379
400 DM and more	64	9	27	284
Age:				
18 - 24 years	59	14	27	153
25 - 34 years	61	7	32	335
35 - 44 years	56	7	37	359
45 - 54 years	57	8	35	363
55 years and over	53	7	40	381
Party Preference:				
SPD	60	10	30	361
CDU/CSU	59	6	35	357
FDP/DP	67	10	23	112
Other parties	54	13	33	70
No party	57	7	36	497
Don't know	43	6	51	196
Occupation:				
Professionals	66	5	29	65
Businessmen	62	10	28	175
White-collar workers	64	6	30	212
Skilled laborers	60	9	31	322
Semi-skilled laborers	53	11	36	191
Farmers	46	10	44	155
Unemployed	55	9	36	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	53	6	41	287
Religion:				
Catholics	58	8	34	732
Protestants	57	7	36	789
Origin:				
Natives	57	8	35	1295
Expellees, Refugees	57	6	37	295
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	69	7	24	140
Yes, in other countries	65	5	30	285
World War I	59	5	36	135
No	57	12	31	164

[redacted]

04778

"Do you have the impression that the American army seriously tries to derequisition as many as possible of the houses and apartments requisitioned by them or doesn't it try?"

US ZONE

	Yes, tries	No, doesn't try	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	67%	11%	22%...100%	247
Women	55	12	33	303
Education:				
Elementary school	60	12	28	452
Beyond elementary	62	13	25	96
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	57	10	33	134
150 - 299 DM	58	14	28	214
300 - 399 DM	64	11	25	112
400 DM and more	62	13	25	81
Age:				
18 - 24 years	54	23	23	61
25 - 34 years	61	11	28	120
35 - 44 years	61	10	29	132
45 - 54 years	61	11	28	117
55 years and over	60	10	30	120
Party Preference:				
SPD	68	13	19	125
CDU/CSU	58	10	32	123
FDP/DP	70	15	15	27
Other parties	53	19	28	32
No party	63	12	25	177
Don't know	39	6	55	66
Occupation:				
Professionals	55	9	36	22
Businessmen	55	16	29	56
White-collar workers	70	13	17	70
Skilled laborers	65	16	19	80
Semi-skilled laborers	59	15	26	66
Farmers	52	10	38	83
Unemployed	58	9	33	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	63	9	28	99
Religion:				
Catholics	63	12	25	319
Protestants	56	11	33	203
Origin:				
Natives	59	13	28	438
Expellees, Refugees	64	7	29	110
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	69	12	19	42
Yes, in other countries	73	9	18	95
World War I	56	8	36	36
No	64	15	21	68

04779

Grievances - people were treated unjustly - over past requisitioning practice predominate in all groups of the West German and US Zone population. In the latter region, however, this expression of opinion tends to be advanced more strongly.

"From all you know about it, do you have the impression that people were dealt with justly in these requisitionings or that they were not dealt with justly?"

WEST GERMANY

	Justly	Not justly	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	22%	35%	43%...100%	735
Women	22	32	46	858
Education:				
Elementary school	22	32	46	1283
Beyond elementary	23	40	37	307
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	22	26	52	335
150 - 299 DM	20	36	44	567
300 - 399 DM	22	32	46	379
400 DM and more	28	41	31	284
Age:				
18 - 24 years	21	42	37	153
25 - 34 years	21	38	41	335
35 - 44 years	24	32	44	359
45 - 54 years	21	31	48	363
55 years and over	22	29	49	381
Party Preference:				
SPD	23	40	37	361
CDU/CSU	29	26	45	357
FDP/DP	24	41	35	112
Other parties	27	39	34	70
No party	17	36	47	497
Don't know	15	25	60	196
Occupation:				
Professionals	23	46	31	65
Businessmen	23	38	39	175
White-collar workers	25	35	40	212
Skilled laborers	22	38	40	322
Semi-skilled laborers	21	31	48	191
Farmers	20	28	52	155
Unemployed	28	23	49	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	19	31	50	287
Religion:				
Catholics	22	35	43	732
Protestants	22	32	46	789
Origin:				
Natives	22	35	43	1295
Expellees, Refugees	23	28	49	295
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	22	42	36	140
Yes, in other countries	24	31	45	285
World War I	25	31	44	135
No	16	39	45	164

"From all you know about it, do you have the impression that people were dealt with justly in these requisitionings or that they were not dealt with justly?"

US ZONE

	Justly	Not justly	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	18%	45%	37%...100%	247
Women	19	43	38	303
Education:				
Elementary school	19	42	39	452
Beyond elementary	17	54	29	96
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	25	34	41	134
150 - 299 DM	15	50	35	214
300 - 399 DM	16	44	40	112
400 DM and more	21	48	31	81
Age:				
18 - 24 years	7	57	36	61
25 - 34 years	17	51	32	120
35 - 44 years	20	42	38	132
45 - 54 years	23	39	38	117
55 years and over	20	38	42	120
Party Preference:				
SPD	22	47	31	125
CDU/CSU	23	33	44	123
FDP/DP	15	74	11	27
Other parties	19	47	34	32
No party	13	49	38	177
Don't know	20	30	50	66
Occupation:				
Professionals	18	59	23	22
Businessmen	28	36	36	56
White-collar workers	19	48	33	70
Skilled laborers	16	54	30	80
Semi-skilled laborers	18	47	35	66
Farmers	17	31	52	83
Unemployed	27	29	44	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	16	46	38	99
Religion:				
Catholics	23	45	32	319
Protestants	11	42	47	203
Origin:				
Natives	17	46	37	438
Expellees, Refugees	23	35	42	110
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	17	55	28	42
Yes, in other countries	22	43	35	95
World War I	17	36	47	36
No	13	49	38	68

D. The Curfew

CURFEW MEASURE IS CONSIDERED A GOOD IDEA ...

The existence of a curfew for US troops is not widely known - the greatest awareness (25%) occurs in the US Zone - and even fewer are aware that it was first imposed some months ago.

"Do you perhaps know whether the American soldiers in West Germany have unlimited leave to go out in the evening or is there a curfew hour for them after which they are not allowed on the streets?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
Have unlimited leave	10%	12%	10%	4%
Have a curfew hour	20	15	25	26
No opinion	70	73	65	70
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Has this always been the case or was it introduced only a few months ago?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Have a curfew hour" to initial question.)

Always been the case	6%	5%	8%	6%
Introduced recently	11	8	13	15
No opinion	3	2	4	5
	20%	15%	25%	26%

The idea of a curfew is generally applauded, however. Very large majorities (86% in the US Zone) say the measure is a good idea. In contrast, only 2 per cent in the American Zone - 4 per cent throughout West Germany - disapprove of the idea. The main reason for approval is that the unpleasant incidents most of which occur late at night are thus avoided. The very few who oppose, talk mostly in terms of a limitation on the personal rights of adult people.

"Since a few months ago, there has been a regulation in the American army to the effect that all American soldiers and officers in West Germany have to be in their billets after 12 p.m."

"Do you consider this measure of the American army to be a good or a bad idea?"

Good idea	82%	78%	86%	85%
Bad idea	4	6	2	*
No opinion	14	16	12	15
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Why is this (curfew), in your opinion, a good idea?"
(Asked of those saying "Good idea" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Unpleasant incidents at night are avoided that way: It means greater security for the civilian population, a better guarantee for peace and order; when the curfew hour is observed there will be fewer incidents involving German civilians and American soldiers, if some of the parties are tight; maybe it's a better protection for the Germans, for things happen on and off, you can read in the papers that Germans have been shot at and killed, there are quite a few incidents; there are many gangsters among them, and you aren't safe in the streets, they shouldn't enjoy as much freedom as we do, there is a closing hour for us, too; if they go on a spree too often, they might get into bad company and start picking quarrels; I think they would then be under a certain supervision, there wouldn't be so many incidents any longer, there used to be one brawl after the other; people drink a lot at night, that's when most brawls and hold-ups occur; the Americans aren't used so much to hard liquor, this will help to prevent taxi drivers from being held up; troops behind the front usually pass the time with card games and booze, all they would do at night would be to raise hell and to be a nuisance to people; it's always a bad thing if people go on drinking after midnight, it leads to assaults and brawls; by the time it's twelve o'clock the soldiers usually are stinko, and then they are up to a lot of mischief; the brawls will stop; etc.	47%	41%	54%	50%
In any army there must be order and discipline if it is to preserve its striking power: Otherwise it wouldn't be an army any more but just a motley crowd, a soldier must always be rested and ready to go into action, otherwise he wouldn't be a soldier any more; it's a necessity for troops as they are supposed to be ready for battle at any time, and it's a question of discipline, too; because order and discipline are prerequisites for preserving high moral standards in an army, if a curfew hour is observed, nightly excesses are prevented; a soldier should always be dealt with rather strictly, that's just how it is when you are a soldier; that way discipline will be better and the striking power of the troops greater; if soldiers are granted unlimited leave, order and discipline can't be maintained; in an outfit of many people order must be maintained, otherwise the group will break up, it's necessary to maintain discipline in an army; etc.	17	18	16	16
People who work and are on duty during day-time should turn in early in the evening: In our vicinity people are asleep by midnight, you have to turn in at an early hour if you have to get up early in the morning, you can't lead a gay life at night and work during day-time; I can't do my job properly if I make the town all night; if you want to do a good job next day, you have to go to bed at an early hour, even 12 o'clock is much too late; decent people turn in at that hour; if a person is free to go out until midnight, that's ample time to enjoy oneself, the soldiers have to be on duty and must be ready to go into action next day; they have to get up at an early hour; if a soldier takes his duties seriously, he can't go out all night; etc.	9	10	7	9

(Cont'd on next page)

047783

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Women and girls will be let alone, a curfew hour is preferable for moral reasons:				
It's good in the interest of protecting the young; that things are all right in moral respect; because thus manners and morals will improve; for moral reasons, no good things are going on after 12 o'clock; it's preferable for moral reasons, it's better if they stay home at night, alone for the sake of the girls, for they are after them and nothing good will come of that; for young people, especially if they've got lots of money to spend, all-night sprees aren't good, German girls will have to face the music; why do they allow them to hang around the streets all night? - especially the young will be corrupted; so that not so many German girls will have babies, dissipation would be checked; all they'd do is fool around with girls; because late in the evening it often happens that members of the armed forces molest women; this measure aims at improving the morals of German girls who make up to the soldiers; etc.	8%	7%	8%	13%
Regulations that had to be observed by Germans and soldiers of other nations should be observed by American soldiers, too:				
American soldiers have to behave properly just as well as the soldiers of all other nations; I am of the opinion that any soldier, whether he be a German or a member of an occupation army, should turn in after midnight; the same practice was observed in the German army, I'm sure they tried it and it worked; what applied to Germans, should apply to Americans as well; why should they fare better than the German soldiers did? - a soldier is a soldier, after all; we had to accept it, too, it just is part of a soldier's life; when our soldiers occupied foreign countries they had to be back in their billets at a given time, too; our soldiers had to be back in the barracks punctually at a certain hour, they couldn't ignore curfew regulations, either; etc.	8	8	8	8
Other answers:				
If there are private parties after midnight that's all right with me, but restaurants and streets should be empty after that time; if something should happen some time, if an alarm is sounded or something like that, everybody should be in, the Russians are well prepared and might launch an attack at some time; etc.	2	2	2	1
No opinion / No answer:	1	1	1	1
	92%@	87%@	96%@	98%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04784

REASONS AGAINST A CURFEW ...

"Why is this (curfew), in your opinion, a bad idea?"
(Asked of those expressing disapproval to the previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Limitation of personal freedom: That's a limitation of personal freedom, as a soldier one wants freedom, too, if somebody misbehaves, that person can be punished but a general curfew should not be introduced; it's a limitation of personal freedom, and as a Berliner I'm entirely against that; free people should be able to decide freely; one shouldn't limit freedom, their behavior doesn't ask for such strict measures; etc.	2%	3%	1%	*%
The American soldiers are grown-up people, to grant them unlimited leave wouldn't harm anybody: They aren't kids, after all, who have to be home by midnight; I consider it a bad thing to grant them only limited leave, American soldiers are grown-up people, after all, I don't believe such a measure is necessary for moral reasons; it does not harm anybody if they get all-night passes, they don't cause any trouble; etc.	1	2	1	-
The war is over - soldiers shouldn't be subject any longer to severe military regulations: Because the war is over, the boys shouldn't have such a hard time in the old army any longer; etc.	*	*	*	-
Other answers: Because the soldiers aren't able to go to a movie night show any more; that's much too late, 10 p.m. would be late enough, that's ample time for them; when those people are here for their recreation they shouldn't feel pressure of any kind, they don't cause any trouble, after all; etc.	1 4%	1 6%	* 2%	- *%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

04785

AWARENESS OF THE CURFEW LIMITED IN ALL US ZONE GROUPS ...

Since awareness of the US army curfew is so limited in West Germany as a whole, group differences only for the US Zone are presented. It will be seen in the following tables that awareness both of the curfew and of its fairly recent imposition is more frequent among the usually better informed elements but even among them majorities have no opinions on the issue.

"Do you perhaps know whether the American soldiers in West Germany have unlimited leave to go out in the evening or is there a curfew hour for them after which they are not allowed on the streets?"

	US ZONE			
	Have unlimited leave	Have a curfew hour	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	10%	32%	58% ...100%	247
Women	10	18	72	303
Education:				
Elementary school	10	22	68	452
Beyond elementary	9	36	55	96
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	14	13	73	134
150 - 299 DM	7	24	69	214
300 - 399 DM	4	32	64	112
400 DM and more	16	35	49	81
Age:				
18 - 24 years	10	34	56	61
25 - 34 years	10	27	63	120
35 - 44 years	8	24	68	132
45 - 54 years	11	24	65	117
55 years and over	9	19	72	120
Party Preference:				
SPD	10	27	63	125
CDU/CSU	15	23	64	123
FDP/DP	22	33	45	27
Other parties	3	25	72	32
No party	8	28	64	177
Don't know	6	12	82	66
Occupation:				
Professionals	14	36	50	22
Businessmen	14	27	59	56
White-collar workers	10	38	52	70
Skilled laborers	6	31	63	80
Semi-skilled laborers	5	23	72	66
Farmers	13	5	82	83
Unemployed	13	16	71	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	7	25	68	99
Religion:				
Catholics	9	26	65	319
Protestants	12	21	67	203
Origin:				
Natives	10	24	66	438
Expellees, Refugees	7	27	66	110
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	14	29	57	42
Yes, in other countries	8	36	56	95
World War I	6	30	64	36
No	12	31	57	68

[redacted]

"Has this always been the case or was it introduced only a few months ago?"

US ZONE

	Always been the case	Introduced recently	No opinion	Not asked	No. of cases
Sex:					
Men	10%	18%	4%	68% ...100%	247
Women	6	9	4	81	303
Education:					
Elementary school	8	11	3	78	452
Beyond elementary	6	20	9	65	96
Income (per month):					
0 - 149 DM	4	9	1	86	134
150 - 299 DM	9	11	3	77	214
300 - 399 DM	8	15	9	68	112
400 DM and more	7	21	6	66	81
Age:					
18 - 24 years	13	16	5	66	61
25 - 34 years	7	14	6	73	120
35 - 44 years	10	8	6	76	132
45 - 54 years	6	15	3	76	117
55 years and over	5	12	2	81	120
Party Preference:					
SPD	10	11	5	74	125
CDU/CSU	9	11	4	76	123
FDP/DP	11	16	4	67	27
Other parties	9	10	6	75	32
No party	6	18	3	73	177
Don't know	2	4	6	88	66
Occupation:					
Professionals	5	27	9	59	22
Businessmen	7	14	5	74	56
White-collar workers	4	28	6	62	70
Skilled laborers	14	14	4	68	80
Semi-skilled laborers	15	5	1	79	66
Farmers	1	2	2	95	83
Unemployed	4	11	-	85	45
Not employed, pensioners; students; retired; etc.	7	12	5	76	99
Religion:					
Catholics	8	13	5	74	319
Protestants	5	12	3	80	203
Origin:					
Natives	8	12	4	76	438
Expellees, Refugees	9	14	4	73	110
Veteran Status:					
Yes, against America	14	12	2	72	42
Yes, in other countries	6	23	5	66	25
World War I	11	19	-	70	36
No	11	13	7	69	68

I. Civilian Clothing For Off-Duty Appearances

WEIGHT OF OPINION AGAINST CIVILIAN DRESS WHEN TROOPS ARE OFF-DUTY ...

Should American troops in West Germany be given permission to wear civilian clothes when off-duty, many Germans would disapprove, if their preliminary reaction to the suggestion may be considered a guide. When asked for spontaneous comments pro and con regarding soldiers in civilian clothes, only three in ten can think of any good reasons for the idea, whereas over half marshall up negative arguments.

Their overall summary judgments on the issue follow the same pattern in all regions except the British Zone where a very slight preponderance favors off-duty civilian dress. Opposition to the idea is greatest in the US Zone as the following figures reveal.

"Would you generally be for or against granting permission of the American soldiers to wear civilian clothes here in West Germany when off-duty?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
For it	36%	44%	26%	28%
Against it	40	36	45	40
No opinion	24	20	29	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%

ADVOCATES OF CIVILIAN DRESS SPEAK OF ADVANTAGES TO THE SOLDIERS AND TO THE TROOP-CIVILIAN RELATIONS ...

Of the two leading arguments advanced by the minority which would welcome civilian dress when troops are off-duty, one refers to the advantages to the soldiers themselves - they would feel less restricted and more like human beings; the other to relations with the German people, which it is declared, would improve if the uniform was no longer a symbol of differences between the two.

"It was suggested to permit American soldiers in West Germany to wear civilian clothes when off duty. In your opinion, what would be the advantage of such a permission?"

NO ADVANTAGES:	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
There are none, a soldier is a soldier, they should wear uniform; it wasn't done in the German army, either; that's simply not done, either you are a soldier and have to wear uniform, or you are a civilian; no, there are no advantages, a soldier should be known as such, soldiers are held in high esteem in Germany if they carry themselves well; it's an honor to wear uniform; if they are members of an occupation army, they should be known as soldiers and shouldn't wear mufti, if they wear uniform people know whom they are dealing with; I don't consider this to be necessary, they are soldiers and people should be able to recognize them as such, to such a regulation no advantages are attached; for NCOs it's all right, the rank and file, however, should wear mufti only back home on furlough; etc.	38%	33%	44%	39%

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Relations between soldiers and Germans would improve, mutual confidence would grow, they wouldn't be looked upon as members of an occupation power any longer: The soldiers would get into closer contact with the population; there would be more numerous contacts between soldiers and civilians, people are more reserved towards soldiers; it could contribute a great deal towards fraternization; then there would be a better understanding between Germans and Americans because some Germans dislike uniforms; the soldiers would more easily get on friendly terms with the people; perhaps one wouldn't feel any longer that they are American soldiers, one would regard a soldier as one of us, I mean that one wouldn't feel there's a difference between Germans and Americans any more; I think it's possible that there would be more social contacts and German-American relations might improve; perhaps it would help to improve mutual understanding, people look differently at the military, they never like an occupation army; it would take less time to establish contact with the local people; etc.	22%	28%	16%	15%
The individual soldier is less restricted, he has greater freedom: In mufti you are more at your ease, you feel more human and more sociable; it would be better for the soldiers, they would feel more at home, they are more at liberty; regardless of their ranks, soldiers could move about freely; they could go places, without being bothered by the MP; they could move about more freely and undisturbedly, wearing uniform a person doesn't feel as free as he does in civilian dress; it is an advantage for the individual that not everybody knows he's an American; relations with superiors would be more casual, the individual needn't be a soldier every day; one can't blame them if they want to go in mufti now and then, they'd feel more as human beings; etc.	16	19	14	12
Relations with German girls and women would be more free, more casual: There are no advantages except for the womenfolks in the city; the girls probably would be in favor of it as their boy friends wouldn't be recognized as Yanks then; that they sometimes could turn the head of a girl who would be more reserved if they'd wear uniform; the Americans would be more free to get into contact with German women; etc.	1	1	2	2

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Business would be stimulated: It's an advantage for business people if they buy their clothes over here; the stores would sell more suits, innkeepers would make good business; I think it'd be an advantage if our tailors would get orders for civilian clothes; etc.	1%	1%	* %	1%
Other answers: Personally I can understand how these people feel, but as long as there are so many young people over here, and conditions are the way they are.....; then there won't be so many incidents in the streets, there wouldn't be so many assaults on Germans as before; one needn't look at these uniforms any more; German women wouldn't be so fascinated by them any more, a uniform is always attractive; etc.	4	3	5	3
No opinion / No answer:	23	20	24	31
	105%@	105%@	105%@	103%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WEARING UNIFORMS ENABLES PEOPLE TO RECOGNIZE SOLDIERS AS SOLDIERS ...

Many arguments against permitting American soldiers to wear civilian clothes in their free time are given, although no single reason gains particular prominence. Running through all of the comments is the thought that it is better for all concerned - the German people, army and other authorities, and the soldiers themselves - when soldiers are recognizable as soldiers because of their uniform.

"It was suggested to permit American soldiers here in West Germany to wear civilian clothes when off duty. In your opinion, what would be the disadvantages of such a permission?"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
NO DISADVANTAGES:	23%	25%	20%	21%
One could not recognize them as American soldiers: You wouldn't know your vis-a-vis, sometimes you talk about something not destined for American ears; you might get into trouble when you don't know whom you are dealing with; they couldn't be recognized as members of the occupation forces, they should wear uniform, positively; we Germans couldn't recognize them as Americans at the first glance; I don't know how to put it, but no good will come of it, anyway, one couldn't distinguish them from other people then; you then wouldn't be able to recognize them as American soldiers; they might be more inconsiderate towards people because it would be more difficult to recognize them as Americans; it would make it more difficult to see the difference between them and other English speaking formations such as Canadians and Britishers; etc.	16	14	21	15
In uniform they have to behave themselves, out of uniform they would be up to mischief: I don't want to speak ill of the American soldiers, on the contrary, but a uniform keeps the bearer from misbehaving himself, for a uniform must be held in honor; they would make more mischief, and would go undetected because it would be difficult to distinguish them from other people; they might take too many liberties, that would be the greatest disadvantage; the Negroes might forget themselves when they are out of uniform; the Yanks would forget their manners still more often than they do now, and their behavior would become even more arrogant; in uniform they behave themselves, in civilian clothes they'll have nothing but mischief in their minds; I think that a soldier in uniform is well aware of what is expected from him, when he puts on civilian clothes he intends to kick over the traces; etc.	14	16	11	14

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Crimes and violations might increase: They make too free when in civilian clothes, the number of violations would increase at once: in case of a burglary or a robbery you wouldn't know whether a German or an American is involved; when wearing mufti the less positive elements in the American army will stop at nothing; crimes would more easily be committed by soldiers wearing civilian clothes, a man in uniform can more easily be traced than a civilian, they might carry out more robberies when wearing civilian clothes; the feeling of insecurity would probably increase, shady elements in the army would come to the surface; civilian clothes make it easier for criminals and similar persons to hide themselves than if they had to wear uniform; the number of assaults on women, burglaries and hold-ups of taxi drivers would increase because the perpetrators couldn't be detected so easily; etc.	12%	12%	13%	11%
Soldiers should wear uniform, German soldiers had to do so, too: Those who represent the occupation forces over here are to demonstrate it by wearing uniform; a soldier has to wear uniform, one has to know whom one is dealing with; German soldiers weren't allowed to wear civilian clothes either; etc.	5	5	5	6
The girls wouldn't know who they are, they wouldn't feel safe any longer: German girls usually don't just follow foreigners, but they wouldn't recognize American soldiers when they go about like other people; that's irritating, many a guy would take too many liberties, and quite a number of young girls would be taken in, there are quite enough illegitimate children; the girls wouldn't know what to make of them, all the more when they speak German well; the American soldiers would probably then see no hindrance in going with German girls; etc.	3	3	3	3
Control by MP and German police would be made more difficult: They would pass themselves off as Germans, and that would make it difficult for the MPs to control them; it would be difficult for the police to trace them in case something happens; during a quarrel it would be difficult for a German policeman to find out who is a German and who an American soldier, that might lead to trouble; etc.	3	2	3	3
Espionage would be facilitated: The Yanks might go around spying, and nobody would know who they are; since a civilian can't be observed so closely as a soldier, espionage might increase, a soldier couldn't sit in a restaurant without being noticed but a civilian could do so; spies in civilian clothes might mix with soldiers; etc.	1	1	1	2

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
They would be less respected than in uniform: They wouldn't be shown the same respect as when wearing uniform; there might be brawls because Germans may show a different attitude dealing with civilians, they feel more respect for a person in uniform; people are more willing to help persons in uniform, as they are respected as soldiers; etc.	1%	1%	1%	1%
Black market activities would increase: In civilian clothes they could more easily leave their garrison to sell coffee and cigarettes; the black market would get a boost, if a person wears civilian clothes people wouldn't know they are dealing with a soldiers; etc.	1	*	1	*
Other reasons: Some arrogant Germans might pretend to be Americans; I'm a patriot, they should keep at a distance from us; they then would be allowed to go to all German restaurants etc.; in civilian clothes they can enjoy their leisure time more thoroughly so that they mightn't be back in time to report for duty; etc.	4	4	4	4
No opinion / No answer:	22	21	23	26
	105%@	104%@	106%@	106%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON OFF-DUTY CLOTHING ...

Among the groups in West Germany where approval of civilian dress for US soldiers when off-duty is the prevailing view are those with more than average schooling, those in the higher income brackets, young people and professional and business groups. Opposition to the idea predominates especially among veterans of World War I, but also among older people generally, farmers, lower income groups and men. Some departures from this pattern are apparent in US Zone replies, though in most instances the number of cases involved is not sufficiently large to consider the differences reliably above chance. With this caution in mind, World War II veterans, the upper income group, SPD and CDU affiliates in the US Zone seem to take a stronger stand against civilian clothing for the troops than do their fellows in West Germany generally.

"Would you generally be for or against granting permission to the American soldiers to wear civilian clothes here in West Germany when off duty?"

	WEST GERMANY			
	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	38%	47%	15% ...100%	735
Women	34	33	33	858
Education:				
Elementary school	32	41	27	1283
Beyond elementary	50	35	15	307
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	26	40	34	335
150 - 299 DM	30	44	26	567
300 - 399 DM	41	38	21	379
400 DM and more	51	35	14	284
Age:				
18 - 24 years	46	33	21	153
25 - 34 years	46	36	18	335
35 - 44 years	35	43	22	359
45 - 54 years	36	38	26	363
55 years and over	23	46	31	381
Party Preference:				
SPD	38	44	18	361
CDU/CSU	37	40	23	357
FDP/DP	45	41	14	112
Other parties	40	44	16	70
No party	35	38	27	497
Don't know	24	33	43	196
Occupation:				
Professionals	48	40	12	65
Businessmen	46	33	21	175
White-collar workers	45	35	20	212
Skilled laborers	40	40	20	322
Semi-skilled laborers	32	42	26	191
Farmers	20	50	30	155
Unemployed	31	47	22	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	28	41	31	289
Religion:				
Catholics	34	39	27	732
Protestants	37	41	22	789
Origin:				
Natives	35	40	25	1295
Expellees, Refugees	40	37	23	295
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	43	47	10	140
Yes, in other countries	42	41	17	285
World War I	24	60	16	135
No	36	50	14	164

"Would you generally be for or against granting permission to the American soldiers to wear civilian clothes here in West Germany when off duty?"

US ZONE

	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	29%	54%	17% ...100%	247
Women	24	38	38	303
Education:				
Elementary school	22	48	30	452
Beyond elementary	47	34	19	96
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	20	43	37	134
150 - 299 DM	21	48	31	214
300 - 399 DM	32	47	21	112
400 DM and more	43	42	15	81
Age:				
18 - 24 years	34	38	28	61
25 - 34 years	33	44	23	120
35 - 44 years	28	46	26	132
45 - 54 years	25	44	31	117
55 years and over	14	50	36	120
Party Preference:				
SPD	24	53	23	125
CDU/CSU	26	46	28	123
FDP/DP	56	44	-	27
Other parties	41	44	15	32
No party	28	42	30	177
Don't know	9	38	53	66
Occupation:				
Professionals	36	50	14	22
Businessmen	50	36	14	56
White-collar workers	34	33	33	70
Skilled laborers	26	54	20	80
Semi-skilled laborers	21	49	30	66
Farmers	13	47	40	83
Unemployed	25	51	24	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	18	48	34	99
Religion:				
Catholics	27	45	28	319
Protestants	24	46	30	203
Origin:				
Natives	24	47	29	438
Expellees, Refugees	37	37	26	110
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	26	57	17	42
Yes, in other countries	34	48	18	95
World War I	14	67	19	36
No	28	56	16	68

F. Parades and Weapon Displays

MILITARY PARADES AND DISPLAYS LARGELY DISAPPROVED ...

Finally, military parades, weapon displays and so on, apparently appeal only to very small minorities of West Germans. On the average, disapproval outweighs approval by preponderances of five to one. Thus in weighing the military advantages of such displays, the effect on the development of good rapport with the German population should probably be considered.

"Would you be for it or against it if the Americans would put on more troop parades, weapon displays and the like?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
For it	13%	15%	11%	9%
Against it	52	52	51	53
No opinion	35	33	38	38
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Arguments pro and con suggest that a few people confuse the issue with troop maneuvers, but for the most part people appear to have the actual issue of parades and displays in mind. The three most frequent single points brought up against such displays are that the Germans are fed up with military parades, etc., as from their past experiences they only lead to war, they cost the Germans money, and Germans are simply not interested.

"For what reasons would you be against it?"

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
<u>That leads to war, reminds us of the past - we are fed up with soldiers and war:</u> The more they put on, the sooner it leads to war; we've seen enough of that during the war, we don't want to be reminded of the war; if you see something like that you are afraid there'll be another war, it reminds you of the past, it started in much the same way here; they can make war propaganda in their own country, not here in ours; because we would much rather have peace and order, we've had this sort of thing long enough; I lost three boys in the war or got them back as cripples, so I don't want to hear anything about military parades, displays and the like; we don't want to hear anymore about soldiers; the war lasted long enough and we've seen enough parades before that, we're fed up with both; etc.	12%	12%	13%	12%
<u>It's of no use to us and we are not interested in it:</u> I'm not interested in it, it has no practical value; because it's of no use anyway, things won't get better for us; whether they march about here or whether they don't, what's the use of it; that won't get us any farther; we don't get anything out of it and we are not interested; that's not essential, I don't want to see anything of the military; they should do that in their own country, I don't want to see anything of it; because there won't be any sense in it, in my opinion the Germans don't want to hear anything about it; I don't attach any importance to that, I dislike any sort of war-like displays - it doesn't mean anything - if matters get serious we'll be left to manage on our own; because parades are no guarantee for our security; etc.	10	9	10	13

(Cont'd on next page)

04796

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
It costs our money: The money for that would, in my opinion, have to be raised by the German tax-payer; it costs too much money which we cannot afford to pay; we would be the ones who would have to pay for all that; military parades etc. cost money, Korea is more than enough as a parade ground and a means for training; I suppose that involves costs which we'll have to bear; it's of no use, we would have to pay the expenses; I'm against such a display, we would have to pay for it; etc.	10%	9%	11%	8%
Through maneuvers and military parades damage is caused and annoyances occur: Maneuvers cause damage, we've seen that often enough; there would be still more damage to crops, let them do that in their own country; to spare the land and the roads, that's the only reason; because they hinder traffic; etc.	5	5	4	7
We don't want to see parades by foreign armies, by our conquerors: Because it is a foreign power and, therefore, people don't like to see them - it's annoying if foreigners hold maneuvers here; formerly they (the Americans) bombed us - so there's no need for them to hold parades now - we are not interested in their armament; it's always a peculiar feeling to see foreign troops hold parades here in Germany - that won't fill us with enthusiasm; etc.	4	4	3	4
They are a provocation against the Russians: That will provoke and annoy the Russians and cause them to make more trouble for us; that means provoking the East; if they make too much propaganda the Russians might feel induced to march in, they would perhaps consider it to be a provocation; parades and weapon displays unnecessarily challenge the Russians to wage war; etc.	3	4	3	1
The Americans just want to show off, it increases their arrogance; their parades are ridiculous: One should not show off one's military strength, its purpose should be merely to guarantee security, he who boasts with his strength often falls a victim to it; I don't like it in general, it's just swaggering; if I see American troops on parade in the movies I can't help smiling - it doesn't look smart if you regard it with German eyes - besides, it's not necessary; to me as a former soldier it appears to be ridiculous when the Americans do such things - they are no smart soldiers, so they should better leave it; etc.	3	3	3	5

(Cont'd on next page)

[redacted]

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Military matters should be kept secret: There are so many spies from the East here in West Germany who would then have ample opportunity to get an insight into military affairs; one shouldn't show anything to the Russians, keep one's mouth shut ; in times as dangerous and hard as now there's no need for people to know what sort of weapons are available; I think it's best if those things are kept secret, otherwise the Russians are wised up and we would be the losers; etc.	3%	2%	3%	3%
They encourage militarism among young people: Because thereby our young people will be inspired to play at soldiers and I'm strictly against that; above all to prevent our children from being won over to militarism; because otherwise young people's interest in the military would again be aroused; when I was a young man I became a soldier and I want to prevent it that the young have to play at soldiers again; it's just for young people to see how to lead a war, they'd better leave that; etc.	2	2	2	4
We want to see parades of German troops: We want to see our soldiers and not the Americans - I am a German, so how could I like the American soldiers; I prefer to see parades of German troops, no, only for this reason, I am in favor of a German army; etc.	1	2	1	1
Other reasons: That they want to wheedle us by such things already now, and we don't even have a peace treaty yet - first of all we've got to know for whom and for what we are supposed to fight; they should rather bring more weapons over here instead of showing them to all and sundy; they shouldn't make such a fuss about it, they should be here for an emergency only and for that purpose such things aren't necessary; etc.	3	4	3	2
No opinion:	1	1	*	1
	57%●	57%●	56%●	61%●

* Less than one half of one per cent.

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

[redacted]

ARGUMENTS FAVORING MILITARY DISPLAYS ...

The fraction (13%) approving of military parades and displays brings up a variety of arguments none of which are named by more than a handful. Such activities they say would frighten the Russians, demonstrate that American power will protect the Germans, show that the American soldier knows his job and so on.

"Would you be for or against it if the Americans would put on more troop parades, weapon displays and the like?"

"For what reasons would you be for it?" (Asked of those who replied "For it" to previous question.)

	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Because it would show that the Americans are strong and would protect us: You would see how strong they are and get a feeling of security; one could see their strength with one's own eyes; the Germans should see that the Americans are strong enough to protect us; it must be shown that we are being protected - in many respects it's quite right; for certain people it's good to see how strong the Americans are, that makes them lose their fear of the Russians; if they show that they are going to protect us it would influence people to become more confident; to show that they are ready for action; etc.	3%	4%	3%	4%
Because it would scare off the Russians: Then we would have a protection against the Russians, if they would see the parades they would consider whether it's advantageous for them to march into West Germany; that would save us, the Russians would be frightened; to frighten the Russians, to show them how strong they (the Americans) are; the Russians understand but one language, that of the mailed fist and now and then they must be shown how strong the others are; etc.	3	3	3	2
Because that's part of military routine - they should show that they know their job: That is necessary in army life, they must show their abilities; it is part of military routine - after all, we want to see how good the American soldiers are because later on they will be our Allies; that's part of their military training, we would like to see how efficient they are; these soldiers have to show what they are like and whether they know their job; etc.	2	2	1	1
Because it would convey a better idea of America and the American soldier: We are interested to know what things are like with the Americans; then we get a better idea about America and the Americans; etc.	1	1	1	1

(Cont'd on next page)

[redacted]

(Cont'd from preceding page)	WEST GERMANY	Br. Z.	US Z.	Fr. Z.
Because it would revive interest in military service: Since we are to get an army again many young people would take a liking to the military profession; that the German youth takes more interest in military life and becomes opposed to anti-militarism, I am in favor of the military; that it would inspire us with enthusiasm for an army and arouse our interest in it; etc.	1%	2%	1%	-%
Because we could get to know their equipment: I want to see the improvements in American arms; to see how the individual branches of the services are equipped; by these parades it would be shown to many people that the Yanks understand their job and have all they need - it would influence the opinion of the unemployed; we could get a clear picture of their armament, we all belong together, are all in the same boat - thus it's interesting to see how far the other has got; etc.	1	1	*	-
Because it would be a model for our future army: Because it would be quite interesting to us, I'm sure we want to build up our army in much the same way; it's a good example for our future army, as we would have to do things in much the same way; etc.	*	*	-	1
Others: Formerly it could be seen in Germany as well and it would improve discipline; only when it serves the cause of preserving peace, if it's for the purpose of showing that one is bent on war I am all against it, because we all don't want to hear of war anymore - it's enough what we've gone through and after all it has to come to an end; etc.	1	1	2	*
No opinion / No answer:	2	2	1	1
	14%@	16%@	12%@	10%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04800

ALL POPULATION GROUPS PREPONDERANTLY DISAPPROVE OF TROOP PARADES ...

Opposition to military displays prevails in all population elements, but is particularly marked among opinion leading elements - the better educated, higher salaried groups and the men, including war veterans. Protestants more frequently than Catholics express disfavor, as do sympathyzers with FDP and the Social Democratic parties as compared with CDU, among major political groups. (As to the political groups, however, FDP and CDU affiliates give somewhat stronger minority support than do others.) No appreciable departures from the West German findings occur among residents of the US Zone.

"Would you be for or against it if the Americans would put on more troop parades, weapon displays and the like?"

	WEST GERMANY			
	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	16%	63%	21% ...100%	735
Women	10	42	48	858
Education:				
Elementary school	12	49	39	1283
Beyond elementary	15	63	22	307
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	12	45	43	335
150 - 299 DM	13	50	37	567
300 - 399 DM	14	55	31	379
400 DM and more	13	63	24	284
Age:				
18 - 24 years	12	52	36	153
25 - 34 years	13	56	31	335
35 - 44 years	11	55	34	359
45 - 54 years	14	54	32	363
55 years and over	12	44	44	381
Party Preference:				
SPD	11	58	31	361
CDU/CSU	18	47	35	357
FDP/DP	19	67	14	112
Other parties	16	54	30	70
No party	10	54	36	497
Don't know	7	35	58	196
Occupation:				
Professionals	17	65	18	65
Businessmen	10	63	27	175
White-collar workers	16	57	27	212
Skilled laborers	12	55	33	322
Semi-skilled laborers	9	51	40	191
Farmers	15	41	44	155
Unemployed	16	55	29	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	11	42	47	287
Religion:				
Catholics	14	47	39	732
Protestants	11	56	33	789
Origin:				
Natives	12	54	34	1295
Expellees, Refugees	17	43	40	295
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	16	66	18	140
Yes, in other countries	15	67	18	285
World War I	15	55	30	135
No	18	57	25	164

"Would you be for or against it if the Americans would put on more troop parades, weapon displays and the like?"

US ZONE

	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
[illegible]	13%	61%	26% ...100%	247
[illegible]	9	62	29	303
Education:				
Elementary school	11	48	41	452
Beyond elementary	12	65	23	96
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	10	43	47	134
150 - 299 DM	11	49	40	214
300 - 399 DM	13	53	34	112
400 DM and more	12	65	23	81
Age:				
18 - 24 years	11	44	45	61
25 - 34 years	10	58	32	120
35 - 44 years	7	54	39	132
45 - 54 years	15	47	38	117
55 years and over	11	47	42	120
Party Preference:				
SPD	10	50	40	125
CDU/CSU	15	43	42	123
FDP/DP	22	63	15	27
Other parties	9	63	28	32
No party	7	60	33	177
Don't know	10	32	58	66
Occupation:				
Professionals	18	59	23	22
Businessmen	9	68	23	56
White-collar workers	14	62	24	70
Skilled laborers	7	63	30	80
Semi-skilled laborers	5	45	50	66
Farmers	17	31	52	83
Unemployed	13	47	40	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	10	43	47	99
Religion:				
Catholics	13	46	41	319
Protestants	7	58	35	203
Origin:				
Natives	10	53	37	438
Expellees, Refugees	16	42	42	110
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	14	62	24	42
Yes, in other countries	13	69	18	95
World War I	16	56	28	36
No	18	53	29	68

04802

C. Contacts With US Troops

NUMBER OF SOLDIERS SEEN AND KNOWN BY THE WEST GERMANS ...

West Germans were also queried on how many US soldiers they see on an average during the week and whether they have become personally acquainted with any of them. These inquiries were designed largely for purposes of analysis of other findings, but as the results may have some value in themselves they are reported here. The majority of US Zone residents say they see some soldiers every week, also considerable numbers in the French Zone see quite a few American soldiers during the course of the week.

"Approximately how many American soldiers do you see during the week on the average?"

	WEST GERMANY	British Zone	US Zone	French Zone
11 and more	16%	1%	33%	28%
4 - 10	6	2	13	6
1 - 3	8	4	14	7
None	70	93	40	59
	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Have you seen American soldiers recently?" (Asked of those who answered "None" to previous question.)

One or more within one month	9%	7%	12%	9%
Less than one within a month	8	8	8	6
None	53	78	20	44
	70%	93%	40%	59%

Almost a fifth (17%) in the US Zone say they have become well acquainted with some American soldiers since the war's end. All told, 37 per cent in the US Zone claim acquaintanceships. The finding that as many as 33 per cent in the British Zone and 27 per cent in the French Zone say they have come to know American soldiers demonstrates again the importance of the soldiers' role in civilian-troop contacts.

"And have you personally gotten to know American soldiers since the war ended?"

Yes, well	13%	11%	17%	10%
Yes, superficially	21	22	20	17
No, never	66	67	63	73
	100%	100%	100%	100%

04803

GROUP DIFFERENCES ON ACQUAINTANCES WITH AMERICAN SOLDIERS ...

Contrary to what may possibly have been assumed, acquaintanceship with American soldiers is more frequently claimed by men rather than women, the better educated in contrast to those with only elementary schooling and the upper rather than the lower income groups. Veterans who fought against the Americans appear to have more frequent contacts than any other group. A similar pattern obtains in the US Zone though as would be expected a slightly larger proportion has become well or superficially acquainted with American soldiers.

"And have you personally gotten to know American soldiers since the war ended?"

WEST GERMANY

	Yes, well	Yes, superficially	No, never	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	18%	23%	59% ...100%	735
Women	9	18	73	858
Education:				
Elementary school	12	18	70	1283
Beyond elementary	17	30	53	307
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	9	12	79	335
150 - 299 DM	11	18	71	567
300 - 399 DM	15	25	60	379
400 DM and more	16	28	56	284
Age:				
18 - 24 years	14	17	69	153
25 - 34 years	16	25	59	335
35 - 44 years	12	21	67	359
45 - 54 years	14	20	66	363
55 years and over	9	18	73	381
Party Preference:				
SPD	18	21	61	361
CDU/CSU	10	20	70	357
FDP/DP	21	32	47	112
Other parties	10	24	66	70
No party	13	20	67	497
Don't know	5	14	81	196
Occupation:				
Professionals	21	37	42	65
Businessmen	16	28	56	175
White-collar workers	16	21	63	212
Skilled laborers	16	21	63	322
Semi-skilled laborers	9	20	71	191
Farmers	4	17	79	155
Unemployed	18	9	73	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	10	17	73	287
Religion:				
Catholics	12	21	67	732
Protestants	13	19	68	789
Origin:				
Natives	13	21	66	1295
Expellees, Refugees	13	17	70	295
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	29	32	39	140
Yes, in other countries	16	22	62	285
World War I	9	19	72	135
No	19	20	61	164

"And have you personally gotten to know American soldiers since the war ended?"

US ZONE

	Yes, well	Yes, superficially	No, never	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	22%	20%	58% ...100%	247
Women	12	19	69	303
Education:				
Elementary school	16	18	66	452
Beyond elementary	18	27	55	96
Income (per month):				
0 - 149 DM	12	13	75	134
150 - 299 DM	17	14	69	214
300 - 399 DM	18	29	53	112
400 DM and more	20	30	50	81
Age:				
16 - 24 years	15	18	67	61
25 - 34 years	20	22	58	120
35 - 44 years	17	19	64	132
45 - 54 years	20	19	61	117
55 years and over	10	20	70	120
Party Preference:				
SPD	22	19	59	125
CDU/CSU	11	20	69	123
FDP/DP	30	37	33	27
Other parties	19	25	56	32
No party	17	20	63	177
Don't know	8	10	82	66
Occupation:				
Professionals	23	36	41	22
Businessmen	27	23	50	56
White-collar workers	21	17	62	70
Skilled laborers	21	23	56	80
Semi-skilled laborers	14	18	68	66
Farmers	4	17	79	83
Unemployed	11	9	80	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	17	19	64	99
Religion:				
Catholics	15	18	67	319
Protestants	18	20	62	203
Origin:				
Natives	16	20	64	438
Expellees, Refugees	18	20	62	110
Veteran Status:				
Yes, against America	31	24	45	42
Yes, in other countries	18	20	62	95
World War I	11	17	72	36
No	26	21	53	68

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN NUMBER OF SOLDIERS SEEN ...

In the US Zone, as well as to a lesser extent in West Germany generally the people who most often see American soldiers are those who not only are likely to get around more, but tend by education and training to be most observant. Conversely those who stay at home more frequently, or do not get around as much - women lower income groups, farmers, etc. - report seeing soldiers less often.

"Approximately how many American soldiers do you see during the week on the average?"

WEST GERMANY

	11 and more	4 - 10	1 - 3	None	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	41%	17%	12%	30%	-% ...100%	247
Women	26	10	17	47	-	303
Education:						
Elementary school	28	14	14	44	-	452
Beyond elementary	54	8	19	19	-	96
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	16	12	15	57	-	134
150 - 299 DM	32	13	14	41	-	214
300 - 399 DM	39	14	18	29	-	112
400 DM and more	53	12	12	23	-	81
Age:						
18 - 24 years	41	13	16	30	-	61
25 - 34 years	38	13	14	35	-	120
35 - 44 years	33	12	15	40	-	132
45 - 54 years	33	12	9	46	-	117
55 years and over	25	15	19	43	-	120
Party Preference:						
SPD	36	17	10	37	-	125
CDU/CSU	29	11	18	42	-	123
FDP/DP	67	7	11	15	-	27
Other parties	25	16	9	50	-	32
No party	32	12	17	39	-	177
Don't know	25	14	14	47	-	66
Occupation:						
Professionals	68	9	5	18	-	22
Businessmen	46	9	20	25	-	56
White-collar workers	56	11	14	19	-	70
Skilled laborers	43	14	14	29	-	80
Semi-skilled laborers	32	14	18	36	-	66
Farmers	14	17	7	62	-	83
Unemployed	11	9	11	69	-	45
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	23	13	18	46	-	99
Religion:						
Catholics	34	14	13	39	-	319
Protestants	28	13	17	42	-	203
Origin:						
Natives	33	13	14	40	-	438
Expellees, Refugees	33	12	16	39	-	110
Veteran Status:						
Yes, against America	45	17	7	31	-	42
Yes, in other countries	44	18	8	30	-	95
World War I	36	17	17	30	-	36
No	38	15	18	29	-	68

"Approximately how many American soldiers do you see during the week on the average?"

US ZONE

	11 and more	4 - 10	1 - 3	None	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:						
Men	19%	8%	9%	64%	-% ...100%	735
Women	12	5	8	75	*	856
Education:						
Elementary school	14	7	7	72	-	1283
Beyond elementary	23	5	12	60	-	307
Income (per month):						
0 - 149 DM	8	6	8	77	1	335
150 - 299 DM	16	7	8	69	-	567
300 - 399 DM	16	6	10	68	-	379
400 DM and more	24	5	7	64	-	284
Age:						
18 - 24 years	23	9	8	59	1	153
25 - 34 years	18	6	8	68	*	335
35 - 44 years	17	6	8	69	-	359
45 - 54 years	15	4	7	74	*	363
55 years and over	11	7	9	73	-	381
Party Preference:						
SPD	17	7	6	70	-	361
CDU/CSU	13	5	7	75	-	357
FDP/DP	11	4	9	66	-	112
Other parties	13	11	6	70	-	70
No party	17	6	11	66	-	497
Don't know	13	6	7	73	1	196
Occupation:						
Professionals	29	5	11	55	-	65
Businessmen	23	5	12	60	-	175
White-collar workers	25	6	10	59	-	212
Skilled laborers	15	5	5	75	-	322
Semi-skilled laborers	15	7	8	70	-	191
Farmers	8	9	4	78	1	155
Unemployed	10	6	8	76	-	99
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	10	6	9	75	-	287
Religion:						
Catholics	18	7	7	68	*	732
Protestants	13	6	9	72	*	789
Origin:						
Natives	16	6	9	69	*	1295
Expellees, Refugees	14	5	7	74	-	295
Veteran Status:						
Yes, against America	23	9	6	62	-	140
Yes, in other countries	21	8	8	63	-	285
World War I	15	7	10	68	-	135
No	18	7	10	65	-	164

04807

DECLASSIFIED
by authority of
Morton F. Fosberg,
Acting Chief,
PUO:Research Staff
MAY 1- 1956
M. F. F.

A GERMAN AUDIENCE EVALUATION OF THE FILM "WITHOUT FEAR"

Report No. 175
Series No. 2
March 20, 1953

RESTRICTED

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

This study on audience reactions to the film Ohne Furcht (Without Fear) marks the first installment in a projected program involving the use of scientific survey research methods to obtain audience evaluations of Public Affairs-sponsored films prior to general distribution. The value of pre-distribution surveys is that they can provide valuable guidance information as to whether particular films are likely to be effective with German audiences. And in instances where it is possible to edit or otherwise revise films such studies can provide detailed indications of advantageous revisions.

In this first study, particular attention was given to devising techniques and methods that would be generally applicable to such evaluation surveys. A primary requirement was the construction of a questionnaire so designed as to encourage respondents to write in their replies, brief enough not to exhaust the patience of the average movie-goer, but extensive enough to cover all points at issue. A second and equally important requirement was to obtain a sample of a moving picture audience in a given locality, representative as far as possible of the general public. A third step, necessary only in this experimental stage of the program, was to conduct a survey utilizing the interviewer-respondent technique in order to amplify and validate the results of the write-in questionnaire.

The experimental study on audience evaluation of the film Ohne Furcht (Without Fear) was conducted in the town of Koenigswinter, a community of 6800 people located in North-Rhine -Westphalia. The study was made among the regular moving picture audience of the town's one theater. Following the main feature (Don Camillo and Peppone) the film Ohne Furcht was shown.

No advance notice about the film to be tested was made, but during the intermission the spectators were informed that Ohne Furcht would be screened after the main feature and were invited to remain and participate in its evaluation. Of the 400 persons in the theater - a full house - nearly all remained to see Ohne Furcht.

Observers report that the audience appeared to be absorbed in the film, which is attested by the fact that only a few left during the screening.

After the showing, the audience was asked to write in their answers on the questionnaire which is appended to this report. In all, 147 persons did so, which may be considered a good representation, especially since it was 10 o'clock in the evening before patrons began to write in their answers on the ballot.

04809

Though the Koenigswinter group replying to the questionnaire should in no way be considered as a representative cross-section of the West German population, or even of West German movie-goers, it may be noted that the population characteristics of the Koenigswinter evaluators do not markedly depart from those of the West German population as a whole. (See appendix for comparative figures.)

The questionnaire was designed and presented to the Koenigswinter audience by German members of the Reactions Analysis Staff. In informing the audience about the film, no mention was made of Public Affairs' sponsorship either of the film or of the survey. The patrons were simply told that this was the first time Ohne Furcht had been shown in a German cinema and that the producers were interested in learning what they, the first West German audience, thought about the film.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FINDINGS

The audience evaluation study of the film Ohne Furcht was designed to obtain answers to general questions which arose among U.S. policy officials in West Germany in discussing the release of the film. The questions, broadly stated, are:

1. Is it necessary or wise to release the film since the theme - only through West European unity can the totalitarian threat be countered and prosperity and peace be assured - is so widely agreed on that the film might appear obvious and repetitious, and thus lose impact?

2. Is the film's use of modern art forms and its presentation in general too subtle and sophisticated for the "average" movie-goer?

3. Will the dramatically graphic presentation of totalitarianism not only alarm audiences but detract from the impact of the main theme?

4. Will the "average" movie-goer think that the animated technique used in the film is too frivolous a medium for so serious a theme?

OHNE FURCHT GETS THE GO-AHEAD SIGNAL ON ALL OF THESE QUESTIONS ... judging by reactions of the Koenigswinter audience.

... It is essential to show films like Ohne Furcht according to more than eight in ten. Their reasons: it is vital to enlighten people, to warn them of the danger from the East, to shake them out of their indifference, etc.

04810

... The presentation of the theme of the film is apparently not too subtle for most of the audience. Approached in four different lines of inquiry, preponderances of the audience interpret the theme in a positive fashion - unity, peace, prosperity, etc., rather than negatively - the totalitarian threat, the overwhelming danger of Eastern conquest, etc.

... The technical aspects of the film appear to make a deep impression on a large part of the audience. Though many are not reluctant to criticise the graphic design, it is apparent that the techniques used achieve their purpose - to dramatize the theme in a distinctive way.

... Apparently the question of the suitability of the animated technique to the serious theme is not too important. No one among the Koenigswinter audience makes any point of it, despite the many opportunities given them to criticise all aspects of the theme and its presentation.

THE VALIDATION TEST ...

Appointments were made with 33 members of the film audience for interviews which were held in the homes of respondents the day after the showing. The main purpose was to ascertain whether or not the write-in questionnaire did the job of audience evaluation adequately. Accordingly, the 33 persons interviewed by German members of the Reactions Analysis Staff were asked a number of detailed questions designed to amplify those asked in the write-in ballot. Some of the comments thus obtained are listed in this report. On the whole, however, the validation test indicated that the write-in ballot is a practical and feasible technique for evaluation of audience reactions.

I. DOES A FILM LIKE "OHNE FURCHT" NEED TO BE SHOWN?

SUCH FILMS CONSIDERED ESSENTIAL ...

Films such as Ohne Furcht need to be shown according to most of the Koenigswinter audience. Queried, "Do you regard it as essential that such a film is shown nowadays, or don't you think so?" the replies were:

Yes, essential	86%
No, not essential	9
No answer	5
	100%

ARGUMENTS OF THE MAJORITY WHICH STATE IT IS ESSENTIAL TO SHOW FILMS LIKE "OHNE FURCHT" ...

Per cent of statements

IT IS VITAL TO ENLIGHTEN PEOPLE ... 24%

It's imperative to enlighten people in Europe; it's vital to open people's eyes; the film is very instructive and illuminating: to make the Communists see the light; considering news announcements and press releases, I think it's a very good thing to use this approach to enlighten people; to make sure it's effective, a subject has to be got across, by and large people aren't informed thoroughly enough; etc.

IT IS ESSENTIAL TO WARN PEOPLE OF THE DANGER FROM THE EAST ... 22%

Many people haven't yeat realised the danger we are in; to warn people all over the world of Communism; those people who fail to see that such a thing is essential have no idea of the Red threat; otherwise we'll lose valuable time in the face of the Eastern ideology and its dynamics; you can never carry on enough propaganda to warn people of Communism; the more people are informed on the terrible consequences of a dictatorship, the better; I believe that many people don't have an accurate idea about what's going on behind the Iron Curtain; etc.

(cont'd on next page)

04812

Per cent of statements

PEOPLE NEED TO BE SHAKEN OUT OF THEIR INDIFFERENCE ... 20%

It's pretty bad to notice how indifferent people in general are once more, they seem to think along the following lines: Why should I care, as I can't change things anyway?; maybe this film will help to rouse people from their lethargy; the Germans haven't woken up yet; people tend to take it easy, this film makes them grapple with the problem on hand, even if they don't like it; people just take things as they come, they are egotistical and think of their own problems only instead of the common good, therefore they are oblivious of the existing danger, especially people in Koenigswinter, people really should give some serious thought to this problem; etc.

PEOPLE NEED TO BE INFORMED OF THE IDEA OF A UNITED STATES OF EUROPE ... 5%

The best thing of all would be a United Europe; this film is clear and explicit, it makes everybody realize that only in a United Europe people will enjoy a life in freedom; it's essential to familiarize people with the idea of a United Europe, so that they all will fight for it; etc.

WEST GERMANS NEED TO BECOME MORE CONCERNED WITH THE PROBLEMS THEY FACE ... 4%

In that way we see how things stand in Europe and realize that we should be more concerned about what's going on in our country; yes, but rather more from our point of view, what we should do in our own country, we could do something about social justice, for instance; etc.

MISCELLANEOUS REASONS (comments on the film, general arguments, etc.) ... 25%

The idea itself isn't bad, the film as such, the way it's presented isn't too appealing; the film is very good; the best about the film is that the idea is presented in pictures; only a life in peace is worth living; that there won't be another war; the Germans have to be educated to think independently so that they will be able to judge things for themselves; because there is no time to lose; all political groups whatever their orientations may be will agitate; Herr Cube should spend a fortnight in a uranium mine in Aue; etc.

[redacted]

ALONG THE VERY FEW ARGUMENTS AGAINST SHOWING THE FILM ... one type asserts that it is not needed because everyone knows enough about the theme. One person, for example, states, "Most people are informed about things like that, I'm sure." Another declares, "Every European knows all about dictatorship," and a third remarks, "We know what to expect from the East."

Another kind of argument is based on propaganda grounds. Those making this kind of assertion appear either to suspect anything which seems to them to smack of propaganda, or to feel the propaganda was not skillful enough. One man asserts that "Such propaganda measures make people sore." Another argues, "The film aims too much at influencing the mass of people, but it's not interesting enough; it should have a plot that arrives at the same psychological conclusions without boring people." And a third asks, "Are people's minds going to be policed? - Is such a thing possible in a democracy?"

II. IS THE THEME UNDERSTOOD?

Judging by reactions of the Koenigswinter audience the theme of Ohne Furcht is not too subtle or difficult for the average moviegoer to grasp.

On each of the several approaches used to measure this point, the Koenigswinter group indicates a general appreciation of the theme - with stress placed on its positive rather than its negative aspects.

PROMOTION OF EUROPEAN UNITY UNDERSTOOD AS FILM'S PURPOSE ...

Asked first to write down what they thought the film was designed to express, about half of the audience describes the theme in terms of the need for European unity. Others while not referring to Europe, also mention unity in general or allude to more specific aspects, e.g. possibilities of an improved standard of living, the need to be interested in political affairs, differences between democracy and dictatorship and so on. Only a few appear to have been largely impressed by the more negative aspects - the threat of Communism.

"What, do you believe, was to be expressed by this film?"

	Per cent of respondents making statements
EUROPEAN CO-OPERATION	
The idea of a United Europe: The idea of a European Community; a United Europe; to decide for a United Europe; that Europe should unite; unification of Europe; to contribute towards attaining an alliance between Western European nations; European union; etc.	29%

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Per cent of respondents making statements

The necessity of creating a European union:
That Europe must unite and stand together; that it's necessary that the free nations in Europe unite; that a unification of Europe is more imperative today than ever before; only in a United Europe lies our hope for survival; etc. 14%

Campaigning for the idea of a United Europe:
Propaganda for a European Union; to win people over for the idea of a United Europe; propaganda for a United Europe; etc. 4

Necessity to safeguard the security of Europe:
It's imperative to promote a European Union along the lines of the United States of America in order to guarantee its security and to contribute towards a general prosperity; the security of Europe; the European army; etc. 3

EXPOSING THE COMMUNIST DANGER

The threat of Communism:
They want to show how grave the Communist danger is; how things will be when the Reds take over; the aims and purposes of Communism; etc. 11%

Propaganda against Communism, fighting Communism:
To fight totalitarianism; propaganda against Communism; to point out clearly tendencies against any kind of dictatorship; etc. 5

OTHER POINTS BROUGHT UP

Freedom and peace through unity:
Unity makes for strength and safeguards freedom; unity throughout the world, peace; propaganda for peace; freedom of Europe, the nation should close the ranks; freedom and peace; etc. 11%

Possibilities to improve the standard of living:
A good life for all, for the time being it's just an utopian idea; a considerable improvement of the standard of living; that everybody should be able to lead a decent life; etc. 8

Description of present political situation:
The political mission we have; the time we live in; to point out that it's essential that people take an interest in current issues; the political situation throughout the world; the task the present generation has to fulfill; etc. 4

The difference between a democracy and a dictatorship:
It's a comparison between a democracy and a dictatorship; democracy versus coercion; that might should not be above right; etc. 3

Other answers:
That the noble qualities of man should win in the end; it's purpose is to enlighten people; propaganda; instructive; etc. 5

No opinion / No answer: 18

115%**

** Some people gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

FILM FOUND INFORMATIVE AND CONVINCING ...

A second measure of the impact of the theme was to present a list of adjectives and ask the audience to check those which best described their personal feelings about the film. Here favorable reactions outweighed unfavorable by a ratio of more than two to one, as may be seen in the table below in which replies are divided according to favorable and negative choices.*

"In the following, a few points are listed which could be put forward for or against the film. Please indicate all those answers that come nearest to your personal feelings."

Favorable		Negative	
Informative	52%	Too propagandistic	16%
Convincing	33	Strange	15
Stirring	31	Inspiring fear	14
Topical	25	Difficult to understand	10
Encouraging	3	Discouraging	3
	144%		58%

(Percentages for the two columns combined add to more than 100% because some people selected more than one term.)

TO LIVE A GOOD LIFE, EUROPEANS MUST UNITE ...

That the theme of Ohne Furcht had impact is also shown in the fact that six in ten people agree after seeing the film that "only in a free and unified Europe can people live happily." Given six statements to select from, not only did as many as six in ten select the foregoing sentence as best describing their feelings (which of all the six probably best summarizes the actual aim of the film), but the total number selecting what might be called affirmative statements outranks the number choosing negative statements by three to one. The votes on the six statements, divided according to affirmative and negative classification, are as follows: *

"The following are some thoughts which might occur to you at the end of the film. Which of them comes closest to what you yourself felt at the end of the film?"

Affirmative		Negative	
Only in a free and unified Europe can people live happily	62%	There is an ever increasing danger that Communism might overrun Europe	24%
West Europe is coming nearer and nearer toward unification	16	There is no cure against Communist power	3
Dictatorship inevitably leads to war	14	Even under a dictatorship people get along	3
	92%		30%

* The lists as presented were of course not divided as in the above tables between favorable and negative terms, but were single lists with the terms mixed at random.

RESTRICTED

Further indication of the impact of the theme is found in the comments made by people interviewed in their homes the day after the film showing.*

Queried, "In what way did the film set you to thinking?" this is what some respondents had to say:

"The EDC-treaty should be the obvious solution in the eyes of everyone; it made me think that a solid front has to be established against the East;" (Cook, male, 19 years of age)

"It gave me material for thought by pointing out the contrast between the two systems of government, reconstruction and a flourishing economy in a democracy, on the one hand; coercion, in the form that the individual is a slave of the state, on the other hand;" (Official, male, about 45 years of age)

"In the beginning something was shown about the ruin of a nation, therefore the idea occurred to me that the Communist Party was behind the whole thing, I was about to leave when I realized the film was about co-operation between people, and a thing like that interests me, the beginning of the film was poor, I tell you, but afterwards things improved;" (Housewife, about 35 years of age)

"It would be a good thing to live in a United Europe;" (White collar worker, male, about 25 years of age)

"It made me realize that it would be a good thing if all barriers between nations would be removed and it set me thinking about what this would mean for us;" (Housewife, about 55 years of age)

"Why has a United Europe not been created years ago?" (Maid, about 20 years of age)

"It demonstrated the position of free people in the state as compared to suppressed people;" (Pensioner, female, about 50 years of age)

"If Europe doesn't unite, the Communist danger will become more grave all the time;" (Hairdresser, self-employed, about 55 years of age)

"The veins symbolizing totalitarianism reach down to people, to the individual family, it makes everything so rigid, this levelling of people is simply terrible;" (Housewife, about 45 years of age)

"That Communist business, the Communists acted in this, those guys with the red ties;" (Disabled person, male, 68 years of age)

"The film made me realise that the USSSR is even more powerful than one generally cares to admit;" (Postal clerk, male, about 20 years of age)

* As noted in the introduction, thirty-three members of the audience were interviewed in their homes in order to obtain more detailed reactions to the film and also to validate the write-in questionnaire method.

"PEACE IN FREEDOM" IS LEADING CHOICE FOR TITLE BEST DESCRIBING THE FILM ...

Another way of measuring the impact of the film's theme was to ask the audience to select from a list of titles, the one which seems most appropriate to them. Here also the positive impression the film makes is apparent - titles expressing the affirmative message of the film outweigh the negative by about three to one, with "Peace in Freedom" receiving the largest single number of votes (33%). In contrast, such suggestions as "The Communist Menace," is the choice of 14 per cent, "When the Reds Come" (3%), and "The Power of the East," another 3 per cent.

"We have a list of titles here which contains the present title as well as other suggestions. Which of these titles would you personally suggest for this film?"

Peace in freedom	33%
Unity and strength	17
The Communist menace	14
Without fear	8
Democracy and dictatorship	8
The power of the East	3
When the Reds come	3
Different titles	5
No title/No answer	9
	100%

One of the suggestions of those finding none of the titles listed entirely suitable is this one:

"We want to be respected as individuals and lead a decent life."

Another person comments:

"The title Without Fear is too simple, but since long titles are unsuitable, one should at least put a question mark at the end - this would make the title more expressive and wouldn't let people suppose it's an advertisement."

The purpose of this inquiry was not to test reactions to the title, but, as already stated, measure the impact of the theme. Nevertheless it is worthy of note that so few select Ohne Furcht (Without Fear) as most to their liking. Though audiences may not be the best source for effective film titles, they are of necessity the final judges of the drawing power of a given title.

04811

III. HOW DO PEOPLE REACT TO THE FILM'S TECHNICAL PRESENTATION?

The unique character of Ohne Furcht lies in the fact that it is not only an animated film but uses modern art forms, both in drawings and music. Two questions regarding these techniques have arisen: 1) Will the public feel that an animated film is too frivolous a medium for so serious a theme? and 2) are the drawings artistically too stylized and sophisticated for the average movie-goer and thus tend to detract from receptivity to the theme?

The answer to the first question, judging by reactions of the Koenigswinter audience, appears to be definitely No. Nowhere in the results is there any indication whatsoever that the audience considers the animated technique inappropriate to the theme - despite all the opportunities afforded for criticisms, general and specific.

Regarding the second question, the findings are also generally favorable. As will be seen in the results set forth below, the Koenigswinter people have criticisms to make of the presentation - obviously quite a few of them either are not too fond of modern art or are startled by it in a film. On the other hand it appears that, regardless of personal tastes, the technique of the film is its most gripping aspect. Apparently it does what it is supposed to do - dramatizes the theme in a distinctive way.

TECHNIQUE OF PRESENTATION IMPRESSIVE TO MANY ...

The presentation and technical aspects of the film are mentioned by more than half of the audience who expressed opinions on what they liked best about it. They admire, as one person puts it, "the way contrasts are shown," or as another says, "the way things are placed in perspective," or "the meaning of the colors with regard to one's conception of life." Others appear more impressed by the idea and theme of the film, but among them also the relationship of the theme to its presentation is sometimes mentioned, as for example in this comment, "Although the idea of a united Europe is wonderful in itself, this film renders it especially clear and impressive by the vivid and varied colored make-up." Their detailed comments follow.

"What did you like about this film?"

	Per cent of respondents making statements
PRESENTATION - TECHNIQUE	
The presentation of the film (general): A brief explanation of the situation, easy to understand; the way the contrasts were shown; the completely new way of presentation; rather clear and good demonstration; the new way of demonstration; the execution, the set-up; the clear line, the leading thought; the treatment of the subject was very logical, a slow introduction to lead to the main point; etc.	29%

(Cont'd on next page)

Per cent of respondents making statements

Colors, the technical side of the film:
From my view-point as a painter, as a colored trickfilm it's something new and valuable; technically good; combination of colors; the drawings, especially the colors; the way things are placed in perspective; also the movements (child with skipping-rope); colors better than in other films; the meaning of the colors with regard to one's conception of life; the children; when the barriers were lifted; the scenes which show the activities of a farmer in a metaphoric form; etc. 21%

THEME

The idea behind the film:
That at last somebody had the idea to approach people, not only the Germans I hope, with this problem; the idea; theoretically the idea is good; the conception of the theme; etc. 10

The idea of a United Europe (union between nations, integration of Germany):
The basic idea to do away with boundaries between the peoples; although the idea of a United Europe is wonderful in itself, this film renders it especially clear and impressive by the vivid and varied make-up; the good idea of a United Europe; that the film expresses the idea of a United Europe; etc. 9

Demonstration of Communism at work (the Communist peril):
That at last a large audience is confronted with this idea and that the menace of Communism is pointed out to them so clearly; that, without showing a marked tendency, it reveals the Communist peril; the way to show the peril of Communism; the true and clear picturing of Communism; the good illustration of dictatorship; etc. 5

Anti-Bolshevist tendency, propaganda without agitation:
The anti-Bolshevist propaganda; admonition in a matter-of-fact way, without agitating propaganda; the film is free of overdone propaganda; etc. 3

(Cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

	Per cent of respondents making statements
Demonstration of present political situation: This short film gives a clear picture of the present political situation in Europe; demonstration of the present political situation; etc.	2%
Informative character of the film: Enlightenment of the nations; a good review on the situation, easy-to-comprehend information for laymen; informative; etc.	2
Other features: The briefness; text; nature; the value of culture to mankind; etc.	8
No answer:	23
	112%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04821

BUT DRAWINGS AND COLOR ALSO COME IN FOR SOME CRITICISM ...

On the other hand, when queried on what they like least about the film, the colors and the drawings, especially of human figures - "robot-like," many call them - come in for some criticism. In contrast, very few take issue with the film's theme. However, it should be kept in mind here, that adverse criticisms were not only deliberately sought in this query, but no one point is mentioned by more than a fraction of the total audience.

"What didn't you like so much about the film?"

	Per cent of respondents making statements
PRESENTATION - TECHNIQUE	
The colors: The colors were too loud; the exaggerated colors; the over-bright colors; the color; etc.	12%
Representation of human figures: These robot-like figures; the schematized figures, like an erratic block and not like human beings, nature and towns are shown why not show men as they really are?; the schematized, unreal way of representation, there's no human life in it; these bulky figures of people; the figures; the people they showed; the convulsive movements of the figures; this over-standardising of people; too angular; like done by compasses; etc.	7
The way of treating the subject by symbolical pictures - difficult to understand (general): The film is too difficult to understand, that means to say this kind of propaganda is not yet understandable; expressionism; the presentation: not a symbolical but a real one; perhaps the presentation is not popular enough to have an effect on the general public and just they would have to carry the main burden of decision on the matter; the metaphoric say of presentation; the way the subject was treated; sometimes the pictures were too difficult to understand; etc.	6
Modern painting, drawings: The modern painting; abstract drawing; not sufficiently clear; too modern, painted like a poster; oversimplified, too much like a poster; etc.	6
Movements, change of scenes: Some more movement in the individual scenes would have been better; not lively enough, had a soporific effect; a certain one-sidedness; it's all made in a sort of slow-motion; sometimes a bit confusing, the change of scenes sometimes too quick; often the scenes change too suddenly; scenes changing too often; etc.	5

(Cont'd on next page)

	Per cent of respondents making statements
Too long: Too long, it should end at "liberté;" it was too long to be seen after a movie; the film shouldn't have been longer; etc.	2%
Others: These martial tunes, the shotguns; the red peril; it's put on too thickly; too often repeated; the whole set-up; etc.	5

THEME

The political theme: Nowadays you always think, if you come across something political: what's behind it?; inter-mingled with politics; that it has a political subject; theme; etc.	3
Too strong propaganda: Too strong propaganda for the EDC treaty; too much advertising; etc.	1
The word "freedom" too often used: The word "freedom" is used too often; too much stress is laid on "freedom"; etc.	1
The upsetting and stirring: You can see too much of this game; it's too upsetting for me; etc.	1
Others: That dictatorship is bad in any case; I hate all murderers; etc.	1
I've nothing to criticize:	3
No answer:	47
	100%

The graphic design also comes in for some criticism when the matter is explored in a more indirect fashion. Asked what the "average movie - goer" might not like about Ohne Furcht, those who have anything to say in reply - about half do not offer any suggestions - tend again to stress the technical aspects more than the theme. However, it is interesting to note that references to the propaganda and assertedly martial aspects of the film are more frequent than when respondents are asked for their own reactions rather than those of other people. Comments below.

"What, do you think, the average movie-goer might perhaps not like about this film?"

	Per cent of respondents making statements
PRESENTATION - TECHNIQUE	
The abstract, modern presentation: The somewhat clumsy, I mean stenciled drawings; the matter-of-fact character; the schematized way it's presented; the strange way it's done; the modern painting; the surrealistic way it's done; the way they present it, for some people it's not easy to understand; etc.	19%

(Cont'd on next page)

	Per cent of respondents making statements
Put on too thickly, frightening, demoniacal: The quick changing of pictures seems very strenuous and tiring to me; the gruesome pictures, as e.g. these blood vessels in the human bodies; the demoniacal effect; it might cause bewilderment; etc.	6%
The colors:	3
The music:	2

THERE

The political danger may have a deterring effect: Its martial spirit; people don't want to be shown how dangerous a State can be; the potential danger might have a discouraging effect on the people; that threat of war; that the danger from the East is somewhat exaggerated; etc.	5
Political propaganda: Perhaps a bit too much propaganda; because it seems to be a political film; it might be interpreted as war mongering: catch the thieves; etc.	5
Too problematic and difficult to understand: People won't understand it; they may not understand its meaning; people, generally, don't like to think when looking at the screen; etc.	5
No real attractive plot: ... that the idea of the film wasn't expressed through an obvious plot that affects the heart more than the intellect; it lacks a real plot; etc.	3

OTHERS

Everything will be disliked: In my opinion, everything; etc.	1
The film is good: The technical side of the film is good so that the majority will like it; etc.	1
Other answers: It doesn't offer much to young people and Communists; why do they pick out just such a sort of foreign film?; only those who are not interested in political things will remain unmoved by this film; etc.	2
No opinion: That's difficult to say; etc.	1
No answer:	47
	100%

04824

TOTALITARIAN SCENES MOST VIVIDLY RECALLED ...

Finally, it is clear, that greatest impact on the audience comes from the scenes depicting the totalitarian system. By a two to one preponderance Koenigswinterers recall such scenes over those on democracy and unity as most vividly remembered. This is not unexpected as the film itself made use of more striking colors and graphics in these scenes than in the more quiet depiction of democratic unity. Moreover, the finding demonstrates again that force and marching men and war lend themselves to drama more readily than does the peaceful pursuit of happiness. But since the theme is so clearly understood and agreed with by the large part of its audience, vividness of the negative elements does not disrupt awareness of the picture's message.

The listing of scenes is presented in order of frequency of mention.

"What scene of the film do you remember most vividly?"

Scenes in connection with dictatorship	
Symbol of dictatorship	
The red veins	
The red flood from the East penetrating into West Europe	
The weapons - the bayonets	
The marching up - the marching column	
The removal of the barriers	
The representation of the soldiers	
The man behind barbed wire	
The blast furnaces	35%
Scenes in connection with democracy and European unity	
The playing children	
Happy family life	
Removal of customs-barriers	
Demonstration of misery (faces of needy people)	
Rebuilding and harvest	
The modern housing developments	
Demonstration of work	
Scene demonstrating unity	
Scene demonstrating peace	
Peace in freedom	17%
Particular scenes, or general references	
First scene - red wall	
The customs-barriers - the barriers	
The landscape true to nature	
The faces shown in different colors	
Picture of Europe cut by frontiers	6%
General statements and other features	
The power of a totalitarian state	
Good combination of colors	
The film as a whole leaves an impression	6%
No answer	38%
	102%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE TEXT AND THE MUSIC ...

The thirty-three respondents interviewed in their homes the day after the film showing were asked two specific questions on the text and the music. By and large both are well received as their comments listed below suggest.

"What do you think about the text of the film?"

	Number of respondents
It was good	12
Clear, the speaker did a good job	9
To the point, convincing	6
The texts heightened the effect of the pictures	3
Too meagre	1
Because of the rather stiff pictures people didn't quite get the point, more explanations should have been given	1
The texts were oversimplified, too trifling, in part the sequence of the texts lacked logic	1
The texts remained in the background of the film, and that was a good thing, a story shown in pictures is always more effective than the spoken word	1
The speaker talking about the East should have a harsh voice, the speaker giving the story about the West, a soft voice, I would give the job to two speakers	1
They shouldn't hint at things, they should speak more plainly	1
The texts could have been deleted entirely, the presentation of the story was clear enough	1
	37 *

* Some respondents made more than one comment.

"What do you think of the music blended in?"

I liked the music	17
The music was a complement to the movie	
There was always a loud march music accompanying the soldiers, with the other pictures the music became lower and lower, the dictatorship was accompanied by a strident music; the music was very well adjusted to the whole movie;	5
I paid no attention to the music	5
The music was not necessary	4
The music was pretty good	1
I don't have anything to say	1
	33

RESTRICTED

04826

APPENDIX

Comparison of population characteristics of the Koenigswinter sample with the RAS probability sample for West Germany.*

	Koenigswinter	West Germany
Sex:		
Men	47%	47%
Women	50	53
No answer	3	
Age:		
Under 17 years	9%	-
18 - 24 "	16	12
25 - 34 "	33	21
35 - 54 "	28	42
55 years and over	9	24
No answer	5	1
Education:		
Elementary school	56%	78%
Secondary school	29	17
Diploma	7	3
University	5	2
No answer	3	-
Occupation:		
Professional and semi-professional	6%	2%
Business	6	7
Clerical	14	11
Laborers (skilled)(unskilled)	15	21
Housewives	25	31
Farmers, farmhands	3	8
Not gainfully employed: pensioners, retired, students, apprentices, etc.	15	18
No answer	16	2
Residential Status:		
Native	78%	80%
Refugee	14	20
No answer	8	-

* The larger proportion of "No answers" in the Koenigswinter sample relative to the regular West German sample is owing to the write-in ballot. However, throughout this study, the proportions neglecting to fill in replies to the various questions was much lower than generally occurs with a write-in questionnaire.

04827

GREEN WEEK VISITORS APPRAISE
THE MARSHALL HOUSE EXHIBIT
"AGRICULTURE IN THE FREE WORLD"

Report No. 176
Series No. 2
March 27, 1953

R [illegible] OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTION ANALYSIS STAFF

04828

INTRODUCTION

The 1953 "Green Week" exhibition was held at the West Berlin Funkturm grounds between January 30th and February 7th. With the theme, "Agriculture in the Free World," the Marshall House featured an exhibition designed to show visitors that a farmer operating as a private individual in a free economy can and does produce more and live better than farmers under any other system. Nearly a score of American farm implements, a model American farm complete with buildings, fields and machinery, and related displays of farm produce and of the American farmer's way of life were featured in the exhibit. Other elements of the Marshall House exhibition pointed to ERP aid to European agriculture, the Point-Four Program, and how European farmers are enjoying ever better living standards through increased production.

Nearly four hundred (387) East Germans were interviewed during their visit to the Marshall House exhibition. In addition to these (56% of whom are farmers living in the East Zone) 179 West Germans were interviewed.

As usual, interviewing was done under German auspieces by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff.

SUMMARY

THE "AGRICULTURE IN THE FREE WORLD" EXHIBIT IS FAVORABLY RECEIVED ... judging by reactions of spectators at West Berlin's "Green Week."

... Particularly well-liked is the presentation of the American farm, its equipment and especially the agricultural implements.

... Further evidence of the attractiveness of the exhibit is that two thirds say there was nothing they did not like about it, when specifically invited to criticise.

THE THEME ... is comprehended partially if not entirely by most visitors, though many appear to apply it to the U.S. rather than to the free world generally.

... Interpretations of the purpose of the exhibition tend to be of four types: 1) it demonstrates the difference between the free economy of the West (or the U.S.) and the controlled Iron Curtain economy; 2) the use of modern implements and methods makes for better living; 3) progress has been made in farming methods, especially in the U.S. that can and should be applied by all farmers; and 4) through cooperation and mutual assistance, agricultural progress can be made.

04829

AN AUTHENTIC PICTURE OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE ... is presented in the exhibition, according to the bulk of the visitors from the East Zone as well as those from West Germany.

... The few dissidents assert that the American farm portrayed is not typical of U.S. farms in general.

THE APPLICABILITY OF AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC FARMING METHODS TO WESTERN EUROPE ... is not easily sold, however, although fairly sizeable groups appear responsive.

... A majority of East Zone farmers take the view that West German farms could adopt the American methods. West Germans split pro and con on the matter.

04830

THE MARSHALL HOUSE AGRICULTURAL SHOW HAS POPULAR APPEAL ...

The "Agriculture in the Free World" exhibit presented during the "Green Week" in West Berlin had popular appeal judging by reactions of both West German and East Zone visitors. The American farm, its buildings and layout, its management, all came in for favorable comment, as did the display of American farm machinery. The farm machinery and equipment was in fact singled out by more than half of East Zone farmers in attendance as especially interesting. Comments advanced in reply to the question, "What did you particularly like about the Marshall House," follow.

	West Germans	East Zone	East Zone (farmers)
<u>The farm and its installation and equipment:</u> The farm in operation; the layout of the farm; the presentation of the farm yards; the model farm; the farm installations; the rural settlement; the farm and all that belongs to it; etc.	51%	46%	42%
<u>The machinery and technical appliances and equipment:</u> The agricultural implements; the electric kitchen; the combined agricultural machines; the modern machinery and equipment; as I am a farmer myself, I was especially interested in the new developments regarding the agricultural machinery industry; the technical appliances; the combined harvester; the kitchen in the farm house; the seed drill combined with the fertilizer distributor; the two-edged plough and the tractor; the new-type fertilizer distributor; that business with the trap-doors; I was interested in the planting-machine; the chaff-cutter; a bruising mill and a hay binder; etc.	29	49	56
<u>The clearly arranged statistical material:</u> That they succeeded in giving a clear and accurate picture of conditions in America with comparatively simple means; the charts about what wages a person can earn in an agricultural occupation; the charts informing people on production figures; the tables with comparative values about production figures; the statistical representation, how Germany received aid under the Marshall Plan; the statistical material; the tables with figures; the way in which the data about the farm are demonstrated to people; the smoothly functioning organization, the clear arrangement; the method of representation is very instructive; etc.	8	4	6

(cont'd on next page)

	East Germans	East Zone	East Zone (farmers)
Farm management(husbandry by a family), working processes, partitioning of farm buildings and cultivable land: It's very interesting to learn about the methods used by American farmers; planned fodder growing; that it's possible that one family only can manage the farm, though it's a large one, that's due to mechanisation; the way the arable land is partitioned; that a family runs the farm; the way the farmer works; the arrangement of houses and stables on the farm grounds; the management of the farm, the working methods, the plan according to which buildings and cultivable land are partitioned; etc.	7%	7%	10%
The point Four Program - support and aid given to other (backward) countries by the U.S.: How American aid is distributed in distressed areas and what it means for the development of the nations involved; that the information given is so precise and detailed, the Point Four Program, details are given about projects carried out by the Americans; the execution of the Point Four Program; the tables about aid given to distressed areas; that they do something to develop backward areas;etc.	6	2	2
Standard of living and way of life of American farmers: I was impressed by farmer Smith, how he has got on in life; what the life of American farmers is like; the whole way of living of this American farmer; that they demonstrated how a farmer can work his way up over there; that farmers in America are so well off; the high standard of living, how people eat over there; Mr. Smith and his family;etc.	4	3	3
Stock raising: Stock raising, horses, cattle, sheep; all that information on improved methods in cattle breeding; poultry breeding; hog breeding; small cattle breeding; etc.	2	1	*
The representation of the historical development of American agriculture: The exposition of the historical development from the hand plough to a complicated machine; I think it was a good idea to illustrate to people the developments leading up to present-day standards, the improvements in machines and equipment; the antique implements people used in former times; the old plough on displays; the development of agriculture; comparisons with former times; etc.	2	2	1

(cont'd on next page)

* Less than one half of one per cent.

R E S T R I C T E D

	East Germans	East Zone	[redacted] Zone (farmers)
Other features: That what's shown is really true to fact, things really are that way; the ingenious lighting system; that developments in technology will benefit nations all over the world; public health services in other countries; there certainly is a vast difference between conditions in their country and the way things are over here; etc.	4%	2%	8%
I liked everything: I liked everything in this house; everything is fine; everything, without exception, just everything; etc.	3	4	5
I didn't like anything(particularly): I didn't like anything particularly, because I'm not much interested in things like that; I didn't like anything particularly well here, all there is is just pictures; I didn't like anything particularly well; speaking the plain truth, nothing at all; etc.	2	1	-
No opinion/No answer:	2	1	1
	120%**	122%**	128%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

FEW CAN POINT TO THINGS THEY DID NOT LIKE ABOUT THE EXHIBITION ...

Further indication of the popularity of the Marshall House presentation is that when specifically asked for criticisms of it, about two thirds volunteered that they liked everything about it. Among the few criticisms, the charts and tables got some mention (too dull or too much "theory," according to the critics), and other points were mentioned by the very small fractions.

"And what didn't you like so much?"

	West Germans	East Zone (farmers)
The posters, tables, statistics	13%	5%
The machines and technical appliances	4	6
The arrangements - the crowd	2	4
The exhibition is one-sided (certain fields are missing)	2	2
The equipment for a farm	2	1
The vegetable cultivation and fruit culture, partitioning of agricultural acreage	1	1
The Point Four Program	1	1
The stock raising	-	1
The standard of living, husbandry by a family, way of life and working methods of American farmers	-	1
I liked everything	63	68
No opinion/No answer	13	11
	101%**	101%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

MOST PEOPLE HAVE SOME COMPREHENSION OF THE THEME ...

The exhibition of the American farm, its equipment and management, and the other graphic and statistical displays all bore on the theme "free farmers in free countries produce more and live better than farmers under any other system of government."

The theme was grasped partially if not entirely by most of the spectators, though many tended to apply it specifically to the American situation rather than to the free world generally.

In reply to a query on what the exhibition expressed to them all but a very small fraction of both East Zone and West German visitors came up with some statements, with four types of comments most frequent. They are the exhibit demonstrates: 1) The differences between the free economy of the West (or the United States) and the controlled economy of the East; 2) that the use of modern implements and methods makes for better living; 3) that progress has been made, especially in the U.S., in farming methods which can and should be applied by all farmers; and 4) that through cooperation and mutual assistance agricultural progress can be achieved. Less frequently stated is that the exhibition purported to show the high U.S. living standard, the results of the Marshall Plan and/or Point Four Program, or displays American skill in order to counteract Communist propaganda. Very small fractions saw it as an advertisement for American farm machinery, or a U.S. bid for emigrants.

"What, in your opinion, is being expressed through this exhibition here in the Marshall House? (And what else?)"

	West Germans	East Zone	East Zone (farmers)
<u>It shows that better living standards are achieved by the use of modern methods and implements:</u>			

People are expected to see that they can live more comfortably through making use of new technical developments, that in that way the standard of life will be improved and manpower will be saved; that things will get better if machines are used; that people can lead a life of greater comfort and less toil if they use modern machinery; through mechanizing agriculture it is hoped that people will become more enthusiastic about farming, this is considered to be a means to stop the migration from the country to the cities by which all nations are plagued; they want to show how efficiently work is done in America, that manpower is used economically, that every effort is made so that people have to work less hard; modernising a farm in America, they want to show what the technical prerequisites for modernising a farm are; efficient working methods used in America, how to save time, how to work the land so that it yields rich crops, they are demonstrating that work is done more efficiently in America; that people who live in the East have a chance to learn about American-made machines for large-scale farming; maybe people are expected to realise how much further ahead American farmers are compared to German peasants

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

	East Germans	East Zone	East Zone (farmers)
because they rely mostly on machines in farming; that the Americans are way ahead of us in the field of agriculture as is proven by the material exhibited here, and that the Americans will aid Europe so we will be able to adopt these methods; that by employing technical means work will become less exacting for the individual; etc.	26%	26%	30%
<u>It demonstrates the difference between the free economy of the West and the rigidly controlled economy of the East:</u> Conditions in the Soviet Zone and in the Western countries are being compared, while there is nationalization in the East, private property is protected in the West; the difference between East and West, while in the East things go downhill, progress is made in the West, that's especially obvious to people like us who live in the East; that the West has got everything, while we in the East have nothing at all; the agricultural level in the countries of the free world as compared to the output in the East; Undoubtedly they want people from the East Zone to realize what difference there is between here and over there, in the West there is progress, in the East there is decline; they want to show how a farmer in America lives, that the American way of life may be introduced over here, too, they want to point out the contrast between the life an American farmer leads and the life of a peasant in the East Zone; the difference between American and European agriculture is to be expressed as well as the contrast between the life of an American farmer and that of a collectivist peasant in the East Zone; that we will be able to work as free peasants some day after the East Zone has been abolished, there is no doubt that a peasant produces more under a free economy than under a planned economy; that government support will be more effective within a shorter time if people are free to use their initiative and their own ideas, that things will pick up then; etc.	22	27	30

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

	East Germans	Soviet Zone	Soviet Zone (farmers)
It demonstrates that progress has been made in farming methods, especially in the U.S., which can and should be applied by all farmers: The things that can be done in the States should be made possible over here, too; they want to express that people shouldn't cling to traditions, but should advance with the times, and that a farmer should think independently, too; that great progress has been made in the course of time, that farmers should keep up with developments also; they want to show what yields farmers in the States have through using mechanical processes, that people in Europe could have it the same way; that they expect us to adopt the methods used in America over here in Germany, too; how far agriculture has advanced up till now is to be expressed, that's proven by the tractor on display, in former times everything was more primitive; they want to illustrate to people in Europe what technical means can be employed, they want to show them modern machinery; it's meant to illustrate the progress that has been made in agriculture, generally, in Germany as well as in America; to demonstrate to people that things are moving, that we have advanced during the past eight years; it's meant to instruct young people and farmers, to give an impetus to the East Zone, that they use more progressive methods and aren't so conservative in farming; etc.	27%	20%	17%
Through cooperation and mutual assistance, agricultural progress can be made: The aid America gives us is to be demonstrated among other things; support given to countries less wealthy; international solidarity among farmers, thus there will be no more problems as to how to feed people all over the world; it demonstrates that America wants to help nations throughout the world to acquire a higher standard of living, they want to show them how to do it; that many countries didn't achieve by far so much as they could do if they would stick together and would double their efforts; how the ultimate aim, to improve the living standard of working classes can be achieved if all forces are concentrated and put to work; they want to stimulate cooperation between nations and to show how to make use of untapped reservoirs of strength, how to utilize the vast tracts of land in Asia and India; that through mutual assistance between nations, backward countries will be able to adopt progressive methods, in regard to seed corns, machinery, etc.; etc.	18	14	13

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

	West Germans	East Zone	East Zone (farmers)
High standard of living in America: The higher standard of living of farmers in the West; that over there the standard of living is much higher than in our country; that the living standard of American farmers is much higher than ours; the high standard of living of American farmers, or rather of the whole nation; that farmers in the States toil less hard and live more comfortably than farmers anywhere else in the world, that even a small farmer over there can make a fortune; what sort of life American farmers lead, they want to show that they don't live poorly; etc.	11%	10%	8%
Results of the Marshall Plan and Point Four Program: How those nations can be assisted that haven't yet reached such a high standard as the U.S., the Point Four Program serves this purpose; that reconstruction is important and necessary, through the Marshall Plan aid is provided for Europe; what possibilities result from the execution of the Point Four Program for Europe and the free world; the Point Four Porgram proves that countries where primitive methods are used in agriculture need help, so that conditions can be improved, the exhibition shows that support is given to various nations; America helps other nations to enable them to help themselves; etc.	3	3	2
Display of American skill to disprove Eastern propaganda: So we get an accurate idea about conditions in American agriculture, contrary to what the Eastern press reports about the situation; they want to show that not only the East produces but America as well; it's to be demonstrated to peasants from the East as well as from the West what sort of life an American farmer leads, because over here the East carries on a false propaganda on this subject; America wants to show, and to prove it, too, that it does more for the well-being of the world than does the East; to show people in the East Zone that the West doesn't rearm only, as the East claims it does, but also produces big machines which mean less back-breaking work for the individual; they want to demonstrate to people what American agriculture is like, to combat the propaganda campaign launched by the East against America, because they always run down just everything; it has political character, it informs people that in the case of Germany help can never come from the East but only from a free world, here they expose SED-propaganda as agitation; etc.	2	4	4

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

	West Germans	East Zone	East Zone (farmers)
Chances for emigration: They want everybody to know that there's room for many more people in that country over there; that it's a good thing to emigrate to America, that people can find good jobs and can live comfortably in America; they want to demonstrate to German peasants how farmers live in the States, so that the peasants take to the idea of emigration; etc.	2%	1%	2%
Advertising American machinery: The West wants to do business, among other things, they want to sell their new machines; the farmers are expected to inspect these machines and to order them later on; that we should introduce them over here, too, that we should buy machinery from America; etc.	1	1	1
Demonstration of America's sympathy with the East Zone people: It's meant to show that America has sympathies for the East also; the purpose is to express America's solidarity for the Soviet Zone of occupation; etc.	1	1	1
Other answers: How things have recovered since the end of the war, cooperation between people in the country and people in the cities; that there is hope that things will pick up in the East Zone, as conditions in West Germany are improved already; that America is interested to a certain degree in the recovery of Germany in order to prevent the spreading of Communism in Europe; that one has to create reserves and to utilize the uncultivated tracts of land all over the world to make sure there won't be any famines any more; that people have a chance to learn how things are in the States, that we may find out some facts about that; etc.	4	5	5
No opinion/No answer:	3	4	-
	120%**	116%**	113%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

THE AMERICAN FARM IN THE EXHIBITION IS CONSIDERED TRUE TO LIFE ...

The presentation of American farming methods also appeared authentic to the bulk of the exhibition visitors. It is to be noted in the tables below that 90 per cent of East Zone farmers declare that the exhibition presents U.S. agriculture "as it really is."

"Do you have the impression that this exhibition here in the Marshall House shows American agriculture as is really is or do you have the impression that the exhibition tries to give too favorable a picture of American agriculture? (Does this exhibition try to do this to a great degree or to a small degree?)"

	West Zone (179)	East Zone (387)	East Zone (farmers)
As it really is	80%	87%	90%
Favorable picture, greatly exaggerated	1	1	2
Favorable picture, slightly exaggerated	13	7	5
No opinion	6	5	3
	100%	100%	100%

CRITICS SAY FARM IS NOT "TYPICAL" ...

The few who take issue with the accuracy of the exhibition argue in general along the line that the farm, or certain aspects, are not typical, that many or most American farms are not so modern.

"What, in your opinion, is shown in too favorable a light?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Favorable picture, exaggerated" to initial question)

	West Germans	East Zone	East Zone (farmers)
A model farm is shown, the average farm isn't like that: I have sort of a feeling that things aren't so dandy as all that, that stands to reason, they only show specially selected farms, top-notch farms, people are expected to try hard to get a farm like that, that's what is behind the whole show; it really looks the ideal thing, it can't be so perfect as all that, I just can't believe it; the whole farm is simply superexcellent, it's too grand to be true, it can't be that perfect; in my eyes it's a model farm, I guess there are about 10% farms like that in America, but ordinary farms aren't like that; the average farm isn't quite up to that standard, they don't give details about the farm, people don't know whether just an ordinary farmer lives in such a place or whether it's a model farm, the whole thing is shown in a rather favorable light; etc.	5%	2%	-

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

	West Germans	East Zone	Bavaria Zone (farmers)
Mechanisation standards seem to be presented in too favorable a light:			
I'm sure mechanisation processes haven't been perfected to the degree shown here throughout the country, I think this is an ideal picture which people are trying to realise; I think mechanical processes (modernisation) are presented in too favorable a light on the series of pictures shown below; I'm sure mechanisation standards aren't so high, in all parts of America, I mean; I don't think that over there everybody is equipped with electrical machines the way it's shown here, one would have to spend thousands of marks to buy such machinery; maybe the use of tractors for every working process, combined with every agricultural implement; I doubt whether all they say about the fertilizer distributor is true, but I can't tell, I have never been over there and didn't see things for myself; I know that on small farms many working processes are done by hand, they haven't got so much machinery as shown here; etc.	3%	3%	3%
The standard of life of farmers is presented in too favorable a light:			
The life of farmers and living conditions in general are presented in too favorable a light, take, for instance, golf clubs, they don't take work seriously enough; every farmer is said to have a car in the States, there must be some farmers who are poor; I don't believe that things are as comfortable as shown here; everything is just too perfect, and then even an automobile, and everything is so luxurious, the interior of the house shown, it's nicer even than an urban home; etc.	2	2	1
Farm houses and outbuildings are too elegant and too splendid:			
The buildings shown are too splendid, you can't quite believe that the average farm looks like that; the farm as a whole seems exaggerated, the layout of the buildings is too splendid, you can't believe that things are like that; it's hard to imagine that an average farm looks like that, that it has such fine buildings, things really look grand; etc.	1	1	1

(cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	East Zone	East Zone (farmers)
It seems hardly believable that a farmer can handle the heavy chores all by himself without hiring outside help: The farm - that a family should be able to do all the chores all alone; things are made to look too good, farmer Smith is all alone in several scenes of the model, nobody helps him, for instance, put up sacks; I don't think a farm can be kept going with only four people on the job, maybe that's enough for tilling the fields, but not for doing the chores around the farm and in the stables; the relation between number of workers and the work accomplished, they claim three people help the farmer, of these the wife has to look after the household, the children are still at school, it seems rather unlikely that the farmer himself should be able to do all farm chores single-handedly; etc.	1%	1%	2%
Other answers: That farmers should be engaged in so many fields, in most cases people engage either in agriculture or in stock breeding, agriculture in America is usually done extensively, intensive farming by a whole family as shown here is rare; they don't show what draw-backs a liberal economy has, I missed any reference to competition among farmers; you don't get a clear idea as to with what means the farmer developed the farm, I doubt whether you can set up a farm like that with the work of your two hands only even in the States, I don't know whether this farm was perhaps developed with Marshall Plan funds or whether these funds are meant for Europe only; the efficiency of the settlement shown below seems to me to be a bit phony, if all farms were similar to the one shown here the whole world could be fed with American agrarian products, and I rather doubt that; the location of the farm is very favorable, it's located directly on a high-way, you don't find that often in America; etc.	2 1%	1 10%**	2 9%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

MANY NOT CONVINCED AMERICAN METHODS WILL WORK IN GERMANY ...

The purpose of the agricultural exhibit, it may be assumed, is not only to demonstrate American farming methods but to sell the idea to West Europeans that by applying similar methods, productivity can be increased throughout the free world. To find out how many "Green Week" spectators are prepared to accept this view, they were asked whether they thought the American methods as presented in the exhibition could be made to work in West Germany. The results indicate that in this respect the exhibition does not score as high as on popular appeal, although fairly sizeable groups, especially among East Zone farmers, think American methods can be applied to West German farms.

Among West German visitors, opinions divide evenly - 45 per cent agree that the U.S. type of farming is practicable in West Germany and 45 per cent say it is not. East Zoners, always more sanguine about the West European potential, are more inclined to take the affirmative view - 62 per cent say American methods can be made to work in West Germany, and 32 per cent say they cannot.

"Do you believe that the conditions in American agriculture could also be realized in practice in West Germany or don't you believe that?"

	West Zone	East Zone	East Zone (farmers)
I believe they could be realized	45%	62%	63%
I don't believe they could be realized	45	32	33
No opinion	10	6	4
	100%	100%	100%

GERMAN FARMS ARE TOO SMALL ...

The main contention of those who argue that what can be done in America cannot be done in West Germany is that German farms are too small for efficient use of mechanized farming or the obverse that because Germany is too crowded, land too expensive, few farms as large as American farms.

"Why don't you believe that these conditions could also be realized in practice in West Germany?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "I don't believe they could be realized" to initial question)

	West Germans	East Zone
Too many small-sized farms, too little acreage - machines don't pay: We can't just adopt their large scale working methods because we have small farms, only some machines could be used, owned collectively; we never can establish such big farms in West Germany because cultivation on such a large scale demands wide expanses of land; there aren't any vast tracts of land, therefore it's unprofitable to use machines for large-scale farming; because here the arable land of the individual		

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

farmer is too small for such huge machines; the land in West Germany is divided into too many small lots so that these huge machines are worthless; a plant doesn't pay over here, the farms are too small; there are too many small farms of 15 hectares, it's unprofitable to operate them with such machines; our farms are much too small for such appliances, there is too little arable land here as compared to America; because we simply haven't got the vast areas needed to farm on a large scale as they do; we haven't got the acreage for such machines in Germany; because the tracts of land in America are much larger than in Germany; the scope of American agriculture is broader, there aren't such wide expanses in West Germany; because in Germany there aren't such wide expanses of land and such big farms as in America; etc. 29% 21%

Germany is overpopulated, insufficient living space - people need employment:
West Germany is too crowded and hasn't got enough arable land; not in this way, we are too crowded and such huge tracts of land for the individual farmer aren't available; we haven't got expanses of such dimensions, and besides that Germany is overpopulated; we haven't got enough land - too little land - too many people; we have got too little arable land and too many people to manage German agriculture so practically as it's shown here; we can't realize them because we haven't got such expanses, and besides that we don't need machines because of the surplus of refugees; because Germany is smaller than America and the number of people per square mile too high; because our country is too densely populated and all these people want a job, what shall we do with machines under these conditions?; as long as this country is overpopulated, we can't realize American conditions; etc. 12 6

Procurement of the machines is too expensive:
Germany won't be able to pay for these machines, we wouldn't be able to raise enough money in a foreign currency, for one thing; the German people is too poor, for the realisation of such plans money is needed that can be spent generously, and the loan business hasn't been taken up yet; because mechanisation would be too expensive for Germany; we haven't got enough money for the realisation of such plans; the purchasing price of such machines is too high; etc. 8 4

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

West Germans [redacted]

The German farmers are too conservative: We lack the prerequisites: the Germans are unable to adopt themselves to changed conditions, the farmers tenaciously cling to their property, which they inherited from their fathers, they don't think progressively, they wouldn't give up any of their traditions for the sake of new developments; the mentality of German peasants is different from that of American farmers, German peasants are more close to nature and have their roots in the soil while American farmers are businessmen; people in America are more open-minded and more independent while we are bound to traditions, we cling to our soil more strongly than American farmers do; one can't simply ignore traditions as we find them e.g. with families with large estates, a thing like that isn't so important in the States as it is over here; we are too conservative; etc.	4%	2%
The climate is unfavorable: The combined harvesters can probably not be introduced because of climatic conditions over here; everything grows faster and better in America because of the different climatic conditions; the different climate won't allow it; the climate in Germany isn't suitable; the climate in Germany is not so favorable as in America; etc.	3	5
Other reasons: Machines for large-scale farming can hardly be used over here because there are many industries, there's forestry and hop culture in Germany; because it would be difficult to change the agricultural pattern in West Germany from processes largely done by hand to mechanical methods; it will be difficult as the land in West Germany isn't suitable for large-scale farming, tracts of rich and poor soil border on each other closely, that's why, if a re-distribution of land would be carried through, one farmer would get good arable land, the other poor fields; not at the moment for the war has destroyed too much, and I don't think that it will be possible later on because there may be another war and everything may be smashed once more; as we have to farm intensively, we have to enrich the soil, therefore we need draught-animals as we don't get manure from machines; etc.	5 61%**	3 41%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04845

CURRENT APPRAISAL OF WEST BERLIN MORALE WITH REACTIONS TO THE REFUGEE INFLUX

Report No. 177
Series No. 2
April 20, 1953

R OFFICIAL USE ONLY

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04846

INTRODUCTION

Dating from the period of the Berlin blockade, the impact of events, problems and recurring crises on West Berlin morale has been surveyed by the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs. In this, the latest report in the series of such studies, two developments receive particular attention: one, West Berliners' appraisal of the meaning of the new Eisenhower administration to Berlin and the East-West struggle; and two, their reactions to the influx of East German refugees and the renewed threats to seal off West Berlin from East Germany. Trends in selected indices of morale complete the study. A forthcoming report dealing with the impact of Soviet "peace" feelers on West Berlin thinking will be the next in the series.

As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff. The survey was conducted from February 23, through March 3, 1953.

HIGHLIGHTS

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S ADMINISTRATION GREETED WITH OPTIMISM BY MOST WEST BERLINERS ...

... As many as four in ten expect more favorable treatment of West Berlin with the new Republican administration than with the former regime - a very high proportion in view of the general satisfaction with U.S. policy toward West Berlin expressed there especially since the blockade of 1948-49. Those not expecting a change for the better, for the most part believe American policy will not change - another indication of confidence when measured against past findings.

... Less conciliation of Soviet Russia is generally anticipated and applauded. Eight in 10 West Berliners expect that the Eisenhower administration will be firmer toward the Russians than was the Truman administration. Almost all of these people approve largely because they are convinced that a show of strength and firmness is the only way to deal with the Russians.

CONTINUED SUPPORT EVIDENCED FOR AMERICAN POLICIES ...

... Certainty that the U.S. favors German unity has increased during the year - from 78 per cent to 85 per cent "sure that the U.S. is for German reunification."

... Nine in 10 West Berliners advocate integration with the West on the part of West Germany as against one in ten recommending neutrality in the East-West struggle.

... Seven in 10 recommend West German military participation in West European defense.

... Three quarters continue to believe that the U.S. would not "leave West Germany in the lurch" even were it advantageous to do so.

04847

... Six in 10 say West Germany should ratify the contractual agreement, although three in 10 can specify disadvantages to West Berlin from such a step.

... There is almost unanimous rejection (97%) of the Communist inspired suggestion that all four occupiers withdraw and the present West Berlin government be replaced by a united East-West regime.

... Even when such a withdrawal is phrased without reference to the Communist proposal and in terms of possible benefits to West Berlin, six in 10 say that West Berlin would suffer thereby.

BUT THE REFUGEE INFLUX DISTURBS AND ALARMS MANY WEST BERLINERS ...

... Six in 10 declare they are disturbed by the mass flight of refugees from East Germany to West Berlin. Especially perturbing to them is the effect on West Berlin's economy, but a not inconsiderable number are suspicious of the political orientations of the refugees.

... Suspicions of East Zone motives are also apparent in the fact that half of the West Berlin population says that East Zone authorities do not try seriously to prevent "refugees" from streaming into West Berlin. Four in 10, in contrast, believe the East cannot prevent the influx.

... By the same token, half of the West Berlin population recommend that more efforts be made to urge potential refugees to remain in East Germany rather than flee to the West in such great numbers as at present.

... But two thirds expect the influx of refugees to continue into the foreseeable future.

... As to the current treatment of the refugee problem, West Berliners evince confidence in their own authorities, but considerably less in outside aid.

More than eight in 10 are satisfied with what the West Berlin Senate is doing to solve the problem. Only half express similar confidence in the West German government. Approximately as many are satisfied with what the U.S. is doing, but a considerable segment (26%) are unable to appraise the American effort in this regard.

... The final solution of the refugee problem is up to the Western powers according to half of the West Berlin population. A fifth ascribe main responsibility to West Germany, and another fifth say the Western powers, West Germany and Berlin share mutual responsibility. Only 7 per cent place the charge on West Berlin alone.

... The West's participation in the Potsdam agreement is mainly cited as a reason for Western responsibility for the present situation.

EASTERN THREATS TO SEAL OFF BERLIN ... are apparently not considered serious by many West Berliners.

Almost as many believe the East is not seriously concerned with sealing off Eastern borders as believe it is. More importantly, the large majority (71%) takes the view that any such attempts would not seriously endanger West Berlin.

NOR DOES THE BULK OF WEST BERLIN ENVISAGE ANOTHER BLOCKADE. Seven in 10 continue to assert they do not expect one. But if another such attempt should be made, Berliners are as likely to advocate stronger measures to combat it as to say measures similar to those employed in 1948-49 should again be put into effect.

... "Stronger measures" as advocated largely add up to the use of force, even war if it appears necessary.

THE GENERAL MORALE REMAINS HIGH ... by the indices used. Now as formerly, the great majority of West Berliners indicate their civic loyalty and identification with West Berlin:

... Three quarters continue to say they prefer to remain in Berlin. Even when the terms are a job and living quarters in West Germany, more than half say they would not leave.

... Three fourths continue to be able to specify the qualities that make West Berlin significant in the present world situation. Two thirds of these references, now as formerly, relate to West Berlin's key role in the East-West struggle.

... General satisfaction with the West Berlin Senate prevails as formerly but criticisms of the Bonn government and the Western powers vis-a-vis West Berlin remain frequent.

... As to personal circumstances, the situation now appears somewhat better than a year ago. Though no more say they are better off than the year previously, fewer say they are worse off. Conditions appear to be on the whole more stable than previously.

... In the same vein, West Berliners' general estimation of their city's economic future and current mood also suggests an upward trend. Whereas a year ago, West Berliners mainly thought that real economic betterment must wait upon a fundamental political change, opinions now appear to be shifting to the view that economic prosperity can occur without a basic change in the political situation.

04849

I. REACTIONS TO THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION AND U.S. POLICY

West Berliners look forward with considerable optimism toward the policies they expect the Eisenhower administration will pursue regarding Berlin.

MANY EXPECT A CHANGE FOR THE BETTER ...

In the first place, nearly half (46%) expect a change in American policy, with almost all of them saying it will be in a favorable direction. When it is recalled that the large majority of West Berliners since the 1948 blockade have consistently voiced satisfaction with American policy, their expectations of even greater U.S. efforts on their behalf can be seen in proper focus.

"Do you feel that under the new government of President Eisenhower, American policy towards West Berlin will change, or not?" (Change considerably or change somewhat?)

Will change considerably	22%
Will change somewhat	23
Will not change	44
Undecided	11
	100%

"Will this change in American policy be favorable or unfavorable for West Berlin?" (Asked of those who answered "will change considerably" or "will change somewhat" to initial question.)

Favorable	40%
Unfavorable	3
Undecided	2
	45%

BERLINERS APPEAR MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN WEST GERMANS ...

In this respect, their expectations are more sanguine than those of the West German public, as registered in December 1952, though the impressions of the latter were also generally very favorable to the new administration.* The West German figures on the same issue are:

"Do you feel that under the new government of President Eisenhower, American policy toward West Germany will change or not?" (Change considerably or change somewhat?)

	December '52
Will change considerably	7%
Will change somewhat	16
Will not change	55
Undecided	22
	100%

"Will this change in American policy be favorable or unfavorable for West Germany?" (Asked of those who answered "will change considerably" or "will change somewhat" to initial question.)

Favorable	10%
Unfavorable	9
Undecided	4
	23%

* See RAS Report No. 173, "Some Early West German Reactions to the New American Administration," dated February 24, 1953.

A FIRMER HAND AGAINST THE RUSSIAN, INCREASED ECONOMIC AID AND FINANCIAL AID ... and more support in general for West Berlin are among the anticipations voiced by the 40 per cent who say the Eisenhower policy will be more favorable toward Berlin than heretofore.

"In what will American policy toward West Berlin change?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "favorable" to previous question.)

More severe measures against the Russians should be taken

Eisenhower will have a firmer attitude toward the Russians, he will prevent them from oppressing Berlin; Truman was a businessmen, Eisenhower is a military man and will, therefore, take more severe measures and make the Russians respect him, Stalin also will show himself more conciliatory, that would give Berlin time to draw breath again; he will take a firmer stand against the Russians so that the German people won't be so oppressed as under Truman; they will take a firmer attitude toward the Russians, open up a connection road to the West by force so that we could travel and trade won't be hindered; Eisenhower won't stand for any jokes, he will treat the Russians differently, he is not as soft as Truman, he will face the Russians with a firm attitude; he will face the Russians in Berlin more vigorously and then they would dare no longer to play tricks on us; he takes direct or indirect steps against the Russians in the East, consequently he must take a firm stand as regards West Berlin - Eisenhower is much more of a soldier and strategist than Truman; etc. 17%

Boom in Berlin economy through orders and credits:

They will give more financial support to Berlin and place orders to Berlin firms; the new government will give more credits to Berlin so that unemployment will decrease; econony will be boosted because Eisenhower is now a friend of Germany - I believe they will grant us some decent credits so that we could get on our feet again - American goods will overflow Germany - that's something for West Germany and Berlin; they will place more orders to Berlin, that will improve the unemployment situation and so we'll be financially better off; the Americans will invest more capital here in Berlin; Eisenhower knows that Berlin is the last bulwark against the East and he will give more support to Berlin by orders and money; etc. 11

Better support for Berlin:

There would have to be more support for us, we'll no longer be regarded as lost, they won't let us down; I think that the Americans will do more for us if we ourselves start getting active; they will help us even more, they will strengthen us - Eisenhower has seen great misery when he was a soldier, therefore he will endeavor to help us; if matters get serious, blockade, war or the like, they will help still more than now; the Republicans are beginning to give us more help than we got up to now, they won't allow the Russians to win the upper hand in Berlin; Germany and, at the same time, West Berlin will be regarded as a partner with equal rights who is needed - accordingly Germany and West Berlin would be treated and supported; etc. 6

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

More interest and understanding for the situation of Berlin:
Because Eisenhower knows the conditions in Berlin better than Truman, he will do more for the city - he knows that Berlin is the bulwark against the East and he will reward Berliners for their steadfastness; Conant held a speech and said that they would help Berlin with all means at their disposition - they will do still more for Berlin and its rights; the High Commissioner has visited Chuikov already, that shows that he takes an interest and will at least try to improve our situation; it will bring about more a friendly interest in West Berlin - I have a feeling that they will take better notice of us; there will be more understanding for the West Berlin situation, from the political and military point of view; etc. 4%

Possibility of Germany's reunification:
The incorporation of Berlin into the Federal Republic, that Germany would become united again, it might be possible that this could be brought about without war, on a democratic basis; he will bring about the reunification of Germany, that will make Berlin the capital again; that the Russians will be forced to agree to all-German elections and conclude a peace treaty - that will have a favorable influence on West Berlin; etc. 2

Support for refugees and solution of the refugee problem:
They will do much more for the refugees than up to now; I suppose they will have sympathy for the refugees here in West Berlin, they will find a way out for the refugees, a solution for this problem, to relief West Berlin of this burden; etc. 1

Influence on West Germany to give more support to Berlin:
Backing up Adenauer means strengthening Berlin - the Americans help Adenauer financially and politically and he will then do the same to Berlin; Eisenhower is a soldier, he'll pound the table - perhaps he will succeed in shaking West Germany out of its sleep so that it would give some more support to Berlin at last; etc. 1

Other reasons:
Eisenhower will do more to preserve peace - I mean he won't permit new disturbances to arise as in Korea; I like Eisenhower very much - I couldn't give you an exact answer to your question; I have more confidence in the new government, I don't believe that they will give in, they are sure to stay in Berlin - with the old government I was not quite certain of this; etc. 3

No opinion/No answer: 2

47%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04852

LARGE MAJORITY ANTICIPATES AND APPROVES A LESS CONCILIATORY POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA ...

A more telling criterion of West Berliners' confidence in the Republican administration is their expectations on what it will do about the Russians. In this respect, a firmer hand toward the Russians is both anticipated and approved by eight in ten West Berliners.* Expectations of a less conciliatory approach are more prevalent in Berlin than in West Germany.

"Are you of the opinion that the new American government will, in the future, be more conciliatory or less conciliatory toward Russia than the old one?"

More conciliatory	3%
Less conciliatory	80
No difference	5
No opinion	12
	100%

"Would you approve or disapprove of this?

	More	Less	No difference
Approve	2%	77%	3%
Disapprove	1	2	1
No opinion	-	1	1
	3%	80%	5%

... The main reason (38%) for approving of a "less conciliatory" Russian policy is that this is the only thing the Russians understand. Others argue simply that Communism has to be stopped at last (15%), or that past efforts to conciliate the Russians have proved a failure (13%), that a decision must be arrived at (10%), and so forth. Their detailed comments follow on the next page.

* The survey on which these finding are based was completed just prior to the death of Stalin and antedates the subsequent developments in Soviet Russia. Whether or not West Berliners would in the event of further peace feelers on the part of Soviet Russia continue to recommend a less conciliatory policy must await further study. A forthcoming study will report any changes on this issue which may have occurred.

"For what reason would you approve?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "approve" to preceding question.)

Only unyieldingness, force and power will impress the Russians:
That's better for the Russians, they need a firm hand then you'll get better results; because that stops the Russians, they will have to see that force will be returned by force; a firm hand against the Russians can't bring anything about but advantages; from this the Russians will see that they can't simply do as they please, that there is a power that has to be considered and that can't be trifled with; the Russians cannot be impressed but by force; because the Russians don't know better, they understand nothing but a firm language; you should not make too many concessions to the Russians, only if you force them by threats you will get the better of them; etc. 38%

The Russians as well as spreading of Communism have to be stopped at last:
Because I'm absolutely against Communism, if you have to live under a Communistic regime it's better not to live at all; because I'm strongly against Communism and to put, at least, an end to all this peace propaganda; the Russian politics are against international law, they must be kept within bounds, it's high time, there is but one man who can do that and that's Eisenhower with the strong military forces of the U.S.; because the Russians have suppressed many countries already, to stop them from enslaving still more countries; because we want to live as free people, we don't want to wake up one day and find ourselves Russian slaves, that's what they intend for a long time; to show the Russians that there's a limit for them, that they can't do as they please; etc. 15

The Americans have yielded too much without any positive results:
Because we've learned that now, eight years after the war, we have gained nothing by this policy, nor did the Americans gain anything for themselves; it can't go on, this yielding toward the Russians, Eisenhower is more in favor of justice, therefore he won't give in so often as the old government, I think that's quite right; with the Russians you must bring pressure to bear to make them give in, that's proved by experience of long standing; they took for stupidity or for cowardice the more than great patience of the Western powers; because the old government, on account of their yielding disposition, was sometimes taken in by the Russians, the Eisenhower government won't be so indulgent as the old government in Potsdam for instance or in Yalta; etc. 13

There must be an end to the present state - the position must be clarified:
Because things must change at last, this simply cannot go on - they want to have peace in Berlin after all; so that at last a change will be made, the present situation is unbearable, it has to be decided where we belong; because I as a Berliner see things from a different point of view than a West German - I want to know at last what's going on here, I want to be able again to take my car and go to Swinemuende on Sundays; because it can't go on as it is, those 8 years were more than enough, there must be an end to all these insults the Russians dare offer us, after all we are no game that can be hunted by anybody who likes to do so; etc. 10

(cont'd on next page)

04854

Because of personal experiences with the Russians - for personal reasons:

Because I have seen enough of the Russians - the experience I had with them I won't forget for the rest of my life, therefore, I am for it that they be treated unyieldingly - I came to know them as brutes and not as human beings; I had to take so much from the Russians that I would be glad to see them treated hard and things to be brought in their proper place; my home is Silesia and I hope that if Eisenhower takes an unyielding attitude towards the Russians he might succeed in getting it back for us; etc. 3%

The Russians should withdraw:

Because they should go back where they came from, those Russians; because they would perhaps drive the Russians back out of Germany; so that there will be an end to this Russian affair and they would go home where they came from; that the Russians should be exterminated - I mean they should get out of Germany, should go back to the Oder river and leave our Berlin to be free; etc. 2

War should be prevented and world peace be restored:

In my opinion, this attitude is more apt to prevent a war than a yielding disposition; this attitude would sooner bring about peace between Russia and America - because then Russia won't dare to make war; perhaps that might end the war in Korea; that's the only thing to prevent war; etc. 2%

There must be negotiations:

Negotiations of a positive nature must be made about Germany's reunification - the Eisenhower government won't stand being put off by the Russians; perhaps we might have advantages by an unyielding attitude, we might get something out of the negotiations about East and West Germany and Berlin if the Russians are forced to give in now and then; that the Russians would be stopped saying their everlasting "Njet," that they would have to put up with negotiations; etc. 2

Other reasons:

Because we could only gain by it, then things would get better; Eisenhower will prepare his way to freedom, I have great trust in Eisenhower because I like him, he has so much understanding for Berlin; because the Russians suppress the Germans - they have stolen like magpies - you can no longer visit relatives in the East Zone nor go to the cemetery, the people over there are undernourished; because we don't have to expect anything from the East, only from the West - otherwise the Russians would get more and more cheeky and our brothers and sisters in the Zone would be still more enslaved; etc. 3

88%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

West Berliners also manifest confidence in the United States on various key issues touching on American-German relations. This may be observed in their replies to the queries which follow.

MOST WEST BERLINERS ARE CERTAIN THE U.S. IS FOR GERMAN UNITY ...

A view, assiduously cultivated by Communists in Germany, that the American policy to foster the integration of West Germany into the Western defense system means that the U.S. is prepared to write off East Germany is apparently not shared by West Berliners. On the contrary, an increasingly large majority expresses the certainty that the U.S. wants to see East and West Germany reunited. At present, 85 per cent hold this view, a rise of 7 points since last year. Scarcely anyone (2%) is sure that the Americans are against German reunification.

"Which of the following views comes closest to what you think is the attitude of the United States concerning the reunification of Germany?"

	May 1952	Feb. 1953
I'm sure the U.S. is for a reunification of Germany	78%	85%
I have some doubts that the U.S. is for a reunification of Germany	15	11
I am very doubtful that the U.S. is for a reunification of Germany	1	1
I am sure the U.S. is not for a reunification of Germany	2	1
No opinion	4	2
	100%	100%

When this question was last asked in West Germany - October 1952 - 58 per cent said they were "sure" the U.S. was for German unity, 12 per cent expressed "some doubts," 4 per cent were "very doubtful," 3 per cent were "sure" the U.S. was against it, and 23 per cent were undecided.

LITTLE NEUTRALISM IN WEST BERLIN ...

Neutralism is also apparently a negligible factor in West Berlin thinking. Nine out of ten urge West Germany to take its stand with the West in the East-West conflict, and only one in ten recommends a neutral position. No one advocates siding with the East. Though the Berliners are recommending here a course of action for West Germans, they also because of their vulnerable position in the event of a sharpened conflict may be said to be deciding where West Berlin should stand.

"Do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East or not be on either side?"

West	89%
East	-
Neither side	9
No opinion	2
	100%

... On this issue, also, West Berliners are more pro-West than their countrymen west of the Elbe. Though neutralistic sentiments have steadily declined in West Germany during the past year, at the latest reading (Dec. 1952), 28 per cent of West Germans were against taking sides, 65 per cent were for siding with the West, and 7 per cent were undecided.

04356

WEST GERMAN MILITARY PARTICIPATION FAVORED ...

On a related issue - military participation - large majorities in West Berlin also advocate German integration with the West. Again, Berliners outdistance West Germans in their support of American policy. The same considerations may be said to apply on Berlin's decision vis-a-vis military participation as in the neutrality issue: though Berliners themselves are not being asked to bear arms for the defense of the West, they are aware that they very probably would be in the thick of things, should the shooting start.

"Are you, in general, for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe?" (Somewhat for it or very much for it?) (Somewhat against it or very much against it?)

	West Berlin Feb.'53	West Germany Dec.'52
Very much for it	49%	19%
Somewhat for it	30	29
Somewhat against it	7	15
Very much against it	10	26
No opinion	4	11
	100%	100%

THE U.S. CAN BE RELIED ON, ACCORDING TO A LARGE MAJORITY ...

Confidence in the United States also appears high using another yardstick. Three quarters of the West Berlin people continue to believe that even if it were to their advantage, the Americans would not leave West Germany in the lurch. A fifth disagree. Measured thus, more Berliners than West Germans express their trust in the United States.*

"Do you believe that America would leave Western Germany in the lurch if it would gain an advantage from that - or do you think that America wouldn't leave Western Germany in the lurch?"

	West Berlin Dec.'52	West Berlin Feb.'53	West Germany Dec.'52
Would leave in the lurch if advantageous	28%	20%	34%
Wouldn't leave in the lurch	75	76	53
No opinion	3	4	13
	100%	100%	100%

*This question is open to the charge of being politically unrealistic. Its purpose, however, is not to test the extent to which Germans think the U.S. pursues or does not pursue "Realpolitik," but simply, as interpreted above, to afford a rough measure of confidence. Repeated cross-tabulations of the results with related issues have indicated diagnostic value in this regard.

RATIFICATION OF THE CONTRACTUAL AGREEMENTS APPROVED ...

The recent ratification by the Bundestag of the contractual agreement would receive the approval of the majority of West Berliners judging by their reactions to the matter on the eve of the Bundestag vote. Eight in ten Berlin residents knew of the peace contracts, and of those informed the large majority thought they should be accepted by the West German parliament.

"Have you heard or read about the contractual agreement between West Germany and the Western powers?"

	June 1952	Feb. 1953
Yes	85%	80%
No	15	20
	100%	100%

"What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept it or reject it?"

	June 1952	Feb. 1953
Accept it	63%	60%
Reject it	17	8
No opinion	20	12
Not asked	-	20*
	100%	100%

* In the February survey only people who knew of the agreement were queried on acceptance, while in the June 1952 study, everyone after being informed was queried.

SOME DISADVANTAGES FOR WEST BERLIN SEEN ...

As many as three in 10 think that some adverse consequences to Berlin will result when the peace contract goes into effect. Retaliatory measures on the part of the Russians are most frequently foreseen. However, the preponderance with opinions on the matter appears to believe that the advantages to West Berlin will compensate for any disadvantages that might occur.

"In your opinion, what would be the consequence for West Berlin if the West German Bundestag would accept and the contractual agreement would become effective?" (Asked of those saying "yes" to initial question.)

WORSE

Increased pressure exerted by the Russians (blockade) leading to complete (economic and political) isolation of West Berlin:

The Russians will brew trouble, West Berlin will be completely isolated, it won't have any contact with the East Zone any more, there will be no trade in goods between West and East Berlin, or the East Zone, that means a set-back to the West Berlin economy; the Russians will go on to tighten the controls, they may impose another blockade, or they may cut off Berlin completely, the SED may take over the whole of Berlin because they feel sure the Allies won't start a war because of Berlin; they will decree that East Berlin belongs to the East Zone, they will claim the large bridge over the River Elbe is in a dangerous state of dispair, and therefore the Autobahn may be used by Allied vehicles only; the East Zone will be sealed off, the Eastern sector of Berlin, too, that won't be a good thing for Berlin, all of us have friends who live in the East Zone or in the Eastern sector, for them it will be as if we were living in a foreign country; etc. (cont'd on next page) 29%

R E S T R I C T E D

Danger of war:
It may be that the Ivans will steam-roller our city, as then West Germany openly acknowledge it may take up arms against the Russians, and besides it affects the Allies as the agreements of Yalta and Potsdam would become void; etc. 1%

Other consequences:
They will sell out Germany to France; etc. 1

BETTER

Greater military security, paralleled by an upward trend in industry through armament orders and elimination of unemployment through military service:
Greater security for West Berlin as it would be incorporated into the Federal Republic, it would have equal rights then; I hope Berlin will thus become the 12th Federal state and that it will get equal rights with the other West German states (Laender) in every respect, through the contractual agreement the West will be strengthened, and therefore it would be incongruous if they would let down a freedom-loving city like Berlin; then the young people of West Berlin will join the army as in former times and they will be no longer idle; the younger generation needs some discipline, there will be fewer unemployed; there business will pick up, thus unemployment will be eliminated and the economic situation of Berlin will improve; etc. 8

Economic boom:
The armament industry would be launched, no doubt, and that would mean that many unemployed would find work; more jobs will be available, the economy will be stimulated, I can see only advantages for us; only favorable consequences, new fields will open up for Berlin industries; the economic situation of Berlin would improve, and it would have greater confidence in the Bonn government; etc. 8

The East will yield (maybe under pressure) - it will leave West Berlin alone - controls will be relaxed - German unity will be realized:
At first the situation will be very critical, later on they will be able to exert such pressure on the Soviets that they simply have to yield; maybe in that case they would be in a position to present the Russians with an ultimatum and to make it stick; first they will make even more reprisals, once they realize, however, that this doesn't get them anywhere, they'll get tame; in the long run, the West will be strengthened through the EDC treaty, and that will mean for West Berlin that the Russians will leave it alone at last, the only thing that impresses the Russians, the only thing they have respect for, is power; I am so bold as to hope that we'll get through it a corridor connecting Berlin with West Germany, even if not right away; here in Berlin it would strengthen our position against the East, I mean that way they may succeed in inducing the Russians to relinquish our land and set our people free; etc. 7

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

Greater (military, political) security, better morale:
Then we'll have a particularly strong protection against the East, it's the same when a man is present in a home, he scares away burglars; in that case the Western world (Western Europe) will take a keener interest in Berlin as they would need it as a military base; the morale of West Berliners will be lifted as they will feel more secure and can be sure that West Berlin won't be attacked by the Russians; it would mean greater security for Berlin, the Russians would give up their designs on West Berlin; West Berlin would be backed up that way, it would serve as sort of a brake, it would boost our morale; etc. 6%

General answers indicating hope for improvement:
I hope things will pick up for West Berlin, believe me, I don't like to tune in to the news any more, you never hear anything that's pleasant; in my opinion, things will improve for Berlin, as to how the consequences will be felt, I have no idea; I'm dead sure it's a good thing for West Berlin, in all respects, I'm positive; etc. 3

THERE WILL BE NO CONSEQUENCES

I don't think there will be any consequences for West Berlin, I don't believe that anything will be changed through it in West Berlin; I don't think anything will be changed, as we are isolated as it is; no consequences, we aren't included in the treaty; hardly anything would change for West Berlin, for what the Russians might do, they do it even now, they aren't strong enough yet to risk war; the cold war would go on in the same way it's conducted now; no consequences, the Russians won't take any action, the Russians are at the end of their tether, there are some signs pointing to a possible collapse; no consequences whatever, the Russians see their ambitions go up in smoke, yesterday the pact with Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece was signed, that means they are encircled, besides, they know that if they start any operation against Berlin, the Americans will declare war on them; etc. 8

Other consequences:
Then some things will change in the East, then no more refugees would come to West Berlin; etc. 1

I don't know enough about the contractual agreement -no opinion:
Because I know too little about the contractual agreement, therefore I can't make any comments; I don't know, I'm not familiar with the treaty; it's too early to make any comments on this as we don't know yet whether or not Berlin will get an army contingent; etc. 15

No answer: 1

88%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

WEST BERLINERS TURN THUMBS DOWN ON WITHDRAWAL OF OCCUPATION FORCES ...

Almost with one voice (97%) West Berliners reject the suggestion tentatively broached by the SED factions in East Berlin that all four occupation powers be withdrawn from Berlin and a new all-city government be set up. Only one in every hundred thinks there is any likelihood that such a plan would be adopted.

Distrust of the Communists and satisfaction with the West Berlin Senate comprise most of the reasons for rejecting the proposal.

"Why do you regard it is unlikely (that the SED suggestion about withdrawal of troops and a new city government will not be met)?"

West Berliners don't want to be under Communist rule (because they saw Communism at work themselves) - to accept the proposals would be equivalent to suicide:

It would mean digging our own graves if we would overthrow the West Berlin Senate, then the SED would try to get in their own crowd, and we didn't want to have any dealings with these people; it would mean we'd ruin ourselves; because Berliners dislike the idea of suicide; that would be sheer madness, we don't want to get under Communist rule; good gracious! - then they'll slaughter us all, we don't want to dig our own graves, after all; if we'd kick out Reuter and the Americans would withdraw, the Russians would show up here in a jiffy; because 99 per cent of all Berliners don't go along with such a policy, they don't want to have anything to do with the SED; as we have no sympathies for the East, we'll never even consider their demands; Berliners will never meet these demands because we don't want to get under Russian rule, in that case we'd be sent to a concentration camp for expressing our opinions freely; because we don't want to make common cause with the East, therefore we won't make any deal with them; because the majority of the people of West Berlin are against the East so that hardly anybody bothers to listen to such an appeal, let alone act according to it; West Berliners aren't Communists; etc. 54%

West Berliners are satisfied with the policy of the present Senate, therefore they have no reason to overthrow it:

Up till now people were satisfied with the West Berlin Senate - except for a few rare instances - therefore nobody will want to overthrow it; because that's a phantastic nonsense, our Senate is quite on the ball; we are satisfied with the West Berlin Senate, so why should we upset it; the way I see it, we West Berliners are satisfied with Reuter and our present Senate; West Berliners have no mind to upset the West Berlin Senate, on the contrary, they would much rather overthrow the East Zone government; because all of us like Reuter, there is no better man for Berlin; etc. 20

No West Berliner considers this SED inspired propaganda of lies as true:

It's obvious that this is nothing but agitation on the part of the SED and it doesn't impress West Berliners; the SED can't influence us, after all, they were only too pleased if they could pull the trick, it's just ridiculous, we West Berliners know pretty well what's at stake; I'm sure our boys will be brighter than these people, they won't let the others get the better of them; because West Berliners know the ropes about Communism and therefore can't be tricked into accepting these demands; West Berliners don't trust the Russians, to them that's too insecure an affair, the Russians might not leave when the time comes, therefore Berliners won't accept the proposal; we'll remain on the side of the West, because Berliners know the Russians; etc. 18

(cont'd on next page)

04861

Once the other occupation forces had withdrawn, the Russians would turn back immediately:

It would mean suicide for West Berlin, the Russians would take off and would be back in a short while, the others will draw back beyond the river Elbe, while the Russians stop at Gruenau (suburb of Berlin), their route to Berlin is shorter, West Berliners are well aware of this fact; if all occupation forces would withdraw from Berlin, the Russians would return over night and would occupy Berlin, well, and then Germany is done for anyway; Berliners won't O.K. that the others would go back to places far away, and the Russians would be quite close; the withdrawal of all troops is a ticklish business, one party withdraws to the other side of an ocean, while the Russians withdraw not farther back than the river Oder, and they'd be back in a jiffy, we prefer not to have the Russians so close at hand while they are to only ones still around; etc. 8%

The Western powers (the Americans) would never accept it:

The yanks wouldn't tolerate that; I hope the Americans won't let the others fool them, they can't be so weak; because in West Berlin the occupation powers are quite on the ball, they would suppress such aggressive tactics right at the start; the Americans know what the consequences for the whole world would be, world rule of Communism, Berlin is too close to the Russian border for a thing like that; etc. 5

Negotiations with the Russians are useless:

Because nothing has ever come of negotiations with the Russians; because no results would be achieved through negotiations, all we need is free elections in the whole of Berlin, then things will look differently, the Russians won't withdraw, anyway; etc. 1

Other reasons:

We can't force the occupation powers to do a thing; because if the occupation powers would withdraw, a terrible chaos would be the result; etc. 3

No opinion/No answer: 1

110%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04862

THE MAJORITY SAYS BERLIN WOULD BE WORSE OFF IF THE FOUR OCCUPATIONS WITHDREW ...

When the idea of withdrawal of the occupying powers is presented without reference to the Communist-inspired proposal, West Berliners remain predominantly opposed. Six in ten declare that West Berlin would be worse off if all the four occupiers, including the Russians, left Berlin than if they all remained. About a fifth, however, believe Berlin's situation would be improved thereby.

"Supposing all occupation powers - which means the Russians, too, would leave Berlin, do you believe that this would improve or worsen the situation of West Berlin?"

Improve	22%
Worsen	58
Remain the same	13
No opinion	7
	100%

THE MINORITY WHICH THINKS WEST BERLIN WOULD BE THE GAINER IF ALL THE OCCUPATION POWERS LEFT THE CITY ... appears to believe that such a move would herald the return of normal peacetime conditions. They see Germany united (9%), normal trade relations resumed (9%), no more occupation costs (7%) and so forth.

"In what respect would this improve the situation of West Berlin?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "improve" to initial question.)

Berlin's economy would be stimulated (trade between East and West would become normal, unemployment would decrease):
Berliners could go about reconstruction work in freedom and peace; under fair conditions West Berlin would fare well within a short time, the Germans know how to organise things and they are very diligent; the economy would be boosted, orders would be placed with Berlin firms again, they now hold back because the Russians are right here; plants would work full-time again and people's faith in a better life would be restored; businessmen would become more optimistic about Berlin, they would make larger investments and give orders to Berlin, there would be enough job opportunities; the Russians couldn't control our trade any longer, we could trade extensively with West Germany; trade between East and West Berlin would become normal, there would be no more obstacles once the occupation powers have left; because then we could do the reconstruction work ourselves, economic cooperation between East and West Berlin would improve, within two years Berlin could stand on its own feet again; etc. 9%

Berlin would be reunited, we'd have greater freedom of action and would be independent, everything would improve:
Berlin would be reunited and the capital of Germany again; Berlin might be united first and then Germany, too; Berlin wouldn't be a quadruple city any longer, it would be reunited and that would have a favorable influence on West Berlin; the Senate could work independently and would have full power; because we could work entirely according to our own judgment without the supervision of the Western Allies; we would be responsible for ourselves and needn't ask the masters any longer; etc. 9

(cont'd on next page)

Berlin wouldn't have to pay occupation costs any longer:
Occupation costs needn't be paid any longer; the financial burden which the occupation powers mean to us would be taken away; we might be exempted from paying taxes for the occupation troops; if we needn't pay occupation costs any longer, our budget could be balanced; the occupation costs a lot of money, that means we have to save wherever we can; the occupation costs that absorb a great deal of our national income needn't be paid any longer; etc. 7%

More housing units would be available:
There will be more housing space when they all leave our town; there would be more housing space available, for the troops need a lot of space; many people would get a place to live and our expenses would go down; etc. 2

A nightmare would end:
We all would breathe more freely; the fear of the West Berliners would end; we'd feel more at ease than we do now because the Russians would have gone; etc. 1

Other answers:
Through elections in Berlin, the Communists would be defeated; the Russians wouldn't exploit us any longer, the economic situation would improve; discord between East and West Berliners would cease, understanding would get better; the refugees would return to their homelands, prices would go down; we would get on our feet again, what are the reasons for French and English antagonism?: they are well aware that the Germans always will get to their feet when they are left alone; because we then would get a uniform currency again; the administration would remain as it is, we would be governed by a Western Senate; evacuated Berliners would return, life would become worthwhile again; the situation here in Berlin would be clarified through a civil war because the Communists would be defeated as the People's Police would stand on our side; but the Americans too had to stay on in the vicinity of Berlin; etc. 2
30%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04864

OPPONENTS OF WITHDRAWAL OF THE OCCUPIERS ... obviously do not trust Russians. The leading argument (33%) is that in this event, West Berlin would be at their mercy. Other arguments are a variation on this theme.

"In what respect would this worsen the situation of West Berlin?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "worsen" to initial question.)

When we aren't under the protection of the Western Allies any longer, we are at the mercy of the Russians:

We'll then live with even greater fear than we do now though we enjoy a certain security through the occupation powers; our fear would increase, as long as the Western troops stay here, one feels a bit safe, no Berliner would be pleased when they would leave our town; nobody would help us then, the Americans have always supported us up to now, that would stop then; Berlin would then be without the protection of the Western Allies and transgressions from the Eastern side would occur every day; because we then would be deprived of the West Allies' protection, the moment they leave West Berlin, the Russians would take over; because West Berliners would be exposed to the arbitrary rule of the East Zone government and its functionaries; we wouldn't get any support from the Allies but would be completely on our own, and the Russians would overrun us again; because West Berlin is an island in the Red flood, without the Allies it would be gobbled up by the SED, it can't face this menace without assistance; we would then be a part of the East Zone and a puppet in the hands of the German Democratic Republic that would do with us what it pleases; because we'll then be surrounded by an East Zone occupied by the Russians who can gobble up West Berlin whenever they feel like it; because the Russians remain close at hand, the moment the Western occupation powers leave Berlin they'll swoop down on us; because Berlin is enclosed on all sides, it would be snatched away pretty soon; etc. 33%

A war of brother against brother would be the consequence:

The Communist gang would immediately try to instigate a war of brother against brother, we would be at their mercy; a civil war would be the result, the Communists would attack West Berlin, the West Berliners would defend themselves, and that would mean a war of brother against brother; a civil war might come out of it, for the West Berliners wouldn't put up with the new situation; a terrible chaos would follow, we can't do without the support of the Western powers, a war of brother against brother would break out here in Berlin; a war of brother against brother would be brought on, that's what the Russians aim at, they wouldn't hesitate "to grant us their support" in order to concentrate all power in their own hands for the Americans are far away; etc. 9

- (cont'd on next page)

We depend on economic aid granted by the West Allies:
Because we need the West's assistance to boost our economy; we need the Western powers because we are not independent in the economical field; the Western Allies would withdraw any capital invested, those who work with the Allies would lose their jobs - we would miss the financial support by the Americans; etc. 7%

The People's Police would take command over Berlin:
The People's Police would immediately take over the command, they would get the orders from Moscow, of course, the Russians are well prepared for this eventuality; because Communist ideas would spread then, the People's Police is more powerful than the Western police; Berlin would soon be like a cemetery when the People's Police starts marching; the People's Police and the East Zone army would invade Berlin and would try with all means to spread Communist ideas here; etc. 4

Berlin would be in constant danger(under constant pressure), terrorism and unrest would increase:
Because the Russian-directed SED would realise its political aims in West Berlin, the Russians would be right across the sectional border as a constant danger for our political and economic life; because the East can't let people live in peace, and democracies have no means to stamp out its terror practices; violence and coercion on the part of the East has to be expected and West Berlin would have no way to retaliate; because the Western powers would then be far away, the Eastern potentates and the SED in West Berlin would feel encouraged and there would be never ending riots; etc. 4

We would be obliged to support East Berlin (East Zone):
In the beginning we would be obliged to feed East Berlin and grant it financial support, it would need West marks and shops stocked with goods, later on things would improve as there are many vacancies in the East Zone; because the two economies had to be united again, the East has nothing, things would be topsyturvy, East Berlin is as poor as a beggar, and we are not in the position to look after it, we would have to share the little we've got with the East, and wouldn't get foreign support for reconstruction projects any longer; etc. 2

Other answers:
Food would get scarce because the Russians would cut off all routes leading to Berlin, we would be completely isolated and surrounded by the East, at the moment the Russians can't discontinue the intersonal train service because the Americans also use it, but the moment they leave Berlin the Russians can interrupt it; the Federal government and the Western countries would lose interest in Berlin; Berlin would no longer be the foster child of freedom loving nations, unemployment and discontent might increase; etc. 3
62%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

04866

II. REACTIONS TO THE REFUGEE INFLUX

The influx of thousands of East Zone refugees, all or most of whom funnel through West Berlin, is creating added political and economic problems for the already sorely pressed city. In order to ascertain how West Berlin citizens are reacting to the issue, a series of questions bearing on its various aspects was put to them. As will be noted in the results presented in this section, West Berlin opinions tend in general to be more sharply divided than is customarily found.

MAJORITY PERTURBED BY REFUGEE INFLUX ...

Many West Berliners are personally alarmed by the stream of refugees coming into their city. Indeed about a quarter (27%) declare they are "very much disturbed," and a third say they are "somewhat" so. Only 40 per cent assert they find nothing disturbing about the influx - a relatively low proportion for Berliners who customarily maintain their aplomb in the face of all difficulties.

As you know, for months thousands of refugees have been coming from the East Zone to West Berlin.

"Are you in any way personally disturbed about this influx of refugees from the East Zone? (Very much or only somewhat disturbed?)"

Very much disturbed	27%
Somewhat disturbed	33
Not disturbed	40
	100%

THEY FEAR EFFECT ON BERLIN'S ECONOMY ...

Anxieties over the refugee influx are of various kinds, but by far the most frequent is the effect on West Berlin's economy. Thus, three in ten are worried because there are not enough jobs and houses in Berlin for additional thousands, and another smaller group (9%) argue along the same lines with the added complaint that refugees get preferential treatment. Others voice suspicion of the Russian role in the matter: some (15%) fearing that spies and informers or criminals are being deliberately sent over. In the same vein according to another 13 per cent when East Germany has been depopulated the Russians hope to settle Eastern Communists (Mongolians) there.

"What is it about the influx of refugees from the East Zone to West Berlin that disturbs you most of all? (What else?)" (Asked of those who answered "very much disturbed" or "somewhat disturbed".)

<u>It increases the already heavy economic burdens of West Berlin and West Germany - aggravates the housing shortage and unemployment:</u>

The influx of refugees means a serious setback for the economy of Berlin, Berlin needs a lot of money for them, and I doubt that the funds will be available all the time; because foods may be rationed again in West Berlin, or where shall all the stuff come from for these masses of people?; the refugees mean a heavy burden for Berlin and the West, where shall all this lead to? it's unbearable for our economy, we'll need the Yank's help again; because the influx means a nearly unbearable burden for our economy and because the Federal Government doesn't help us sufficiently; our economic situation becomes still worse, many refugees will work illicitly, the strain on Berlin is terrible, the government has to pay enormous sums of money, and the housing situation gets worse, too; because there will be no longer a chance to get a job because too many people will live in Berlin and the Senate will be burdened more and more so that Berlin becomes a town of pensioners and unemployed; that we in West Berlin, to put it bluntly, will be strangled, we have too few vacant jobs, too little money, they'll impose higher taxes on us, no doubt;

(cont'd on next page)

because too many people come to West Berlin all of a sudden, where shall they be accommodated and how to provide jobs for them, housing space is scarce in Berlin as it is, but now it will be entirely impossible to get an apartment; to accomodate and find jobs for these people, I don't think that they can all be accommodated; jobs and housing space for us will become scarce through the influx of refugees, that disturbs a person who has to look after a family; because you ask yourself where all these people shall be accommodated, where shall the money and the jobs for them come from? our economy will suffer a serious setback; etc. 29%

Because informers and criminals and not only political persecutees will come over:

Too many people (about 75 per cent) come over who aren't genuine refugees, they want nothing but an easy life in the lucky West, those are mostly swindlers who might become dangerous; what I'm concerned about is the question where all these refugees shall be settled and whether they all are genuine refugees and whether there aren't informers among them; we ouselves admit dangerous elements to our town, perhaps the Russians want to cause unrest through Communist refugees; there is something fishy about it: they all come from Saxony, and too many members of the People's Police are among them, there might be agitators among them who want to cause trouble; the Russians might send these people over to us because they arrive with things a real refugee would never think of, taking along so much luggage looks much too suspicious on a flight; I fear that there is a political motive behind the whole thing, that not all the refugees come by their own free will and that informers and agents do come over too; many gangsters, shady characters and those who don't like to work infiltrate Berlin unnoticed, most of the refugees expect financial advantages here; there are many who had to fly because they didn't know how to manage life any longer but there are also many adventurers among them, we know nothing about all these people, many of them will spy by order of the NKWD (Russian Secret Police) and stir up people to a war of brother against brother; etc. 15

Because through the mass flight Communist ideas may spread out more widely in the East Zone - Russia will settle Asians in the deserted zone:

The mass migration will create a German minority in the East Zone, re-education of the Germans will become much easier then and if the Russians send two million Asians to the empty areas it's not difficult to predict the result of future elections; one shouldn't forget that the refugees represent the opposition against the government and that their flight diminishes the chances for a political change in the zone, I don't even think of a revolt but of possible elections; the situation in the East Zone might become more critical, factories and workshops will be deserted, and finally Mongolians may fill these positions and may settle down there; 20 per cent of the refugees are qualified enough to preserve the East Zone for Germany that's why they should stay there; that the farms are collectivised and Russian tribes are settled there; the country over there gets desolate, and one day the Russians will settle Mongolians there; that the farms are collectivised and Russian tribes are settled there; the country over there gets desolate, and one day the Russians will settle Mongolians there; that they give up German territories, the Russians will then send foreign people to the empty places; so many leave the country that the Russians will replace them by foreign people e.g. Chinese in Silesia and Tartars in East Prussia; etc. 13

(cont'd on next page)

Because jobs and food will get scarce for Berliners - the refugees get preferential treatment:

One gets the feeling that the refugees are treated with preference and so generously that more and more people over there feel inclined to come over, it's probably easier for them to get a job than for those who have already lived on unemployment rates for a year, the same can be said about the allotment of housing space; when there was no light, no bread and no potatoes in Berlin, no East Zone refugee came over, but now they come in bands - those who are mostly afftected are the unemployed, the refugees take jobs away from us and besides that, they are clothed from top to toe while the unemployed don't even get a pair of shoes; the situation of the West Berliners is aggravated through the huge influx of refugees, many Berliners are out of a job, but the refugees get work and housing space as soon as they arrive in West Germany; jobs get scarce for Berliners because of the refugees, they are better looked after than we are, the good jobs are preferentially given to refugees while the Berliners may wait and see, houses are built for them while sometimes five old residents have to live in two rooms; I think that there will be no positions left for us because the refugees have priority; the refugees will take away jobs from us because they work for less money so that we will be out of a job; we West Berliners get less and less because of the refugees, we also need governmental support, the present refugees didn't give us anything in the past and now we are expected to help them, we've just got enough trouble as it is; the refugees get help but nobody cares about those wretched people who were bombed out; etc. 9%

Because there is such terrible misery among the refugees - they may become demoralized:

The steadily growing number of refugees, those poor people are absolutely desperate, there must be terrible conditions in the East Zone; because those poor people can't live in the East Zone because things are so tough, I fear all of them can't be accommodated over here; they can't find jobs and that demoralizes them, they'll try to make money by dishonest means; that the refugees have to leave their homes but don't find jobs over here, they will get into trouble, commit burglaries, etc.; because they have to give up all they own in this world and arrive here without a thing, they are nervous wrecks, I feel sorry for them because they must suffer so much at the hands of the Russians; their misery, the system and the conditions in the Zone, I doubt that it's possible to help them lead a decent life again; etc. 6

Because there's a backlog of refugees to be tranported by plane from Berlin to the West:

That all the refugees live at our expense because it takes weeks until they are sent on to the West; how shall West Berlin cope with all these refugees? so many can't be flown out; I'm concerned about the fact that so many stay here instead of being sent on, in case of another blockade the situation (food supply etc.) will get still worse; that a thousand refugees arrive daily but only a hundred are transported to Western Germany; that too few are sent on and too many stay here; etc. 3

Other answers:

I can't see why the SED lets these people leave the Zone, what is the East aiming at? that's what I'm concerned about; that West Germany will become terribly crowded, dissatisfaction among the people will grow and that favors the spread of Communism; we are expected to give more and more from our small incomes, those who caused all the trouble should foot the bill, I mean the Allies; etc. 4

No answer: 1

80%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

[redacted]

MANY SUSPECT SOVIET GOVERNMENT WINKS AT FLIGHTS TO WEST ...

As the foregoing comments indicate, some West Berliners are disturbed because they feel the Soviet Zone authorities are deliberately encouraging the flight from East Germany for their own purposes. That this point of view is rather widespread among West Berliners appears in response to a direct query on the matter. Half (52%) of the West Berlin public believes that the East Zone government deliberately does not make a serious effort to prevent East Zoners from fleeing to the West.

"Do you have the impression that the East Zone government deliberately does not take more severe control measures against the flight from the East Zone, or does the East Zone government simply have no better means to prevent the flight from the East Zone to West Berlin?"

Deliberately does not take more severe control measures	52%
Doesn't have better means to prevent flight	42
No opinion	6
	100%

BECAUSE IT SERVES EAST'S PURPOSE TO GET RID OF MALCONTENTS ...

No serious controls are imposed by East Zone authorities, according to West Berlin opinion, either because they want to get rid of politically unreliable elements (15%), wish to destroy the West Berlin or West German economy (15%), intend to settle Communists in the East Zone (13%), or wish to reduce the number of hungry mouths that have to be fed in the already near-starvation East Zone. A few (5%) declare that the Soviet Zone government wants the refugees to go in order to tighten their control over the Zone, and some (3%) allege they are sending only Communists or spies to the West.

"Why, do you think, the East Zone government deliberately does not take more severe control measures to prevent the flight from the East Zone?"

<u>They want to get rid of politically unreliable elements:</u>
They want to get rid of people who may prove troublesome, who oppose the regime; they know that these people can't be relied on to be loyal to their ideology; to get rid of their political opponents; they always welcome it if people who don't approve of the Soviet regime quit, as then they can proceed even more radically; all the East Zone government cares about is loyalty to the party line, therefore they consider it a good thing if people who think differently leave the Zone; they are not interested to keep people who don't share their convictions; they want to get rid of those people who are politically opposed to them; they aren't interested in the refugees as these are opposed to the regime and therefore are not useful to them; they feel that those who beat it in the East Zone are "saboteurs", so to speak, they have to concentrate on the younger generation as they can be re-educated; etc. 15%

<u>They want to hurt the economy of Berlin and the West:</u>
They want to undermine our economy; to ruin us economically, the more people come over, the more we have to reduce our style of living, well, and that's what makes people disgruntled, and that's just how the Russians want things to be; they want West Berlin to become so crowded that people are at their wits' end, they think they can slowly starve us, they think that in the end there will be riots and unrest here; to swamp West Berlin and to aggravate the existing distress;

(cont'd on next page)

because they want the economic burden to become intolerable for West Germany; they hope that the influx of refugees will cause such damage and will then yield to the wishes of the Russians; etc. 15

They want to settle Communists in the East Zone:
They want to settle a different kind of people in the East, Asians, Mongols, and others, vacant jobs are to be filled; to resettle the Zone with Communist elements, then they would be in complete control of the country; everything will be deserted over there, farms and homes, they will move in their followers, they will settle Russians in that district, in the end it won't be Germany any more, but Russia; because they gain by it, in that way they can take over the farms, complete with furniture and all, they can settle their proteges, the East thus acquires whole rural communities; because they want to settle Mongols in the East Zone; they will settle Chinese on the abandoned farms, these will be loyal to the party line, no doubt; they plan to depopulate Eastern Germany, then they will move in workers from other regions who will vote the way they want them to, and afterwards they will hold elections; etc. 13

They can't feed all East Zone people:
Because over there they don't know how to feed the people; they are glad to get rid of a large number of people so they have a better chance to get the impending famine under control; the fewer people there are, the less trouble they have to provide food for them; Because they welcome it if the number of residents decreases because there isn't enough food to go around; to shift part of the burden from their own shoulders, if some people flee, fewer people are left whom they have to feed; etc. 11

They want to tighten the controls over the East Zone:
They act on orders given by the Russians, and it will be easy for them to gobble up the whole country now that it is depopulated; after all residents have fled, the East Zone government can grab all property; then there's nobody left who could disturb them, Little Russia will thus be created, then the East Zone will be theirs for ever; the Russians will only profit if the people of the East Zone move away, the whole territory will fall into their hands, the East Zone government is behind the whole thing; it serves their interests if the German population of the East Zone decreases, the easier it will be for them to realise their aims regarding collectivizing farms; they can handle the people remaining in the DDR (German Democratic Republic) more easily, they just have to play along; the East Zone government believes it can stay in office for a longer period that way; etc. 5

They want to smuggle Communists and spies into West Germany sending them along with the stream of refugees:
They are sending nothing but Communists over here, and their task is to stir up people; now they've got the chance that will never occur again to send Communist spies to the Federal Republic; so that it will be easier for them to take over here, their buddies are here already, it's obvious that the refugees and the Russians will make common cause; to be able to carry through the world revolution more easily, if they can rely on loyal followers living in these parts, they can dare to push ahead to get the rest of the world under their control, for then their hinterland is secure; etc. 3

Other reasons:
Here they don't dare simply to liquidate the intelligentsia the way they did in Russia, therefore they put pressure on those people to make them leave the country; then these people won't be able to watch what's going on in the East, the Russians won't allow anybody to look behind the scenes; 3

No opinion / No answer: 1

667**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

R E S T R I C T E D

"ENCOURAGE REFUGEES TO STAY AT HOME" SAYS THE PREPONDERANCE ...

In view of the anxieties aroused among many West Berliners by the flood of refugees and their misgivings regarding the intent of the East Zone rulers in the matter, it is not surprising that West Berlin opinions lean to the view that the refugees should be strongly encouraged not to come to Berlin as they are now doing. Over half (53%) recommend that more efforts should be made to induce East Zoners to stay where they are. 44 per cent agree, however, that they should be permitted to continue entering West Berlin.

"Are you basically agreed that people come to West Berlin from the East Zone, as they now do, or should stronger efforts be made to induce East Zone people to stick it out in the East Zone and stay where they are?"

Induce to stick it out	53%
Agreed to their coming	44
No opinion	3
	100%

REASONS EAST ZONERS SHOULD STAY WHERE THEY ARE ...

Those who believe that potential refugees should be induced to remain in the East Zone argue along lines similar to those already reported. Some say (20%) that if all of the East Zoners flee, then foreigners will be settled in their places and the country be lost to Germany; others (13%) argue that the refugees place an unbearable burden on the German economy, or (11%) that they are not endangered but seek only material gain in the West. Others refer more specifically to the effect on the East Zone of mass migrations, they say for example that people should stay there in order to combat efforts to Sovietize East Germany, or to prevent it from falling into complete economic collapse.

"Why should they try to induce the East Zone people to stick it out in the East and stay where they are?"

Because foreigners may be settled in the East Zone and then this territory would be lost for Germany for good:

So that the peasantry over there will survive, otherwise the Russians will settle foreign tribes in that territory and in that way the Yellow Peril will infiltrate Europe once more; if all those people leave, there will be only Russians and their followers left in Eastern Germany, then we can regard these territories as lost for good; to prevent that the Russians infiltrate Eastern Germany and slowly oust its inhabitants and later on settle foreigners in that district, this applies to the mass of refugees, of course, those who really are in danger because of their political convictions, should be admitted over here; to ensure that the land remains German and that the Russians won't settle Polacks there; because you can't help thinking that there must be a change some day, if all those people leave, it's going to be ever more difficult for those remaining behind, in that way the Zone may be lost for us entirely; because they should establish an outpost over there to facilitate the reunification of Germany; everyone should hold his ground, once there are elections, on the issue of the reunification of Germany, we need those people over in the East Zone; etc. 20%

(cont'd on next page)

Because the added economic burden would be too heavy for West Berlin and West Germany:

The refugees take jobs and apartments away from West Berliners, first they made common cause with the Russians and lived comfortably over there, now our unemployed can't find work because refugees have priority everywhere; because it would be disastrous for us if all people who live in the East Zone would come over to Berlin, we can't feed them, for one thing; because the situation in Berlin is bound to get out of control some day, it would be an unbearable burden if all East Zone people came over here; too much is done for the refugees as it is, they get just everything: housing and work, while we old Berliners are neglected, that's why they come over here, hardly any of them have legitimate reasons; so that a famine will be avoided, in both parts of divided Germany, over there fields remain untilled, while those people who come here have to be fed, if too many people will come here, reconstruction in the West will be slowed down and our standard of living will be lowered; it means too heavy a burden for the West; etc. 13%

Because most of these people aren't endangered, it's material gain they seek:

Because largely it's a psychosis that has set in over there, people aren't in such grave danger as they think they are; I believe many come who could well stay on back there; it's my opinion that not all of those refugees actually had to flee; because many people come who are under the illusion that things will be dandy for them right away over here; God directs the destiny of man, many people come to Berlin who just hope for a more comfortable life over here, that's not a legitimate reason for fleeing, many think things will be more comfortable for them in Berlin; etc. 11

Because they should fight efforts to Sovietize the East Zone:

Because in that way there'd be a better chance to get somewhere, it would be easier to defend ourselves against the Russians, we could start some action against the Russians from the West, while those people could get ready for action in the East Zone; because some people have to stay on who defend the interests of the West; they should remain there to uphold Western ideas; so that at least a passive resistance against Bolshevism will be maintained; if those people would stay on in the East, they'd be in a better position to offer resistance; etc. 7

Because it will be difficult for them to start a new life in the West:

Besides, no life of leisure is in store for them over here, they must be prepared not to find either a home or a job; when they come here, they can't expect to make a lot of money right away, those who have no choice, should come here, we have to accept that; because there is no chance for those people to work their way up over here, and that's why many of them are demoralised and will turn into asocial elements; because all of them simply can't come over here as they'll be in for a hard time when they arrive at one of the camps, for conditions are rather miserable there, too; etc. 4

(cont'd on next page)

Because the economy and the standard of living of the East Zone are endangered through the mass migration:

So that the food situation in the East won't get still worse, a whole district can't be depopulated, after all, everything will break down then, the economy and the administration; because the land must not remain untilled; as to farmers, they should stay on, for what is to become of the land, it's vital that it's cultivated, when the refugees get to West Germany they are empty-handed, after all, wherever they go it's crowded, I guess they don't have an accurate idea about how things are over here; we do hope that Germany will be reunited some day, but when this day arrives, the territory in the East will be empty and the fields untilled, there won't be any peasants left, and there'll be no food for us, the peasants should stay on over there, to till and preserve the land; etc. 4%

Because criminals, asocial elements and Communists will infiltrate:

They should be more on their guard to prevent that so many criminals come here; many of them have some dark spot in their past, they should stay on, by all means, we've got enough of such characters over here; some people stick it out, after all, those who beat it, have been guilty of some sort of offense in the past, no doubt, maybe they engaged in some racket and have an evil conscience now, one person does just what the other does, if a person manages things well in the East Zone, he isn't persecuted, those guys are out to get West-marks; etc. 3

We (would) have to remain at our posts as well:

We have to stick it out, too, there's nowhere to go for us, no place where we could live more comfortably, either; you have to remain at the post where fate has placed you, after all; when Adolf (Hitler) was in control, we had to put up with things and keep our mouths shut, too, they should stick it out as well; they should be reminded of the way Berliners bore up under war, nightly bombing raids and blockade, so they'll take an example from them; we had to endure the blockade without deserting our homeland just like that; etc. 3

Other answers:

Because they have enough to live on in the East Zone, they shouldn't take up room needed for those who have urgent reasons to flee; those who have house and home over there, should stay on, they shouldn't give up their property just like that; etc. 5

70%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04874

REASONS REFUGEES SHOULD BE WELCOMED ...

West Berliners who believe all-comers from the East Zone should continue to be welcomed in West Berlin bring up a number of arguments among which the point that the West has a moral obligation to receive refugees leads in frequency of mention (18%). Others say that the refugees must be accepted because all are in danger of their lives (8%), or must have urgent reasons for fleeing otherwise they would not leave all their property and possessions behind (7%). Additional arguments are that freedom is an inalienable right of all people (6%) or that the mass flight is a convincing argument against Communism (5%).

"Why are you agreed that people from the East Zone come to West Berlin?"

It's a moral obligation to admit the refugees:
We have to take them in, it's the duty of humanitarian people, nobody can take it on his conscience to urge them to stay on over there; you can't demand from the East Zone people that they endure the yoke of a Russian and Communist regime for years and years, it must be really terrible what these people are going through; you can't demand from these people that they should stand the pressure they are under any longer; I know from friends how things are over there, I'm not sure I would be able to stick it out, they demand the impossible from people, we have to grant them asylum; because they are suppressed in such a manner that it's our duty as Christians to admit them; because they simply can't live under the conditions existing in the East Zone; etc. 18%

They are in danger of arrest:
So that they escape a miserable fate, that they won't land in prison, in a camp or be sent to Aue; in order not to endanger their lives, especially in the case of farmers, it's them who are bullied worst of all people, they can't fulfill the high quota requirement; in order to avoid arrest in the East Zone these people are forced to come here, the losses we suffered through the war were bad enough, those people mustn't be sent to Siberia; if a person is in danger to be sent to Siberia, he should come over here, if they put the screws on a farmer, it's no use to appeal to him to stick it out, it's easy to give advice, there's a limit to everything, however, these people have a right to lead a life worthy of a human being, too; otherwise they are arrested, dispossessed, accused and sentenced; because as a rule there is only the choice between imprisonment and freedom; etc. 8

Nobody abandons his property if there are no cogent reasons for such a step:
It's not a resolution to be taken lightly to leave behind all one owns in the world, therefore people must have urgent reasons, therefore you can't refuse them help; those people know why they abandon farms and homes, no doubt, it's our duty to admit them over here even if a few Reds and undesirable characters infiltrate; because 99 per cent of the refugees have a valid reason for leaving their farms and homes; they wouldn't abandon farms and homes and would take it upon themselves to start from scratch without a penny if there were no need for it; I'm sure these people have cogent reasons if they risk the hasards of a flight and abandon their property; it's certainly not a pleasure trip for these people, I feel that if a person leaves behind all he owns in the world, he doesn't do so without cause; etc. 7

(cont'd on next page)

Freedom is an inalienable human right:

If the freedom of these people is endangered, it's our duty to help them, they are Germans as well as we are, after all; because they have a right to lead a free life, too; because they have a right to lead a free life, too; because they simply can't stand life any longer over there, they are under pressure and their freedom is endangered, you can plead with them to stay on only if you could set a date for them when all their sufferings will be over, as it is, the only course open for us is to admit them here; because everyone wants to be free, even if he lives in poverty, and that's a good thing; they want to be free, over here in West Germany we've got freedom, so we should be glad if they can enjoy it, too, people in the East Zone are under terrible pressure, they sacrifice all they own to be free, therefore we have to take them in; etc. 6%

The exodus is the most convincing argument against the cause of Communism:

As I told you already, to make the East realise that their policy is wrong; the more people flee from the East Zone, the sooner the East Zone government will be bankrupt, I welcome the mass flight as it will influence future political developments in the East, though for Berlin it makes things even tougher, no doubt; that refugees are admitted in West Berlin means a weapon for the West to fight Communism with, to those people left in the East Zone today the thought must necessarily occur that there can't be much to Communism if such a large number of people flee to the West; it's one of the most convincing ways the Western world has to prove that life under a Communist regime is unbearable; etc. 5

They have no choice:

What can those people do, after all? - they can't oppose the program that's enforced over there, they have to come over, that's the only solution for the refugees; the refugees have no choice; what are these wretched people to do? - they have to find a home somewhere, if they are forced to leave the Zone; the alternative for the people in the East Zone is: either to turn Communist or to hang themselves, therefore it's better if they come to West Berlin; when they feel threatened, where should they go? - West Berlin is their only chance; it's the only route to safety, for it's nearly impossible to flee from the East Zone to the Federal Republic directly; otherwise there will be a series of suicides over there, West Berlin is the only haven there is for these wretched people; etc. 4

Other reasons:

Political persecutees, but mind you, only these, should be admitted, but not persons who have no valid reasons for coming, for they will cause unrest; I had the same fate as these people, therefore I can't expect them to stay on over there as I didn't stick it out myself; living conditions are very difficult, above all I'm thinking of the children, they are influenced so strongly even now that they won't be able to think along the lines we do later on, Communism would become even stronger once the older generation would pass away; etc. 3 51%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

A MAJORITY EXPECTS MASS FLIGHTS TO CONTINUE FOR SOME TIME ...

The current influx of refugees will continue indefinitely, according to a two thirds majority. Only three in ten regard the present critical situation as temporary.

"Are you of the opinion that the present influx of East Zone refugees to West Berlin will continue for a longer period or do you believe that it is only a temporary emergency situation for West Berlin?"

Continue for a longer period	67%
Temporary emergency situation	29
No opinion	4
	100%

LARGE MAJORITY SATISFIED WITH BERLIN SENATE'S HANDLING OF REFUGEE PROBLEM ...

Though many West Berliners reveal perturbations over the refugee situation, most of them appear satisfied with the efforts their local authorities are making to deal with the problem. Only 13 per cent express dissatisfaction with what the Berlin Senate is doing about the refugees.

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West Berlin Senate as regards the East Zone refugees?"

Satisfied	83%
Dissatisfied	13
No opinion	4
	100%

... Among the few dissatisfied with the activities of the West Berlin Senate regarding the refugees, two complaints lead: one, the selection is not careful enough with preference being given to prominent East Zone functionaries (5%), the other, that the refugees are given preferential treatment over the West Berlin population (5%).

"What are you dissatisfied with?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "dissatisfied" to initial question.)

<u>Selection is not careful enough - preference is given to prominent refugees:</u>

That prominent refugees, as, for instance, Frau Hamann, will be accepted, she should be accepted, if only for human reasons, but she should have to live in hutted camps, in just the same way as all the others whom she helped to be put in the state they are in now; that the prominent refugees here live in luxurious houses and the others in wooden huts; that the West Berlin Senate treats the SED-functionaries in the same way as those refugees on whom they spied and, perhaps even endangered them - they should employ a far stricter system in respect of the functionaries; they should introduce a 100-per-cent effective control, so that only those would be accepted who are politically persecuted - the officials in the accepting office are much too good-hearted, they believe everything that's told to them; the Senate should check more closely on the reasons for which people come over here, some may have committed crimes in the East and would then spend a happy day here; etc. 5%

(Cont'd on next page)

04877

Refugees have preference to the Berlin population:
It (the Senate) does too much for them, refugees get more help than our needy people, we don't get any credits, but refugees get them immediately; I'm an honorary social relief worker and I noticed how bad the poor West Berliner pensioners are off whereas the refugees are pampered, they get so much food that they throw bread away, I see this in the camp nearby; refugees get jobs at once and West Berliners have to stand back even if they are unemployed for quite some time; they do too much for the refugees, they should rather spend all that money for the West Berliners, we are not so very well off after all; etc. 5%

More should be done for the refugees:
About the accommodation of refugees, there are so many factory and store rooms where they could be sheltered, the procedure of admittance is too difficult, too slow and discouraging for the refugees; they could do more, house-building so that these people won't always have to live in wooden huts, they should provide better accommodation than they did up to now; more should be done, they still sleep on the floor with blankets, perhaps the local population could be incited to render assistance, surely personal help is more encouraging, we also have taken in a refugee; etc. 2

Too much is being done for the refugees:
They do far too much for the refugees and that attracts still more, all that costs our taxes and jobs; too much is being done for them, that's why they all come over here; I think all this care and relief goes too far, after all it costs our money, etc. 1

They should be moved out of Berlin more speedily:
The Senate should see to it that every refugee should regard Berlin merely as a starting point toward West Germany, refugees should not be given jobs in West Berlin, take greater care that they are moved out by air more speedily, they already spread all over the town and take the few working chances away from our unemployed; etc. 1

Other reasons:
I'm dissatisfied that they are admitted at all; etc. 1

15%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04878

BUT MANY DISSATISFIED WITH BONN'S EFFORTS ...

As to the activities of the Federal Republic on behalf of West Berlin's refugee problem, more dissatisfaction is expressed, though here also the preponderant view (51%) is one of satisfaction with West German efforts. However, a large minority (40%) appears to feel that the Bonn government is not doing all it could about the influx of East Zone refugees into West Berlin.

"And how about West Germany, are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West German government as regards the East Zone refugees in West Berlin?"

Satisfied	51%
Dissatisfied	40
No opinion	9
	100%

THE THREE LEADING COMPLAINTS ...

Berliners' complaints regarding West Germany are that the Federal Government 1) shows a general lack of understanding and insufficient readiness to help (17%); 2) it does not accept enough refugees (16%); and 3) is dilatory about screening and transporting refugees out of Berlin (11%).*

"What are you dissatisfied with?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "dissatisfied" to initial question.)

Lack of understanding for the situation of Berlin and the refugees and insufficient readiness to help:

That they can't come to an agreement about the number of refugees they are going to accept, that proves that they have no idea about the need of the refugees; there are not sufficient financial means available to provide for the refugees; they should see to it that Berlin gets more support to help the city in solving its problems, the burden is too heavy for Berlin, the Federal Government should do more without being asked for it each time; that they are too slow in helping, that the Federal Government feels obliged to help only then if foreign countries have already done so, they do more big talking than render practical help; with the poor financial means which are made available for Berlin; they should provide better housing and labor possibilities in West Germany so that Berlin will be relieved; the government doesn't do anything, they don't even see the importance of the problem; they don't do enough, West Germany is not so much destroyed by the war, didn't see so much of the war, it's larger, they could really sacrafice more in respect to financial help and housing; about the acceptance of refugees, the argument between the Laender governments; each one of them wants to shove off the refugees to the next one; etc. 17%

(cont'd on next page)

* This survey antedates the speed-up in the refugee airlift, so this complaint may now no longer be as prevalent as formerly.

[redacted]

West Germany should accept more refugees:
They should accept more refugees so that Berlin would be relieved; they should relieve Berlin more effectively, I mean they should accept more refugees into the Federal area; they don't take enough refugees away from Berlin; they don't accept enough refugees, Berlin is too small to absorb all these people, no housing, no money; they don't take over enough refugees, the figures they give are not correct as I learned from the press - several hundred refugees were said to have been taken out but the flights were cancelled; the individual Laender refuse to take up refugees; they should take more rigorous measures to accommodate refugees in West Germany; etc. 16%

Screening procedure and transport should be speeded up:
The Federal Government should see to a more speedily transportation of refugees - after all, Berlin is overcrowded; to accept them quickly, to speed up the screening procedure; air-transport from here should take more refugees out so that it doesn't get so crowded here, every day more of them are coming in; to see to a more speedy transportation of refugees - the Federal Government should have done more to move the refugees out of here; that everything takes too much time, the refugees stay here far too long - either they should support us financially or get more refugees out by air-transport; etc. 11

Preference of refugees at the expense of Berliners:
It's not fit to look after these people in such a way, they should stay where they are, all this money could be spent on us, but, strangely enough, they never had any money for us; that the refugees are preferred to the locals - where does the Federal Government think it will get the money for the transportation of refugees from?; they do too much and forget us West Berliners, us old people, they really spoil the refugees; etc. 1

Commentary of von Cube:
That the Federal Government allows such people as this von Cube to remain in his position, that he can talk in such a way, just he who is a former inhabitant of the Baltic provinces himself; these poor people here have to wait endlessly before being taken out by air - they are so stubborn over there, as you can see from the example of Herr von Cube; that this Herr von Cube says that the acceptance of refugees is a "humanitarian suicide" without being punished for it, that beats all - West Germany's help for the refugees is rather inadequate in view of this great need; etc. 1

Other answers:
That they accept the political functionaries of the SED; I am against it on principle to accept any refugees; etc. 4

50%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

ABOUT HALF THINK THE US IS DOING ENOUGH, BUT MANY DOUBTFUL OR DISSATISFIED

Queried on the extent of their satisfaction/dissatisfaction with American help in the refugee situation, somewhat more than half (57%) voice satisfaction; in contrast only 17 per cent say the United States is not doing enough. More important probably is the relatively large number (26%) unprepared to make any judgment regarding the American effort. It is very possible that the reports West Berliners receive from Mayor Ernst Reuter regarding his recent visit to the US will contribute to changing opinions. But prior to the Mayor's America trip, many West Berliners were doubtful about or dissatisfied with American efforts to help with the refugee problem.

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the Americans as regards the East Zone refugees in West Berlin?"

Satisfied	57%
Dissatisfied	17
No opinion	26
	100%

THE DISSATISFIED GROUP MAKES A NUMBER OF COMPLAINTS ...

Those expressing dissatisfaction with US efforts on behalf of the refugee problem have a variety of complaints, none of which is voiced by more than a small fraction. Some (7%) charge the American financial and material aid is insufficient, while others (4%) assert that the US should do more to facilitate emigration. Other complaints are that air-transport is insufficient (2%), that prominent SED functionaries among the refugees are given preferential treatment (1%), that nothing is being done (1%), or the converse, too much generosity is shown (1%).

"What are you dissatisfied with?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "dissatisfied" to initial question.)

Financial and material aid is insufficient:

The Americans could render greater financial and material aid, they could be more active collecting donations, they should talk less and do more, they could, for instance, supply people with drugs such as penicillin, streptomycin, etc.; they could supply more food stuffs and necessary items; they could send even more money, we can't look after those refugees properly all alone, if we don't get any help; that the Americans don't send CARE-parcels any more, they are more badly needed than at any time before, for the refugees to be sure; the only thing that could be done for the refugees is to provide work for them, and in this respect the Americans don't make any serious efforts; I never heard of the Americans doing anything for the refugees, they could provide clothing and funds; they could help the refugees to a greater extent financially; practically they don't do anything, or rather little, at any rate, if they pitch in 100,000 marks now and then, that's just a drop on a hot stone; etc. 7%

Emigration should be facilitated, the US should admit refugees, too:

West Germany is too small a country to absorb these masses of people, they should facilitate emigration; it's not enough, what they do, this is not a German problem, as one of the two world powers America is responsible for settling the matter, by giving people a chance to emigrate; that they don't make it easier for refugees to emigrate; they could admit refugees to the United States, even if only for short periods, they have the funds for such actions, those people are willing to work over there; etc. 4

(cont'd on next page)

04881

Speedier air transportation should be arranged:
They should help to move out the refugees, it would be a good idea to establish an air lift; the arrangements for air transportation: it takes too long until people are flown out and that means a burden to the Berlin budget, besides it entails unbearable hardships for the refugees, for all of them want to live in peace and quiet at long last, so they'll feel human again; they could do more to arrange for people to leave West Berlin; they should provide more planes for free transportation of refugees; etc. 2%

Preferential treatment of prominent (SED) refugees:
That they grant special privileges to prominent SED functionaries; they shouldn't treat prominent refugees differently (take Frau Hamann, for instance); why is it that villas are placed at the disposal of the SED bigwigs among the refugees right away? - as in the case of the wife of the minister for supplies of the East Zone Government, Mr. Hamann; because they support the SED functionaries who come here; etc. 1

No aid up till now:
That up till now they didn't care a bit about the whole thing, they didn't do anything to help, as far as I know, they have plenty of everything, they really could do more; they don't do anything, that's it; etc. 1

Overgenerous aid:
They simply throw away the funds they've got, the refugees are fed and clothed, we'll live to see rationing reintroduced because they'll be unable to provide enough food for us; they do too much for the refugees; etc. 1

Other complaints:
They should keep an eye peeled on the refugees to prevent that so many shady characters infiltrate, they should make no bones about sending them back; if they hadn't levelled all those air raid shelters, there would be enough room to house the refugees and they needn't live in hovels; I'm not satisfied with the way they tend to the spiritual needs of the refugees, they should visit them in the refugee camps and talk to them to make them familiar with the ideas of the Western world; they should contact the Federal Government and should transport the refugees to the West; they could do a great deal towards settling the problem, they shouldn't let the Germans grapple with it all alone, after all, they are to blame for the whole dilemma because of those crazy Potsdam agreements, now they have to face the music for their past folly; etc. 4
20%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

PREPONDERANCE SAYS SOLUTION OF REFUGEE PROBLEM IS UP TO WESTERN POWERS [redacted]

The solution of the refugee problem is mainly up to the Western powers, according to half of the West Berlin population, largely it is said because the Potsdam agreement laid the groundwork for the present situation. An additional fifth say that the Western powers, West Germany and West Berlin share mutual responsibility. Another fifth assign chief responsibility to the Federal Government. Only a few (7%) believe that it is largely West Berlin's task to solve the problem.

"Who, in your opinion, is chiefly responsible for the solution of the problem of the East Zone refugees in West Berlin: West Germany, West Berlin or the Western powers?"

West Germany	18%
West Berlin	7
Western powers	50
All three	20
No opinion	6
	101%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

THE WEST'S PART IN THE POTSDAM AGREEMENT MAKES IT RESPONSIBLE FOR CONSEQUENCES ...

The Potsdam agreement, as stated above, is the main reason given by those who hold the Western powers chiefly responsible for solving the Berlin refugee problem. Three in ten West Berliners express the view that the Potsdam agreement, concluded between the West and the Soviet Union created the situation which led to the present influx of East Zoners; therefore, they say, the West is ultimately responsible for repairing the damage. Others argue that since the Western powers have the final authority in Germany, they must assume responsibility for the refugees as well (10%); or that they alone have wealth and resources to deal with the situation (8%); or that they have to accept the consequences of their soft treatment of Russia in the past.

"For what reasons are, in your opinion, the Western powers chiefly responsible for the solution of the problem of the East Zone refugees in West Berlin?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Western powers" to initial question.)

<u>They sanctioned the partitioning of Germany through the Potsdam agreement, they shouldn't have let the Russians advance into Germany:</u>
Through the agreements of Yalta and Potsdam the present situation was created in Germany, now it's the lookout of the Western powers how to make up for this mistake; if it were not for them, this problem simply wouldn't exist, it all goes back to the Potsdam agreement, under it they left large territories to the Russians, and it's a general rule: if you bungle a job, you have to straighten out things afterwards; because they struck a deal with the Russians at Potsdam, if they hadn't done that, there wouldn't be any refugees today; because they cut up our country after the war, after the collapse, they divided Germany, even Berlin was divided into four sectors; because of the treaties concluded by the four Allies, only on the grounds of these treaties could they divide Germany; they entered into an alliance with the Russians instead of with the Germans at that time, that's it; because they made so many concessions to the Russians, starting with the Oder-Neisse line and the Potsdam agreement, only through these things was the present situation created; the Western powers are to blame for the fact that the Russians could gain a footing in our Eastern provinces; etc. 29%

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

They lay down the course for Western policy:
It's a moral obligation for them, for in their attitude the Germans in Berlin and in the East Zone are guided by the advice of the Western powers, our politicians, too, are under the influence of the Western powers, they advised them to hold their ground against the Russians; because they rule West Germany and West Berlin politically, practically they run the show, that means they have the responsibility too; because the Western powers retain the right to control us Germans, and therefore it's their duty as well to settle this matter successfully; because, after all, they are in command over here, therefore it's their lookout, too, to decide what's to be done about the refugees; we haven't got peace yet, we are in all respects dependent on the Western powers, that's why they have to contribute towards the solution of the refugee problem; because they assumed responsibility for the whole of Germany, now it's their concern how to settle the refugee problem; we can't negotiate with the Russians, therefore the Western powers have to do it; because they are the victors and they've introduced democracy in Germany, as it is, those people living in a totalitarian state want to be under a Western-type democratic regime, too, therefore the Western powers have to help them, because of their democratic convictions alone; etc. 10%

They have power and great resources:
Because on their own West Berlin and West Germany are unable to give these people a new start in life, they can do that only if the Western Allies assist them; because they've got ways and means to do something about the situation, while West Germany and West Berlin lack the necessary funds; because they've got the means to solve the problem, as we have no army either, we can't apply pressure the way the Western powers can do, the Western powers have got the means and powers as well; because they alone have the means at their disposal that are necessary to take effective relief measures, West Germany and West Berlin are too poor for that; because they've got everything, they've got the necessary funds, we haven't got a thing, that's it; to settle the problem successfully Germany is dependent on financial aid by the Western powers; etc. 8

They should have asserted themselves more energetically when dealing with the Russians:
They shouldn't have put up with the course of action the Russians have taken up till now as they have violated the agreements concluded between the West and the Russians, they are responsible for recent developments as they have not been firm enough with the Russians; because they have been too yielding towards the Russians, they should have forced the Russians in the past to ensure democratic practices in their zone of occupation; because they couldn't assert themselves fully when negotiating with the Russians, they can't get the Russians to take part in negotiations as the Western powers want them to; through their elastic policy, through their yieldingness, they are responsible in that they let a second government exist beside the Senate in Berlin, they didn't oppose it vigorously enough, for they have experienced in their own country, and in other countries as well, what Communism in its pure form means, to be sure; etc. 5

Other reasons:
Because they try to establish a sound democracy over here, and that can be done only in a country where people are content, if the country is swamped by refugees, asocial elements can easily get the upper hand, and that has to be prevented at all costs, as it would endanger democracy; because I feel that the Western powers welcome it that people from the East Zone flee to the West, that was proven by the appeal addressed to East Zone residents that was broadcast, for one thing; etc. 3

** Some respondents gave more than one answer 35%

WEST BERLIN NOT ENDANGERED BY EAST EFFORTS TO SEAL IT OFF ...

Accompanying the refugee influx, and also a contributing factor to it has been the threat, real or implied by East Zone authorities, to seal off West Berlin from East Germany. West Berliners appear, however, not to be particularly alarmed by these threats.

In the first place, West Berliners appear to be a two minds as to whether or not the Soviet Zone government actually intends to cut off Berlin or not. Almost as many West Berliners (44%) believe that the move to erect barriers is only another gambit in the war of nerves as believe the intentions of the East Zone authorities are serious (51%).

"Do you believe that the East Zone government will try to close the borders between East and West Berlin completely or is the East Zone government merely trying to frighten the West Berliners by this?"

Will try to close borders	51%
Tries to frighten West Berliners	44
No opinion	5
	100%

...Seven in ten say that such efforts if they are carved into effect will not seriously endanger West Berlin.

"You undoubtedly know that the East Zone government is increasing its efforts to isolate West Berlin from the East Zone and East Berlin. Do you believe that the situation of West Berlin will be seriously endangered by this, or not?"

Seriously endangered	23%
Not seriously endangered	71
No opinion	6
	100%

WEST BERLIN IS NOT DEPENDENT ON EAST ...

The majority view that West Berlin will not be harmed if it is cut off from the East is supported by a variety of arguments adding up for, the most part, to the opinion that West Berlin's economy is now geared to the West and thus isolation from the East would make no difference.

"Why would the situation of West Berlin not be seriously endangered?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Not seriously endangered" to initial question.)

<u>Berlin's economy doesn't depend on the East - rather is the East dependent on the West:</u>

We have little contact with the East, we don't get food stuffs from them, they are provided by the Americans; we are getting aid from the West only, we can't expect anything from the East; because even now West Berlin isn't dependent on the East Zone, or on the East sector of Berlin; because we aren't dependent on the East; because West Berlin's fate is tied up with the West, it hasn't got much to do with the East, it isn't dependent on the East; I can't think of any angle that could become dangerous, we aren't dependent on these people, after all; because we don't buy anything from the East; as to the supplying of vital goods for this big city, we are not dependent on the East Zone, we are tied to the West in regard to supplies for us and markets for our goods; because our supplies come from West Germany, not from the East Zone; we don't need the East, after all; we can't trade with the East anyway, we are entirely dependent on the West; this will not harm us, because we don't buy anything from the East, all goods

(cont'd on next page)

we get from the West; there are stocks of food stuffs for us, we need not starve, things run smoothly here, we aren't dependent on the East; because our trade partner is West Germany, that's it; we don't get anything out of them, anyway, it's rather them who might have advantages through us; they aren't serious about isolating Berlin because the Russians need a contact with the West; etc. 30%

As long as the routes to Berlin remain open and exports can thus flow to the West, there is no danger:

That doesn't affect us, we are tied to the West, what does it matter to us if we can't go to Potsdam or Glienicke any more; the trade agreements remain in force, connections by rail or ship between West Berlin and West Germany will remain uninterrupted; as long as the communications to the West remain open, there is no danger; I don't care a bit as long as they don't cut off the routes to West Germany; as there is a direct line of communication with the West, we wouldn't care, in case this wouldn't be true any longer, Berlin would be done for and finished; as long as the corridor to West Germany remains open, we will remain in contact with the people over there, that's the most important factor for us; as long as they don't cut off our channels to the West, there is no danger; etc. 12

Berlin can count on continued aid by America and the Western countries:

because we are under the protection of the Western Allies, and they would help us in every respect; because the Western powers support us, if the worst comes to the worst, they could transport even arms to Berlin by air, to say nothing of food supplies; I guess in that case the Allies would take measures which would make things easier for us; because our police force and the occupation troops are strong enough, they would protect us; the Americans will see to it that we won't get into a jam; I hope we can count on America to continue its aid, the Americans can't give up Berlin, they can't afford the loss in prestige it would mean after the promises they made; as long as the Americans stay on in Berlin, there will be no change, once the Americans withdraw, however, we are sunk; etc. 8

In effect, Berlin is isolated as it is, the present situation will remain unchanged:

we have to pass through certain border check points to get to West Germany anyway, they'll probably keep them open, if not, those people who have some business over there will go by air; in effect, we are isolated even now, the present state of affairs can't change much, and life goes on; practically we are cut off as it is, I don't think anything would be changed; practically we have had to put up with this situation for years, sometimes control measures are tightened, sometimes they are relaxed, and we are still alive and kicking; because I can't see in what way this sealing off of Berlin should endanger us; etc. 7

Berlin is largely independent - it's economy would not be seriously endangered - unemployment in one field would be offset by a greater volume of trade in other branches:

The economy would not suffer a setback through this; because we have large stocks on hand in West Berlin, I haven't seen them myself but I was told about it; because we've got enough industries to be able to survive, and we will remain in contact with the West (by air); it doesn't mean a thing to us if we are cut off from the East, we are being protected, after all, I mean, they can't harm us because we are autonomous; because in that case people couldn't shop any more over there, business would pick up for hairdressers and others, therefore, on the contrary, unemployment would decrease; I don't see why West Berlin should have disadvantages, up till now the Senate made a profit from purchases made by East Zone residents in West Berlin, thus the tax deficiency of grocers, hairdressers, etc. was more than compensated by the profits made in the textile and shoe trades, now things will be balanced through an increase in gross sales of cars and craftsmen, we will earn more as people are not allowed to shop in the East; etc. 5

(cont'd on next page)

West Berlin will not be directly affected if borders are sealed off:
Measures to isolate Berlin are taken only because of the stream of refugees, West Berlin wouldn't be much affected; they don't stand to gain much, the Russians are in control of Berlin anyway, the Russians aren't interested in taking over West Berlin, the riches lie in the West we haven't got anything to speak of; it just means that things are going downhill for them, the control measures prove that there's a feeling of insecurity on their part, through those measures their own people are harmed, it doesn't affect either our economy or anything else here; why should our situation be endangered? - that doesn't affect us; etc. 3%

The East will only harm itself through isolating Berlin:
The Russians cut themselves off from Berlin, they are isolating themselves, they can't endanger us, they just harm themselves; even if the borders were closed down completely, business would go on as usual here, things would get worse for East Zone residents only; because they only cut off their noses to spite their faces, cutting off Berlin wouldn't result in any disadvantage for us; etc. 2

Berlin can be supplied by air:
That was proven by the air lift; Berlin has survived the blockade thanks to the air lift, because the skies are free, therefore they won't succeed in cutting off Berlin this time, either, the Americans have air supremacy and the Russians can't do anything about it, the American air force is very much superior to theirs; the West has the technical means to keep Berlin as long as they desire, even if they have to supply it by air; it probably would end in an blockade, but they would keep us alive through an air lift; etc. 2

On the contrary - things would improve if no more refugees would come to West Berlin:
Because there aren't many West Berliners left who work in the East, it wouldn't be grave if they had to quit their jobs, as then no more refugees would come over; if no more refugees come here, things will improve for us, therefore, the contrary is the case, we'll fare better; etc. 2

Berlin will defend itself, it will not knuckle under to the East:
We are prepared for any eventuality here in West Berlin, things have been thought over carefully and plans have been made, nothing can become dangerous for us; I guess our side will not knuckle under to the East, I'm sure they'll be alert, West Berliners won't be so stupid as to let the Russians defeat them; etc. 1

Russia has put up barriers before and - after realizing their uselessness - has removed them again:
Berlin was most gravely endangered by the blockade because they realised they didn't get anywhere and they know that any further measures would be just as futile because of the spiritual and material superiority of the Western Allies; etc. *

Other reasons:
On the contrary, then all West Berliners have to shop in West Berlin, they can't buy anything in the East any more, it would not affect our relations with the West, either; because a thing like this wouldn't bring on war; I gues we'll be able to cope with this problem somehow, though I don't know how it will be done; etc. 4

No opinion/No answer: 1
77%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

**Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED

The minority holding that West Berlin would be endangered if it were sealed off from the East also argue mainly along economic lines.

"Why would the situation of West Berlin be seriously endangered?" (Asked of those respondents who answered "Seriously endangered" to initial question.)

Interzonal trade would stop - West Berlin is economically dependent on the East:

Because the East Zone actually is our hinterland, and we need it, that's why we are in dire straits at present, and things will get worse once we are cut off from the East Zone entirely; then we would have no trade relations with the East any more, and that's important for us, the East is an agrarian country, they can sell stuff to us and we can give them things in exchange; that would mean coal deliveries would stop; because they would gradually stop sending food stuffs and goods, and we get a lot of things from the East; West Berlin needs the East Zone to feed its inhabitants; the food situation will become even worse, as we get the potatoes we need from the East; because in that case we won't get coals from the Lausitz district any longer and interzonal trade will come to a halt; etc. 6

The economic situation of West Berlin would deteriorate (in general):

Because food imports and the shipping of goods to and from Berlin will thus be endangered; the economic expansion of Berlin will be hampered (Interzonal Agreement); it may mean an economic setback, gross sales will drop as people from the East Zone can't shop in West Berlin any more, and there are too many business people for the small number of who live in West Berlin; then we'll be doomed, because communications to West Berlin would be cut off, then we'd just starve; that would mean we'd be completely cut off from West Germany, if we'd be completely isolated, goods and food supplies from West Germany couldn't be sent by rail any longer, if goods couldn't be shipped by rail any more, West Berlin would have to be supplied by air; because in that case we would be even more dependent on the West (America) than up till now, an air lift had to be organised once more; food shortages, it would mean slow starvation for us; etc. 5

Complete isolation of Berlin - blockade status:

Then we will be cut off from the outer world and will be strangled; because in that way we'll become more and more isolated, from our allies in the West, too, so they can't support us fully any longer, West Berlin will be entirely cut off and I'm sure there'd be another blockade, as we'll be cut off from the West; because then West Berlin will be an island once more and cut off from the rest of the world; then the rift would be completed, our aim, the reunification of Germany, would become even more difficult to realise; because Berlin would become more and more an island; etc. 4

All traffic would be paralyzed:

People would complain that they can't go either to the East or to the West, arguments and quarrels would ensue and even more friction; all traffic would be paralysed, people might be forced to travel on foot; then we couldn't move to and fro any more, as communications would be affected, to be sure; the slow-down of communications would be a bad nuisance to people; means of communication would be very much restricted, we would be sort of marooned and couldn't move any more, traffic will be hampered of the El (S-Bahn) should be closed down; etc. 3

(cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

04888

Armed intervention would become more difficult for the West - the danger of Russian aggression would increase:

If the Russians get it into their heads, they can overrun us in a single day; that we will slowly get to the point where we have to surrender and then we would be at the mercy of the Russians; because the police in the East are armed to the teeth, and ours aren't armed at all; they can shove us around at will; the danger will increase, if communications are cut off, it's hard to watch from the West whether or not armed forces are being concentrated which might launch a surprise attack against us; it would get more and more into the Russian orbit, I'm afraid that the Russians will more and more concentrate on West Berlin - regarding occupation forces, war materials, etc. - at the borders marking the different sectors, at Adlershof, for instance, they press very close; I believe that in that case there would be fighting, I mean, an armed conflict between East and West might come about; then nobody will know what's going on in the East Zone, whether an army is set up, how tight the noose around Berlin is drawn, that's what the East is up to, to be able to launch a surprise attack some day; because in that way transportation systems may be endangered, if there should be some clashes, too, regarding the moving in of troops, the West is at a disadvantage; etc. 3%

Unemployment would spread as West Berliners who work in the Eastern sector would lose their jobs:

Unemployment would slightly increase, as quite a number of West Berliners work in the East, in that way unemployment figures would rise; we have no room and no work and the number of unemployed will go up if those West Berliners who work over there now would be fired; because many West Berliners still work in the East, and it's the other way round, too: East Berliners work in the West, they would lose their jobs, that would injure the economy; etc. 2

Family ties would be interrupted:

It would lower people's morale, family ties would be cut that way, you couldn't visit your relatives any more and that makes people disgruntled; because people would lose contact with each other, if you can travel to your relatives and talk things over, you may do some things differently; we couldn't call any longer on relatives and friends who live in the Eastern sector; etc. 2

No more orders would be placed with West Berlin firms by West German businessmen:

In that case even fewer orders would be placed with West Berlin firms by people in the West, there would be still more unemployed, potential contractors would become even more afraid of placing orders with Berlin firms; because the economy would collapse as West German firms wouldn't give one more contract to Berlin; the economy would be endangered, the number of orders placed by West Germany would go down, because they would get scared; etc. 1

Other reasons:

Because of the border set up between East Zone - East Berlin and West Berlin even more people are induced to flee, in the end they will be such a burden to West Berlin that it will be seriously endangered, moral pressure is exerted on people, for one thing, so that they don't know where to turn to, in economic respect there is no danger; etc. 2

20%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04889

LARGE MAJORITY DOES NOT FORESEE A NEW BLOCKADE ...

A majority of seven out of ten continues to believe that the Russians will not attempt another blockade of Berlin. But if another one should occur, opinions divide fairly evenly on whether measures similar to those used in 1948-49 should be taken. And almost all of the 44 per cent advocating different measures, recommend using stronger methods than last time. As their comments indicate, by stronger measures most have in mind the forceful breaking of the blockade, even war if it should come to that.

"Do you expect another blockade of West Berlin?"

	June 1952	Feb. 1953
Yes	32%	30%
No	68	68
No opinion	-	2
	100%	100%

"Suppose the Russians would reimpose a blockade of Berlin: should we behave in the same way as last time or should we take other measures?"

Same as last time	50%
Other measures	44
No opinion	6
	100%

"And in your opinion, should one take more severe measures than last time or not?" (Asked of those who answered "Other measures" to initial question.)

Take more severe measures	41%
Not take more severe measures	3
No opinion	-
	44%

"What measures should then be taken?" (Asked of those who answered "take more severe measures" to preceding question.)

<u>To open a line of communication to Berlin by force and keep it open:</u>
By lifting the blockade through Allied troops and keeping the communications open as laid down in the Potsdam agreement; the Americans should run the blockade on the Autobahn with their tanks; to break through to West Germany by all means, how and when is the Americans' concern; then we should offer fierce resistance, break through to the West by force; to seize an Autobahn so that we would have free access to Berlin even if we had to cover the strip right and left along the Autobahn with bombs; they should then force their way to Berlin, the Allies are now strong enough to enforce it, it's a question of prestige; to try to open the encirclement by force; one should keep a communication road to Berlin open, if necessary by troops; one should simply remove the obstacles and barriers; one should try to pass the Autobahn with a convoy escorted by armored cars, I don't think that the Russians would start firing; they should no longer be so timid, the Western powers should pound the table, establish a communication road to Berlin by force; just drive on the Autobahn, what can the Russians do - we Germans were always too considerate, humanity won't get you any farther; etc. 21%

(cont'd on next page)

ter Blockade:
To take just the same counter measures, if we are no longer allowed to enter the East Zone we shouldn't allow the East Zone people to come here; stop all shippings from the West bloc to them or their satellites; to isolate the East completely; one should take severe counter measures, all the world should impose a blockade on Russia so that they could see what a blockade is like; a rigorous counter blockade against the Russians to stop their trade, that they can't sell their goods to the West; to cut off Russia's trade relations with the free world, that means a counter blockade; to impose a counter blockade at once, the Russians must be treated with a firm hand, any other measures they won't understand; a counter blockade against the East Bloc countries should be imposed so that they can't trade any more with England or France; all industrial goods, above all ores, should be embargoed and no longer be sold to Soviet orbit countries; etc. 6%

To bring political pressure to bear:
The Americans should bring political pressure to bear in the cold war against the Russians;. the Western powers should show a firm hand from the very beginning, before things get too far, the Allies should show a firmer attitude toward the Russians; the Western powers should show the Russians that they won't be trifled with, be very consistent when dealing with the Russians; move more troops into Berlin and then tell them: now one way or another, either you give in or we'll fight, I'm sure that the Western powers would do that; take such measures which show that they won't allow the Russians to lead them by the nose; etc. 5

Driving the Russians out of Berlin:
To throw the Russians out and not put up with all and everything; one should use force, I mean throw the Russians out; try to drive the Russians out of our country, they should be thrashed soundly, I don't want to go hungry again, we would either lose everything or it would get better after that's done; the Russians should be hit over the head, that's all there is to it; throw all the Russians out of Berlin, they've done enough harm here, they've also robbed us; etc. 3

War preparations:
The Allies should threaten with war, there is no other way then; war - there are so many who would join in; one should use violence, what do they have the aton bomb for?; they should bomb Russia with atom bombs, capitalism and communism will never get along peacefully with each other, I was told that over and over again in political lectures in the East Zone; they should not put up with that, then they should be radical, one day there will be a war in any case, so why not now?; etc. 3

Try to lift the blockade by negotiations, in a friendly way:
Try to reopen the communication routes to Berlin by agreements with the Russians; in any case they should try to negotiate, those who are concerned, the Allies; first by diplomatic means, claim the right of free communication that is laid down by an agreement, in any case no force; they should then present the Russians with an ultimatum and remind them of their agreement - and if they don't comply all the world should take reprisals against the Russians; etc. 2

Establish an airlift on a larger scale:
They should use far more planes for the airlift so that the Russians see at once that it's no use to blockade Berlin; of course the airlift; etc. 1

Other answers:
One should see to a better food supply, and store coal and gas; they should try then to reunify Berlin; hold free elections so that the Russians would have to get out of Berlin; etc. 1

No opinion/No answer: 2

** Some respondents gave more than one answer. 4%**

RESTRICTED

III. THE CURRENT STATE OF MIND OF THE WEST BERLIN PEOPLE

Turning from consideration of West Berlin's reactions to specific issues, policies and problems, this section deals with the general state of mind - or the morale - of West Berliners. In order to measure this, a selected number of indices used in previous studies was repeated. These measures have to do with loyalty to and identification with West Berlin, as well as the individual Berliners' appraisal of his own circumstances and the general mood of his fellow citizens.

CIVIC LOYALTY REMAINS HIGH AMONG WEST BERLINERS ...

Using three indices to measure Berliners' loyalty to and confidence in their city, the trend continues to be very favorable despite the renewed pressure on the city in process at the time of this most recent survey. The three indices are: reluctance to leave Berlin, recognition of Berlin's key role in the East-West conflict, and approval of their municipal government's conduct of affairs.

UNWILLINGNESS TO LEAVE BERLIN ... is expressed now as formerly by three quarters of the West Berlin population. In the face of renewed Soviet threats to seal off their city, Berliners react in much the same fashion as they did during the 1948-1949 blockade and in the period of lesser crises which have since intervened.

"Would you leave Berlin for good if you had the opportunity?

	Oct'48	May'49	Aug'49	Apr'50	Dec'51	Feb.'53
Yes	30%	17%	23%	27%	23%	24%
No	70	83	77	73	77	76
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
No. of cases:	(399)	(300)	(301)	(510)	(600)	(400)

... Even when advantages to leaving are set forth in very favorable terms - a guarantee of a job and housing in West Germany - relatively few change their minds and say they would leave the city. Here, too, no change in attitudes appears to have occurred, as the two-point trend indicates.

"If you or the head of the family were offered work and housing in West Germany, would you then leave West Berlin?" (Asked of those who answered "No" to initial question.)

	Dec.'51	Feb.'53
Yes	13%	11%
No	53	55
Qualified answer	10	10
No opinion	1	*
	77%	76%

* Less than half of one per cent.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION ... is infrequently (6%) given as a reason by those who would like to move away from Berlin. Twice as many (14%) say better job prospects would be their reason for leaving. Others, apparently not native Berliners, say they want either to return to their old homes in West Germany, or do not like city life.

"Why?" (Asked of those respondents who said they would leave Berlin if they had the opportunity.)

Because of the better economic condition of the West, the labor situation is more favorable:

Although I am born in Berlin I should go anywhere where my husband finds work; if my financial situation improves I would feel at home at any place that guarantees a high income; because I fear that the economic situation will become unbearable by the complete isolation of Berlin, we won't actually starve because the West would go on supporting us but only very few, financially stable firms would be able to live through this economic crisis; because I would improve my financial position, there are more possibilities of earning money in the West than in Berlin; I would thank God to leave this island here where I don't get a job, as a technician I'm sure to find work over there; if I could make a better living and have a more pleasant life, after all I have two children and who knows what might happen here; that I could find a livelihood for my family; for professional reasons, my chances here are not too good; etc. 14%

Because of the political insecurity and fear of the Russians:

Because the political situation of Berlin is too unsafe - one day we'll be overrun, because of the Russians, it could be possible that they would take Berlin one day; because Berlin as a city in the front-line does not get the support it needs - therefore you feel unsafe here - a Russian invasion may be possible; for fear, you want to get away from the Russians as far as possible; because life in West Germany is safer than in West Berlin; because I come from the East Zone I want to move on, my father has fled as an "offender against the economy," if they don't get him they will get me; etc. 6

Because I don't like the big city:

Because I'm not so fond of life in a big city; because we just aren't towns-people, political reasons won't cause us to leave; etc. 2

Because I'm born in the West:

Because I'm not a Berliner, the political situation doesn't disturb me, I come from the Black Forest and I'm very fond of the mountains there; because I'm from the Rhineland and would like to go home again - I don't want to leave Berlin because I'm disturbed by the political situation, just because I want to go back home; because I'm from Kassel and would like to return to my home-town; etc. 2

Others:

I'm very fond of nature - in Berlin there is no nature - in West Germany one could go out of town, in the wood; to see something of the world; etc. 2

26%**

** Some respondents gave more than one reason.

RESTRICTED

04893

REASONS FOR REMAINING IN BERLIN ... are for the most part expressions of the same theme - Berlin is home, the place where they have always lived, where their relatives and property are. Some refer more directly to the political situation, with statements such as this, "I keep telling myself: 'if you bolt, that's wrong.' We have to stay here so that the Russians can't gobble up the whole of Berlin." Another says, "I did not leave Berlin even when the bombs dropped, so I just don't even think of going now." Others apparently intend to stick it out until the Communists give up, and then be on hand to profit from an anticipated boom, as one man comments, "Berlin will be the main place once West and East Germany are reunited, then everybody will get back to Berlin, but I'll be here already." Comments in detail follow:

"Why not?" (Asked of those respondents who said they would not leave Berlin for good if they had the opportunity.)

Berlin is home - one feels attached to it:

I'm a Berliner, here I was born and here I will die - on no account do I want to leave - Berlin is Berlin, I've grown up here and feel attached to Berlin; I am very fond of my Berlin; I'm deeply attached to Berlin, I have always lived here, Berlin is a city where one can live and breathe freely - my ancestors already used to live here - I lived through the Russian invasion and nothing could be worse than that; you do have ties to your home-town that cannot simply be thrown overboard; I love Berlin; I was away from Berlin for seven years and although I was better off where I was I came back and stayed here - I am fond of Berlin because it's home and my parents are here; because I am a Berliner and I feel that I belong to Berlin, I live here for 40 years and we Berliners belong here and nowhere else, we can't easily get used to other places - although I could get a better paid job over there I shall stay here; I am so fond of Berlin that I won't leave it other than by force - I would go only if the Americans would leave us; etc. 30%

Because friends and relatives, property are in Berlin or in the East Zone:

Because I am not alone and have to stay here because of the real estate my wife has here; my old mother lives here in Berlin so I cannot go; my daughter and my parents live here in Berlin, I am very fond of my relatives; the grave of my husband is here in the cemetery, that's enough of a reason not to leave Berlin - I am settled here, why should I go anywhere else?; I often meet my children from the East Zone, if I move from here I won't see them again; because my mother lives in the East Zone, that's why I stay in Berlin, otherwise if my mother wouldn't live here, I should go; because I have property here and I can't give that up; my relatives live here so I stay as well; etc. 9

Because employment and housing are in Berlin:

I am tied to my job and make a moderate living; my husband has his job and housing here; I make a living here and get along; because I have my job here; thank goodness I've still a job in Berlin; here I can earn my living; etc. 9

(cont'd on next page)

Because one settled down in Berlin, it became the new home (found a new home here):

Berlin has become my new home, I found good people here who helped me, I am happy here; I am from the Rhineland, have chosen Berlin as a home and will stay here; because I live in Berlin for years so it has become home; I got too closely tied to Berlin during all these years although I am not a Berliner; because I like it better here than in the country, I got used to Berlin; we have found another home here and we like everything here; etc. 7

Because of being too old:

Because of my age, I'm too deeply rooted here in Berlin; not at my age, it's better to stay where you belong - I didn't leave Berlin during the war and I shall not leave it this time either; I would not leave Berlin because I have grown old here, besides I am waiting here for my son and my husband who are still missing; I am too old already to settle down somewhere else; I am too old and sick, it's not worth it, otherwise I would go immediately; here I have grown old, as a Berliner I won't leave Berlin and I believe that things will improve and the Russians won't succeed to gobble us up; etc. 6

Because there is no reason to leave Berlin since people stayed on in even worse times:

We have stayed to this day, why go now?; I don't have any reason as I stayed here when times were very bad; I lived here before the war, during the war, why should I leave now?; I did not leave Berlin even when the bombs dropped so I just don't even think of going now; etc. 6

Because somewhere else it is not better:

Somewhere else it won't be different from here, I have to work everywhere; because at another place I won't be better off; at other places it won't be better, here we have all we want, air, sun, woods, my experiences of evacuation are bad enough; because here I am settled, in any other place I won't be better off, the economic situation in West Germany also isn't overbright; etc. 4

Because there's hope for a better future of Berlin:

We shall be reunited, without a war, by the economic breakdown of the (East) Zone; then there will be an economic boom in Berlin as we've never seen before; some day things just have to change, I'm already very familiar with Berlin business life, once things in Berlin take a turn to the better I could make some profits here; because I believe that Berlin will recover, Berlin won't be a vacuum for ever but will become the center of trade and commerce; because Berlin will be the main place once West and East Germany will be reunited, then everybody will get back to Berlin but I will be here already; etc. 4

(cont'd on next page)

04895

For political reasons, West Berlin has to defend its freedom:
The fight against Communism can best be fought here and with all means available, propaganda, etc.; because I always have the feeling that I am under an obligation - the obligation of every West Berliner to fight for freedom and to defend it; I keep telling myself: if you blow, that's wrong, we have to stay here so that the Russians can't gobble up the whole of Berlin; because I am of the opinion that, if we all would leave Berlin, it might fall an easy prey to the East Zone rulers; I have taken part in all the fighting for the freedom of Berlin and never would I let it down; because it's my opinion, that, regarding the political development, the outpost Berlin must be kept strong; etc. 3%

Because Berlin is an international cultural center:
Berlin is the cultural center of Germany, now as in the past; I am very happy here, there are so many possibilities, I think of theater-going, films, lectures, etc., it's a big city, you can go to the theater or to concerts, I would miss that if I lived in a small village in West Germany - there isn't such a city as Berlin over there; etc. 2

Other reasons:
I should leave to take over my farm which is now in the hands of the Poles, however, I won't go for any other reason; we can't make room here for the refugees, when times were hard they often chased us off their farms by dogs; as I can't go back to my true home-country, Silesia, I might as well stay in Berlin, I make my living and my children are here; still Korea and now the conference of the Indians in the Kremlin - you don't know what they will plot out there in Asia, I am greatly disturbed by this conference with the Indians, it's not according to the program; when I was away from here once I had a hell of a time, never again would I do that - I and my family will stay here; etc. 3
91%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RECOGNITION OF BERLIN'S KEY ROLE IN THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT ... [redacted] vails among most West Berliners.

Now as a year ago, the West Berlin public appears very convinced that their city is a concrete symbol of the struggle for freedom against Communism. Berlin, they say, is the bastion of the West, the core of the East-West conflict, the last outpost of freedom, and so on. Their comments follow.*

"In your personal opinion, what is the significance of Berlin in the present world situation?"

Berlin is the bastion against the East:

Berlin is an advance post which must be kept because it is the connection to the people of the Soviet Zone; we are on outpost duty, so to speak, if Berlin gets lost, Communism can no longer be stopped; Berlin is the foothold in the struggle against Communism, if Berlin should be given up Communism would have free play; if it were not for Berlin the Russians would overrun the entire continent and everybody would have to become Communist; Berlin is the bridge-head of the Western world, the question is: America or Russia; it's a sort of bulwark in the struggle between East and West, if the West would retreat but one step Berlin would be lost; all the world should take their hats off to Berlin because it's a buffer-stop for Communism and fights against the spreading of Communism; if Berlin gets lost we would have Communism all over the Western world; Berlin is the buffer-stop between the Western and the Eastern world; etc. 35%

Berlin is the center of the East-West conflict:

Berlin comes first - two great powers contend for Berlin which is the key to Germany - Russia wants Germany as an economic partner, America wants it as a military partner - he who has Berlin has Germany; everybody is looking at Berlin, the way we stick it out and don't allow ourselves to be beaten - Berlin is the shop-window of the free world; the main point, everything hinges upon Berlin; Berlin is the door between East and West and, therefore, the most important city of Western Europe; Berlin takes the same key-position as Danzig before the second world war, it is the world's neuralgic point; it is the main point in the conflict between East and West, it depends, to a great degree, on Berlin whether a new world war can be prevented; it's a tug-of-war between East and West evenly balanced up to now, otherwise of no importance, they just try out their power, the East and the West; the war between Bolshevism and democracy is fought in Berlin - it depends on who wins the upper hand - the Russians or the Western powers; etc. 22

(cont'd on next page)

* In the December 1951 survey, a similar proportion described Berlin's significance in terms of the East-West conflict.

04897

Berlin is the center of campaign for freedom and the symbol for freedom and democracy:

Berlin is an outpost of freedom - an outpost of democratic freedom; Berlin is an outpost for the safeguarding of freedom; we are protecting our skin, we are a proof that it is possible to maintain ends freedom; a sort of escape hatch in the wall of slavery; it's an island, an island of freedom; Berlin is the pivot of the world - here the minds part and here they collide - it's a symbol for democratic freedom; Berlin is a city cut in four - Berlin is the symbol of freedom, that's what I stick to; etc. 10%

Berlin was and is the German capital:

Berlin was the capital; that Berlin will be the capital again, that the government will return to Berlin - Berlin will fight to get its position back as the leading city in Germany as regards industry, commerce and arts; now as before Berlin is the German capital, Berlin has decided to take sides with West Germany; that we'll be the German capital again; as the former capital - owing to its geographic position, it is important for Berlin to maintain connection with the people of the East Zone; etc. 4

Reunification of Germany is only possible through or by Berlin:

For the East Berliners it means the last hope for Germany's reunification; Berlin is the bridge between East and West, if German unity should come it would be due to the persistance of Berliners; Berlin's strive for unity is the most important struggle and all the world is looking at it; perhaps that one day the German unity will be achieved through Berlin; it depends on Berlin how and when East and West will come to terms - that can only be done by Berlin; etc. 4

Berlin is the sanctuary for all refugees from the East:

Berlin is a harbor of refuge for all people from the East if they don't see another way out; Berlin is a sanctuary for the East Zone refugees; we are separated from the East and Berlin accepts the refugees and sends them on so that there is one way to freedom; etc. 2

Berlin's attitude is an example for the West:

That the West relies on Berlin because Berlin is courageous, Berlin has the confidence of the West; Berlin sets the world an example for courage, valor and endurance; etc. 1

Other reasons

A city that strives hard to regain a respectable position in the world; Berlin is a problem child for the West - as it is, Berlin actually doesn't matter much to the West - they have to invest more and more money and don't get anything out of it - otherwise it is of no importance; the Americans had a good influence on Berlin, you could buy everything but you don't have money for it, politics disappointed me ever so often, take the time of the Hitler regime - well, I don't care about all that, I always used to work, was employed in the building trade for 40 years; etc. 6

No significance: 6

No opinion/No answer: 19

109%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04898

CONFIDENCE IN THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT HAS RISEN DURING THE YEAR ...

Three quarters now express satisfaction with the general activities of the West Berlin Senate, as compared with a two thirds vote of confidence in December 1952. Correspondingly, dissatisfaction has declined.

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West Berlin Senate?" (Satisfied or very satisfied?) (Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?)

	Dec.'51	Feb.'53
Very satisfied	9%	12%
Satisfied	57	62
Dissatisfied	28	20
Very dissatisfied	2	3
No opinion	4	3
	100%	100%

... Even larger numbers speak well of the Senate when its efforts are measured in terms of "what is possible." Eight in 10 West Berliners now say, their Senate is doing everything possible to ease Berlin's difficulties - a rise of 10 points since the preceding year.

"And do you think the West Berlin Senate is doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"

	Dec.'51	Feb.'53
Doing everything possible	73%	82%
Could do more	24	14
No opinion	3	4
	100%	100%

That this widespread approval of West Berlin's city government is not simply a reflection of uncritical judgments is suggested by the Berliners' appraisal of the efforts of the Western powers and the Federal German government to aid Berlin. Here the people of West Berlin are more adversely critical. Indeed the preponderant opinion now is that Bonn is not doing everything it could to help West Berlin, and three in ten continue to be critical of Western efforts, though six in ten say the West is doing everything possible to help.

"And do you think the West German government is doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"

	Dec.'51	Feb.'53
Doing everything possible	45%	40%
Could do more	50	54
No opinion	5	6
	100%	100%

"Do you think the Western powers are doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could they do more?"

	Dec.'51	Feb.'53
Doing everything possible	62%	62%
Could do more	35	31
No opinion	3	7
	100%	100%

UPWARD TRENDS ALSO OCCUR IN OTHER AREAS RELATING TO GOOD MORALE ...

To the bulk of West Berliners the impact of the city's exposed and harrassed position has been felt in economic difficulties - high prices, shortages, depressed trade and business, and above all unemployment. Thus the residents of West Berlin have seldom looked with easy optimism at the economic aspects of the Berlin situation either as it applies to them personally or to the city as a whole. This continues to be the case, but as may be seen in the trend figures that follow, here also there is some indication of increased optimism.

FEWER SAY THEIR PERSONAL SITUATION HAS WORSENED DURING THE YEAR ...

Though no more Berliners now than formerly acknowledge a real improvement in their personal circumstances, fewer of them have noted a deterioration during the year. Up to June 1952, almost four in ten said they were personally worse off than a year ago, now about a quarter make this assertion. Correspondingly, more people now claim they are doing about as well as formerly.

The emphasis among the people who state they are personally better off this year than last, as well as among those who say they are worse off, is on economic considerations. There is scarcely any reference whatsoever to the political situation.

"If you look back at your situation a year ago, do you feel that today things are better for you, or worse, or just the same?" (Just as good or just as bad?

	Dec.'51	June '52	Feb.'53
Better today	34%	35%	35%
Worse today	36	38	26
Just as good	22	17	27
Just as bad	8	10	10
No opinion	*	-	2
	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"In what respect are things better today than a year ago? (Asked of those who answered "better today" to initial question.)

Income has risen (wages, pensions, relief money):
I get a higher pension today; we made quite a good profit and were able to buy a car; because now I get the pension of my husband, last year I got only the normal social relief rate; because railway men get 85% of the salary in West money, last year it was only 60%, now we have money, it's only now that we can start buying household linen, etc.; because I get almost the full money of my late husband, formerly I got only a small sum on account; this year I got my pension, after 6½ years, at last, it feels like being reborn; I get higher wages, formerly I worked for normal wages, now I get piece-wages; my husband earns some more money, therefore we are a little better off; etc. 15%

(cont'd on next page)

No longer unemployed:
A year ago I was unemployed, today I'm well paid; I have a job, that makes a lot of a difference; I'm an ousted official and, by a piece of luck, I got back in my career although not in quite the same way as before; we have a little more money now than a year ago, my husband has got work now; because today I have a permanent job, last year I was sometimes unemployed; etc. 7%

Economic and financial conditions have improved:
From the economic point of view I am better off, today you can even start saving again, if you lay by three marks they'll keep their value because the currency is stable now; because during the last year I was able to purchase furniture and clothing, and I also could pay the rent I owed; I have bought some things which I could not have afforded last year; it's generally noticed, now and then you can purchase something, that's because of the installment-system; I have a shop and I am doing better these days than a year ago; because buying in the East sector which caused us great losses is forbidden now, my turn-over has increased by 30-40%; I get a better turn-over than a year ago; etc. 5

More and better paid jobs:
I have a better job today, I get better paid; at that time I was still an apprentice, today I have my job and a little more money; etc. 4

After leaving the East Zone personal circumstances have improved:
This time last year we were still in the East Zone and my husband was in West Berlin which caused much uneasiness, now we are here and much better off at that, the Mark has its value and there's more to be had for it; I'm a refugee from Thuringia, so I'm better off here as regards food, I get more of it than last year in the East Zone and I do no longer need ration cards; I've fled from Potsdam and here I can live as a free individual, although I'm unemployed I can sleep in peace and feel safer than a year ago - at that time I was in a leading position in the East Zone industry and had to live in a permanent state of insecurity; last year I was still in the East, therefore I'm better off now in every respect; etc. 3

Housing condition has improved:
I have an apartment of my own now and my son can stay with me - last year I lived as a sub-tenant; I have, after 9 months, for the first time an apartment of my own and this fact raised my spirits considerably; we did not yet have the apartment, it was very crowded, I was with child at that time and it has died; etc. 1

Other reasons:
The political situation is better, we get help again from America and I feel the better for it, economically conditions have not changed for me; because last year I got permission to settle down in Berlin; etc. 1

36%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"In what respect are things worse today than a year ago?" (Asked of those who answered "worse today" to initial question.)

Unemployment:
As my husband has been out of a job for a long time, our situation has worsened considerably; because I have been unemployed for more than a year, and now my clothes get shabby; because my brother-in-law has lost his job, so he can't support me any longer; because my husband is unemployed at the moment, we have no income, therefore things are tougher for us than a year ago; I am an artist and I didn't find an engagement this year, so all I get is an unemployment rate; a year ago I still worked as head of a department, now I'm out of a job and there's no chance to find work; I lost my job four weeks ago, in all, my financial situation is much worse today, therefore I can't support my parents who live in the East sector any more; etc: 9%

Rising prices:
As prices have risen, the standard of living has been lowered, for incomes remained on the same level; the cost of living is higher and wages haven't been adjusted; because you could buy more with the money you earned a year ago, prices have risen considerably; in my particular branch, wages have not been raised, and prices have gone up steeply, through the general rise of the cost of living, food prices, textile prices, the special tax for Berlin has been increased, therefore the average income is smaller than a year ago; because the costs of living have risen; etc. 8

Money is scarce:
Things went downhill in the business sphere as money is scarce, as manager of a firm I get a share of profits, thus my income is smaller today; there's a regression in business, we have a firm of our town, things are so tough as never before, that's probably due to the fact that people can't buy anything as they have a hard time to pay the installments for X-mas purchases, money is scarce, it's the same everywhere; economically, gross sales have dropped by 50 per cent in one year, as everybody is broke; people have no ready money, that's why business is bad, people can buy only the bare necessities of life, a year ago business was better for me, people have purchased the things they needed most already; etc. 4

Poor prospects for profitable employment:
A year ago I was in France where I had taken a farm on lease, I lived more comfortably over there than I do now that I'm doing odd jobs here; a year ago my husband had a full time job, now his plant has introduced a short-time plan; too few goods are produced in Berlin, that, together with rising prices, is to blame for the fact that I did very little business during the past year, I am a self-employed salesman; etc. 3

(cont'd on next page)

RESTRICTED

04902

Higher taxes:
Today I have to pay higher taxes, and even additional payments, which I didn't have to make last year; through increased taxes for the property of my wife, I am unemployed at present, but I don't get any social insurances because of my wife's property; we houseowners are worse off today, a year ago we were allowed to invest the sum we had to pay as a special building tax in our own house, that's not possible any longer, we have to pay the full sum and not a penny will be returned to us; etc. 2

Lower pensions:
Because about 30 marks were deducted from my pension; today I only get 21 marks social insurance, as my son has a job, I got more formerly when my son was unemployed, altogether, we had more at that time than we have now; I get a smaller pension; etc. 1

No more chance to shop in the East, in the West:
Because today I have fewer patrons from the Eastern sector, I live directly at the sectional border, even apart from that business has shown a slight downward trend; I am a pensioner, formerly I had the chance to shop in the East, thus I was better off, especially in the case of basic food, they are even cheaper over there at a ratio of 1:1; etc. 1

Other answers:
The nervous disorder I am suffering from has become worse, that's all; in political respect, my husband is a veterinarian in the East, in order not to endanger his practice and his position, and because the permission I had got to become a permanent resident of West Berlin was withdrawn, I resigned my job and will return to the East; our assets shrink and my economic situation gets worse from year to year, I belong to the group of persons who fall under the scope of Law No.131, they made promises to us last year but they didn't live up to them up till now; etc. 2

30%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04903

THE VIEW THAT ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT NEED NOT WAIT ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS ... has gained considerably during the year.

A year ago the view that no improvement in Berlin's economy was possible until the political situation had changed prevailed over the contrary opinion by a two to one ratio. Now, opinions are evenly divided on the issue. Apparently the increased economic aid given to West Berlin by the West German government and the U.S. has served to change the minds of many West Berliners.

"Do you think it possible to improve the economic situation of West Berlin in spite of the political situation, or is a change in the political situation necessary for that?"

	Dec.'51	Feb.'53
Improvement in spite of political situation	29%	45%
Improvement only after change of political situation	61	45
No opinion	10	10
	100%	100%

AND WEST BERLINERS APPRAISE THE CITY'S MOOD AS BETTER THAN A YEAR AGO ...

More West Berliners now than a year ago describe the mood of the populace as improved, conversely the proportion saying it is worse has declined.

"In your opinion, how is the mood of the West Berlin people in general: is it better than a year ago, or worse, or just the same?" (Just as good or just as bad?)

	Dec.'51	June '52	Feb.'53
Better today	15%	17%	25%
Worse today	42	39	27
Just as good	32	31	35
Just as bad	3	6	6
No opinion	8	7	7
	100%	100%	100%

WEST BERLIN CAN HOLD OUT INTO THE FORESEEABLE

WEST BERLIN CAN HOLD OUT INTO THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE ... according to eight out of ten

A final test of the current spirit of the West Berlin people was to ask them if they thought they could withstand another 20 years of conditions similar to those prevailing in Berlin since the war's end. To this, 78 per cent now reply "Yes," and only 15 per cent answer with a clear negative. Here also the trend has been toward a more sanguine view - in June of 1952, 67 per cent answered affirmatively, and 27 per cent negatively.

"Please imagine the following: West Berlin's difficulties and troubles existing since the end of the war would go on without much change for about 20 years. Do you think the people of West Berlin would stand this situation for such a long time or would they not?"

	June '52	Feb.'53
Yes, they would	67%	78%
No, they wouldn't	27	15
Qualified answer	3	5
No opinion	3	2
	100%	100%

APPENDIX

GROUP DIFFERENCES

Opinions and attitudes of the different segments of the West Berlin population on the issues posed in this study are presented in the following pages. It will be noted that differences between the various groups are not marked in general, though the better educated, upper status groups tend as is customary to be somewhat more critical than are their counterparts. On the whole, however, the West Berlin point of view is quite homogeneous.

04905

As you know, since January of this year, General Eisenhower has been the new president of the United States of America. As a result the Democratic Party under Truman was succeeded in office by the Republican Party under Eisenhower.

"Do you feel that under the new government of President Eisenhower American policy towards West Berlin will change or not?" (Change considerably or change somewhat?)

	Will change considerably	Will change somewhat	Will not change	Undecided	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	20%	24%	51%	5%...100%	173
Women	23	22	38	17	227
Education:					
Elementary school	23	19	45	13	272
Beyond elementary	19	30	43	8	128
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	24	24	40	12	262
300 - 399 DM	13	23	53	11	61
400 DM and more	24	19	51	6	72
Age:					
18 - 30 years	17	23	53	7	75
31 - 50 "	19	22	46	13	185
51 years and over	27	25	36	12	140
Party Preference:					
SPD	22	22	44	12	134
CDU/CSU	20	37	33	10	94
FDP/DP	24	24	45	7	55
No party	19	13	64	4	53
Don't know	25	11	40	24	63

04906

"Are you, in general, for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe?" (Somewhat for it or very much for it?) (Somewhat against it or very much against it?)

	Very much for it	Somewhat for it	Very much against it	Somewhat against it	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	59%	27%	6%	6%	2%...100%	173
Women	41	33	12	8	6	227
Education:						
Elementary school	47	29	11	8	5	272
Beyond elementary	54	32	7	5	2	128
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	47	29	10	9	5	262
300 - 399 DM	46	34	8	10	2	61
400 DM and more	56	33	10	-	1	72
Age:						
18 - 30 years	39	29	19	9	4	75
31 - 50 "	49	33	9	6	3	185
51 years and over	54	27	6	7	6	140
Party Preference:						
SiD	42	27	14	13	4	134
CDU/CSU	62	29	5	2	2	94
FDP/DP	60	32	4	2	2	55
No party	47	26	17	8	2	53
Don't know	35	39	5	8	13	63

"Do you believe that America would leave West Germany in the lurch if it would gain an advantage from it or do you think that America wouldn't leave West Germany in the lurch?"

	Would leave in the lurch if advantage	Wouldn't leave in the lurch	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	17%	80%	3%...100%	173
Women	22	74	4	227
Education:				
Elementary school	14	83	3	272
Beyond elementary	33	63	4	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	20	76	4	262
300 - 399 DM	13	84	3	61
400 DM and more	25	74	1	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	27	69	4	75
31 - 50 "	23	75	2	185
51 years and over	12	83	5	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	20	79	1	134
CDU/CSU	11	87	2	94
FDP/DP	20	78	2	55
No party	32	62	6	53
Don't know	22	68	10	63

"Supposing all occupation powers - which means the Russians, too - would leave Berlin, do you believe that this would improve or worsen the situation of West Berlin?"

	Improve	Worsen	Remain the same	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	20%	63%	14%	3%...100%	173
Women	23	55	12	10	227
Education:					
Elementary school	24	54	15	7	272
Beyond elementary	16	66	10	8	128
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	24	54	13	9	262
300 - 399 DM	13	64	18	5	61
400 DM and more	19	67	10	4	72
Age:					
18 - 30 years	18	64	15	3	75
31 - 50 "	18	59	15	8	185
51 years and over	28	53	10	9	140
Party Preference:					
SPD	19	62	13	6	134
CDU/CSU	22	57	15	6	94
FDP/DP	22	62	7	9	55
No party	21	62	11	6	53
Don't know	25	46	18	11	63

04909

As you know, for months thousands of refugees have been coming from the East Zone to West Berlin.

"Are you in any way personally disturbed about this influx of refugees from the East Zone?" (Very much or only somewhat disturbed?)

	Very much disturbed	Somewhat disturbed	Not disturbed	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:					
Men	25%	33%	42%	-	...100% 173
Women	29	33	38	*	227
Education:					
Elementary school	25	33	42	*	272
Beyond elementary	32	34	34	-	128
Income (per month):					
0 - 299 DM	26	32	42	-	262
300 - 399 DM	23	39	38	-	61
400 DM and more	33	36	31	-	72
Age:					
18 - 30 years	28	33	39	-	75
31 - 50 "	28	35	36	1	185
51 years and over	25	31	44	-	140
Party Preference:					
SPD	28	31	41	-	134
CDU/CSU	23	36	41	-	94
FDP/DP	28	36	36	-	55
No party	38	28	34	-	53
Don't know	21	36	41	2	63

* Less than one half of one per cent.

"Do you have the impression that the East Zone government deliberately does not take more severe control measures against the flight from the East Zone, or does the East Zone government simply have no better means to prevent the flight from the East Zone to West Berlin?"

	Deliberately does not take more severe control measures	Doesn't have better means to prevent flight	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	59%	36%	5%...100%	173
Women	47	46	7	227
Education:				
Elementary school	48	46	6	272
Beyond elementary	60	34	6	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	47	47	6	262
300 - 399 DM	69	26	5	61
400 DM and more	57	39	4	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	41	58	1	75
31 - 50 "	55	40	5	185
51 years and over	54	37	9	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	48	48	4	134
CDU/CSU	59	37	4	94
FDP/DP	62	31	7	55
No party	55	36	9	53
Don't know	40	51	9	63

04911

"Are you basically agreed that people come to West Berlin from the East Zone, as they now do, or should stronger efforts be made to induce East Zone people to stick it out in the East Zone and stay where they are?"

	Agreed to their coming	Induce to stick it out	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	44%	55%	1%...100%	173
Women	45	51	4	227
Education:				
Elementary school	43	54	3	272
Beyond elementary	48	49	3	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	45	51	4	262
300 - 399 DM	41	57	2	61
400 DM and more	47	52	1	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	41	59	-	75
31 - 50 "	49	49	2	185
51 years and over	40	54	6	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	40	60	-	134
CDU/CSU	45	52	3	94
FDP/DP	49	47	4	55
No party	51	45	4	53
Don't know	44	48	8	63

04912

"Are you of the opinion that the present influx of East Zone refugees to West Berlin will continue for a longer period or do you believe that it is a temporary emergency situation for West Berlin?"

	Continue for a longer period	Temporary emergency situation	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	65%	31%	4%...100%	173
Women	69	26	5	227
Education:				
Elementary school	68	28	4	272
Beyond elementary	65	30	5	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	66	30	4	262
300 - 399 DM	72	28	-	61
400 DM and more	68	22	10	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	77	23	-	75
31 - 50 years	63	30	7	185
51 years and over	67	29	4	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	64	34	2	134
CDU/CSU	70	27	3	94
FDP/DP	60	33	7	55
No party	74	17	9	53
Don't know	70	25	5	63

04913

"And how about West Germany, are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West German government as regards the East Zone refugees in West Berlin?"

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	44%	49%	7%...100%	173
Women	56	33	11	227
Education:				
Elementary school	56	35	9	272
Beyond elementary	40	49	11	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	55	34	11	262
300 - 399 DM	52	43	5	61
400 DM and more	36	54	10	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	52	40	8	75
31 - 50 "	46	43	11	185
51 years and over	56	35	9	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	49	43	8	134
CDU/CSU	61	32	7	94
FDP/DP	40	46	14	55
No party	43	51	6	53
Don't know	56	30	14	63

04914

"And are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the Americans as regards the East Zone refugees in West Berlin?"

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	54%	23%	23%...100%	173
Women	59	13	28	227
Education:				
Elementary school	62	16	22	272
Beyond elementary	48	19	33	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	60	16	24	262
300 - 399 DM	66	13	21	61
400 DM and more	43	25	32	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	56	13	31	75
31 - 50 "	54	21	25	185
51 years and over	62	14	24	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	61	16	23	134
CDU/CSU	68	15	17	94
FDP/DP	42	13	45	55
No party	53	28	19	53
Don't know	51	16	33	63

"Who, in your opinion, is chiefly responsible for the solution of the problem of the East Zone refugees in West Berlin: West Germany, West Berlin or the Western powers?"

	West Germany	West Berlin	Western powers	All three	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	22%	3%	60%	13%	2%...100%	173
Women	14	10	42	25	9	227
Education:						
Elementary school	17	7	50	20	6	272
Beyond elementary	19	5	50	21	5	128
Income(per month):						
0 - 299 DM	15	7	50	21	7	262
300 - 399 DM	16	10	47	20	7	61
400 DM and more	28	6	51	14	1	72
Age:						
18 - 30 years	17	8	53	15	7	75
31 - 50 "	19	7	52	17	5	185
51 years and over	16	6	44	27	7	140
Party Preference:						
SPD	19	10	47	19	5	134
CDU/CSU	18	8	49	18	7	94
FDP/DP	24	5	52	15	4	55
No party	11	4	60	23	2	53
Don't know	14	3	45	27	11	63

04916

"Do you believe that the East Zone government will try to close the borders between East and West Berlin completely or is the East Zone government merely trying to frighten the West Berliners by this?"

	Will try to close borders	Tries to frighten West Berliners	No opinion	No. of cases
Sex:				
Men	49%	47%	4%	100% 173
Women	53	40	7	227
Education:				
Elementary school	47	47	6	272
Beyond elementary	59	36	5	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	48	45	7	262
300 - 399 DM	47	46	7	61
400 DM and more	63	37	-	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	48	48	4	75
31 - 50 "	54	43	3	185
51 years and over	49	41	10	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	50	46	4	134
CDU/CSU	53	43	4	94
FDP/DP	60	35	5	55
No party	47	47	6	53
Don't know	45	44	11	63

04917

"You undoubtedly know that the East Zone government is increasing its efforts to isolate West Berlin from the East Zone and East Berlin. Do you believe that the situation of West Berlin will be seriously endangered by this, or not?"

	Seriously endangered	Not seriously endangered	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	17%	79%	4%...100%	173
Women	27	66	7	227
Education:				
Elementary school	25	68	7	272
Beyond elementary	18	79	3	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	26	66	8	262
300 - 399 DM	13	84	3	61
400 DM and more	20	79	1	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	27	69	4	75
31 - 50 "	21	74	5	185
51 years and over	23	69	8	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	22	72	6	134
CDU/CSU	20	76	4	94
FDP/DP	14	82	4	55
No party	28	72	-	33
Don't know	30	54	16	63

"Do you expect another blockade of West Berlin?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	32%	66%	2%...100%	173
Women	28	69	3	227
Education:				
Elementary school	29	68	3	272
Beyond elementary	32	66	2	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	30	67	3	262
300 - 399 DM	31	66	3	61
400 DM and more	26	73	1	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	31	68	1	75
31 - 50 "	31	67	2	185
51 years and over	27	69	4	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	33	64	3	134
CDU/CSU	31	67	2	94
FDP/DP	31	69	-	55
No party	26	66	8	53
Don't know	24	76	-	63

"Suppose the Russians would reimpose a blockade of Berlin: should we behave in the same way as last time or should we take other measures?"

	Same as last time	Other measures	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	42%	55%	3%..100%	173
Women	58	34	8	227
Education:				
Elementary school	51	42	7	272
Beyond elementary	49	46	5	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	53	40	7	262
300 - 399 DM	47	46	7	61
400 DM and more	47	52	1	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	49	43	8	75
31 - 50 "	48	47	5	185
51 years and over	55	39	6	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	52	41	7	134
CDU/CSU	48	47	5	94
FDP/DP	54	44	2	55
No party	43	53	4	53
Don't know	54	33	13	63

04920

"Would you leave Berlin for good if you had the opportunity?"

	Yes	No	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	28%	70%	2% ...100%	173
Women	22	78	-	227
Education:				
Elementary school	23	76	1	272
Beyond elementary	26	74	-	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	24	76	-	262
300 - 399 DM	28	72	-	61
400 DM and more	23	71	6	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	37	63	-	75
31 - 50 years	23	75	2	185
51 years and over	19	81	-	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	28	71	1	134
CDU/CSU	20	80	-	94
FDP/DP	18	80	2	55
Other parties	-	-	-	-
No party	30	68	2	53
Don't know	24	74	2	63

04921

"Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West Berlin Senate?" (Satisfied or very satisfied?) (Dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?)

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	11%	62%	22%	3%	2% ...100%	173
Women	13	61	19	3	4	227
Education:						
Elementary school	15	63	18	2	2	272
Beyond elementary	5	60	25	5	5	128
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	12	63	20	3	2	262
300 - 399 DM	8	56	25	3	8	61
400 DM and more	15	63	18	3	1	72
Age:						
18 - 30 years	11	65	19	1	4	75
31 - 50 years	9	60	24	4	3	185
51 years and over	17	60	16	4	3	140
Party Preference:						
SPD	14	70	13	2	1	134
CDU/CSU	9	66	19	3	3	94
FDP/DP	13	55	25	7	-	55
Other parties	-	-	-	-	-	-
No party	11	45	34	6	4	33
Don't know	13	59	17	-	11	63

"And do you think the West German government is doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could it do more?"

	Doing everything possible	Could do more	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	35%	60%	5%...100%	173
Women	43	49	8	227
Education:				
Elementary school	44	49	7	272
Beyond elementary	31	64	5	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	44	48	8	262
300 - 399 DM	39	54	7	61
400 DM and more	26	71	3	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	35	57	8	75
31 - 50 "	39	56	5	185
51 years and over	44	49	7	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	34	59	7	134
CDU/CSU	49	45	6	94
FDP/DP	29	66	5	55
No party	38	58	4	53
Don't know	51	40	9	63

"Do you think the Western Powers are doing everything possible to ease the difficult situation in Berlin, or could they do more?"

	Doing everything possible	Could do more	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	57%	37%	6%...100%	173
Women	65	28	7	227
Education:				
Elementary school	65	29	6	272
Beyond elementary	54	38	8	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	64	30	6	262
300 - 399 DM	59	30	11	61
400 DM and more	56	37	7	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	51	45	4	75
31 - 50 "	63	31	6	185
51 years and over	66	25	9	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	61	34	5	134
CDU/CSU	65	29	6	94
FDP/DP	55	40	5	55
No party	64	34	2	53
Don't know	63	21	16	63

04924

"If you look back at your situation a year ago, do you feel that today things are better for your, or worse, or just the same?" (Just as good or just as bad)

	Better today	Worse today	Just as good	Just as bad	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:						
Men	32%	29%	26%	10%	3%..100%	173
Women	37	24	28	10	1	227
Education:						
Elementary school	34	26	28	10	2	272
Beyond elementary	35	26	27	10	2	128
Income (per month):						
0 - 299 DM	33	30	21	13	3	262
300 - 399 DM	28	21	44	5	2	61
400 DM and more	42	20	36	1	1	72
Age:						
18 - 30 years	38	17	36	5	4	75
31 - 50 "	32	30	24	12	2	185
51 years and over	37	26	27	9	1	140
Party Preference:						
SPD	32	27	28	10	3	134
CDU/CSU	33	24	29	12	2	94
FDP/DP	34	24	31	7	4	55
No party	38	30	24	6	2	53
Don't know	40	25	24	11	-	63

04925

"Do you think it possible to improve the economic situation of West Berlin in spite of the political situation, or is a change in the political situation necessary for that?"

	Improvement in spite of political situation	Improvement only after change of political situation	No opinion	No. of cases:
Sex:				
Men	52%	45%	3% ...100%	173
Women	39	46	15	227
Education:				
Elementary school	42	45	13	272
Beyond elementary	50	47	3	128
Income (per month):				
0 - 299 DM	39	48	13	262
300 - 399 DM	28	66	6	61
400 DM and more	80	19	1	72
Age:				
18 - 30 years	48	44	8	75
31 - 50 years	48	45	7	185
51 years and over	39	46	15	140
Party Preference:				
SPD	41	46	13	134
CDU/CSU	43	47	10	94
FDP/DP	66	34	-	55
Other parties	-	-	-	-
No party	49	45	6	53
Don't know	32	51	17	63

"In your opinion, how is the mood of the West Berlin people in general: is it better than a year ago, or worse, or just the same?" (Just as good or just as bad?)

	Better today	Worse today	Just as good	Just as bad	No opinion		No. of cases:
Sex:							
Men	28%	25%	34%	6%	5%	...100%	173
Women	22	28	35	6	9		227
Education:							
Elementary school	26	26	36	6	6		272
Beyond elementary	22	28	34	7	9		128
Income (per month):							
0 - 299 DM	27	25	32	7	9		262
300 - 399 DM	13	36	41	7	3		61
400 DM and more	26	24	41	3	6		72
Age:							
18 - 30 years	23	31	33	5	8		75
31 - 50 years	18	30	38	6	8		185
51 years and over	34	21	32	7	6		140
Party Preference:							
SPD	23	27	38	6	6		134
CDU/CSU	28	29	33	6	4		94
FDP/DP	29	18	38	9	6		55
Other parties	-	-	-	-	-		-
No party	23	43	24	2	8		53
Don't know	19	19	36	10	16		63

04927

WEST GERMAN PUBLIC OPINION IN THE WAKE OF STALIN'S DEATH AND THE SOVIET "PEACE OFFENSIVE"

Special Report
April 30, 1953

Classification changed to OFFICIAL USE ONLY by authority of Leo P. Crespi PUB/RAS. 3/16/54

for 177

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04928

INTRODUCTION

Not the least significant issue for Western policy makers precipitated by the death of Joseph Stalin and the subsequent Russian "peace offensive" is that of repercussion among the rank and file of Western nations. In particular the question arises - has this dramatic new turn in the cold war had the effect of undercutting public support for Western efforts to weld together and strengthen a European defense community? As a contribution to this pressing problem of political guidance RAS went into the field between April 13 and 21 with a high speed survey embodying trend indices the present behavior of which when compared to past levels provide the kind of information needed to evaluate the public opinion impact of the new Russian gambit. West Europe wide surveying would have been desirable under the present circumstances, but in the absence of adequately organized facilities and in the interest of speed, attention was confined to West Germany. This fact limits the generalization to be drawn from the study, but it is not to be overlooked that West German reactions are of pivotal importance since they emanate from the most exposed salient of the Western position.

In supplementation of the Mid-April findings in the present report, occasional references are made to returns from a "flash" survey conducted between April 23 and 28 to appraise the effects of President Eisenhower's major policy address of April 16th. (A report on these findings will soon be forthcoming.)

In the interest of speed in getting out the present report only the most relevant findings have been included, and reference to population group comparisons has been omitted except in some few instances where they are of particular pertinence.

The Mid-April returns are based upon a representative probability sampling totaling 764 cases in West Germany and 299 cases in West Berlin. Late April returns derive from a "flash" sample of West Germany totaling 376 cases. As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff.

HIGHLIGHTS

RUSSIAN PEACE OFFENSIVE HAS NOT FAILED TO IMPRESS WEST GERMAN RANK AND FILE ...

Majority in West Germany - three quarters in West Berlin - see the new Russian government as more conciliatory.

FEARS HAVE BEEN ALLAYED AND HOPES AROUSED ...

Majority in West Germany and West Berlin now hold that the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future is "very small."

Majority in West Germany - seven in ten in West Berlin - now judge chances for German reunification to be fair to very good - a marked rise from a four in ten level of optimism at the turn of the year.

BUT MARKED GAINS RATHER THAN RELAXATION OF SUPPORT EVIDENCED FOR WESTERN DEFENSE POLICY ...

Approval of the contractual agreement has currently risen to a three to one preponderance in West Germany.

Support for German military participation in Western defense has risen to an unprecedented six in ten approval versus three in ten disapproval.

Neutralism has dropped to a new low with seven in ten now espousing German allegiance to the West.

DISTRUST OF RUSSIANS A MAJOR FACTOR IN HOLDING THE LINE ON POPULAR BACKING FOR WESTERN DEFENSE POLICY ...

Only one in five in West Germany - one in four in West Berlin - is convinced the peace offensive is a sincere Russian effort to bring about peaceful relations with the West.

Six in ten in West Germany - eight in ten in West Berlin - hold that Western defense participation is no less important now than before.

BUT THAT GAINS IN WESTERN DEFENSE SUPPORT HAVE OCCURRED IN THE FACE OF THE RUSSIAN PEACE OFFENSIVE, SEEMS TO FLOW FROM INCREASING CONFIDENCE AND FEELINGS OF SUCCESS ...

General satisfaction with American policy toward Russia has currently risen to a clearly preponderant status.

Confidence that America is really for German unity has shown a steady increase.

Finally, and most importantly, the proportion who feels that the West is having the greater success in the cold war has since the turn of the year risen 19 percentage points in West Germany and a remarkable 40 percentage points in West Berlin.

SHARP GAIN IN APPROVAL OF BONN GOVERNMENT ADDS ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE OF POPULAR SATISFACTION ...

Satisfaction with the activities of the Bonn regime has climbed to a new high of seven in ten.

Currently for the first time in over two years of West German surveys, CDU political preference is running ahead of the SPD.

ONLY FLAW IN FAVORABLE PICTURE, INDICATION OF INCREASED SUSCEPTIBILITY TO POSSIBLE RUSSIAN OFFER ...

Continued majority rejection of a free, unoccupied, neutral Germany if Oder/Neisse recognition is demanded.

But approval has risen to strong majority status for such a Russian proposal if Oder/Neisse issue open to compromise.

I. RANK AND FILE EVALUATIONS OF STALIN'S DEATH AND RUSSIAN PEACE OFFENSIVE

MANY SEE PROSPECTS IMPROVED ...

Almost unprecedented awareness returns make it evident that in all probability no political fact is better known in West Germany today than that of Stalin's demise.

Judging in the light of events since, four in ten in West Germany - two in three in West Berlin - give voice to the view that political prospects for the West have improved as a consequence of Stalin's death. Only the order of one in twenty express a contrary opinion, with the remainder seeing the situation unchanged or expressing no opinion.

"Have you heard or read that in March of this year an important statesman died in Russia?"

(Mid-April 1953)	West Germany (764)	West Berlin (299)
Total informed of Stalin's death	98%	100%
Uninformed	2	-
	100%	100%

"Considering all, do you have the impression that through Stalin's death the political prospects for the West have improved or worsened?" (After uninformed told - "On Thursday, March 5, Marshall Stalin died of apoplexy.")

(Mid-April 1953)		
Improved	40%	64%
Unchanged	37	26
Worsened	5	2
No opinion	18	8
	100%	100%

Respondents seeing gains for the West in Stalin's death elaborated their views in the following vein:

IF "Improved":

"Why do you say so?"

(Mid-April 1953)	West Germany	West Berlin
New Russian government shows readiness to negotiate:	27%	46%

There is a certain readiness to negotiate on part of the Russians - it may well be a soap bubble, but we must not leave anything untried; In the meantime they have made several concessions; people say the new men show more lenience and more readiness to negotiate; their policy has grown less rigid, the tension between East and West has eased, as an example take the unanimous election of the new UNO general secretary; the Russians have offered peace for Korea and Germany; it looks like an improvement - Russia urges negotiations, see the prisoner exchange in Korea, the policy of lenience in the East Zone; the refugees are no longer held back, the borders no longer rigidly guarded; the Russians are ready to sit in conferences together with the Western powers - the Berlin conference on air security, peace negotiations in Korea; talks on East Zone offered, the influx of refugees lagging; they are ready to agree on a peace treaty for Germany; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Stalin's hostility and competence is removed:	6	12
Stalin was always against peace, now, with his death, its greatest enemy has gone; Stalin persisted in hostility against the West. Now after his death, the Russian attitude toward the West might change and lead to a better agreement; Now the Russians are weakened, because Stalin was a great man; Stalin was very efficient, and it is not certain whether his successor is as efficient as he was; it's told that Stalin was worse than his successor, the latter is said to be more humane; no man can be so rigid, the basis of the new Russian government is not so safe; I think Stalin had an iron head, not so his successors; the war caused Stalin's antagonism against the West, now after his death, Russia's attitude toward the West might change and lead to a better understanding; Malenkov wants to create peace and order in the country, it was impossible to negotiate with Stalin;		
Inner political crisis in Russia - disunity, struggle for power, need for prestige:	5	13
Inner political crisis makes negotiations easier - I am sure the Russians are less united and therefore much weaker; Not one person alone has the dictatorial say, but several who can never come to terms among themselves, which fact is a great advantage for Europe; the concentration of power in the hands of one despot has been scattered and makes a similar position of power impossible; Stalin's successors are not firm in their seats, the struggle for power is still going on, therefore they cannot pursue a similar rigid Communist policy; no other politician will ever gain the myth of Stalin - the power is divided among many; the Russian people believed in Stalin like a god - if Malenkov shouldn't succeed in creating anything that gives him a similar position he won't be able to keep himself in power - peace would procure him this position, that is why he is negotiating; etc.		
Others:	2	1
The understanding between the Western nations has improved; the Russians want to do business with us; from what I read in the papers an improvement can be hoped for; the feeling of anxiety has diminished; by Eisenhower's speech, the Russians now have to put the card on the table; from reports in the papers; the Russians are making less propaganda; etc.		
No opinion:	2 42%	1 73%

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04932

MANY SEE RUSSIANS MORE CONCILIATORY ...

Clearer Indication that the Russian "peace offensive" has not failed to permeate the consciousness of the West German and West Berlin citizenry lies in the finding that half in West Germany and almost three quarters in West Berlin state the belief that the new Russian government has become more conciliatory in recent weeks, as attested to by the kind of indications cited below:

"Do you have the impression that the attitude of the new Russian government towards the West has become more conciliatory recently or not?"

(Mid-April 1953)	West Germany	West Berlin
Has become more conciliatory	52%	73%
Not become more conciliatory	25	19
No opinion	23	8
	100%	100%

"Can you think of any indications that the attitude of Russia has become more conciliatory recently? (Probe: And what about internal affairs? - And what about foreign affairs, Korea, for instance?)"

(Mid-April 1953)	West Germany	West Berlin
Korea talks: The resumption of negotiations in Korea; they are more willing to negotiate, maybe a peace can be concluded in Korea at last, it seems they are more conciliatory now; the exchange of wounded POWs in Korea, their readiness to resume truce talks in Korea, a possible ending of the Korea conflict, these developments may perhaps be traced back to internal differences in Russia; on the Korean scene, the negotiations with the Americans and the exchange of prisoners, that didn't come to pass while Stalin was alive; that they consented to release prisoners and sick persons in Korea; the exchange of wounded soldiers in Korea; there isn't such unity among the top government people in Russia as there used to be under Stalin, the exchange of prisoners in Korea proves that they come round gradually; they okayed the exchange of POWs in Korea; etc.	35%	54%
Greater willingness to negotiate on the part of the Russians: They are more willing to negotiate now; because they are more ready to take part in conferences; Malenkov is willing to negotiate; they are willing to talk things over now, in the past they turned a deaf ear on any proposal; they try to enter into negotiations; they expressed the desire to join in a conference; etc.	11	12
Offers made to the West: They suggested that the Big Four should sit down to negotiate; they proposed new Four-power talks; Russia suggested a new Four-power conference; offers addressed to the West; because they volunteered peace proposals in the present cold war; resumption of peace conferences with Germany; they aren't so strongly opposed to all-German elections any more; they suggested meeting for a Big Four conference; etc.	7	10

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Release of the accused physicians: The pardon given to the physicians; the release of the physicians; several rather severe ordinances were set aside in their own country, the case of the doctors ended with their release; the case of the physicians: under Stalin they were arrested, now they were released; that the case against the Russian physicians was dropped; etc.	7%	20%
Negotiations about air corridor problems: Negotiations about a new air corridor; negotiations about air corridor problems took place; just think of the air corridor talks; the talks about air corridor concerns at Karlshorst; etc.	6	18
Friendlier attitude towards the West: The whole attitude of the Russians has changed, they are more civil and friendly now; they try to ingratiate themselves once more; their conciliatory attitude since the airplane incidents; Molotow and Wijshinky are more friendly towards the West nowadays; they aren't as stubborn any more; etc.	4	1
Amnesty for prisoners: They reduced the sentences of prisoners; yes, that business about the sentences of people who have to serve up to five years, sentences were cut; according to the latest news announced in the press and over the radio an amnesty for prisoners was ordered in Russia; amnesty for the people; etc.	4	5
American journalists were invited to visit Moscow: The Russians admitted a number of reporters and showed them around in Moscow; American journalists have visited Moscow; journalists can travel to Moscow once more; they got out of their way to please people, foreign diplomats can move about more freely in Russia for instance, and after long years journalists were again allowed to enter the country; etc.	3	5
Relaxing border controls: Border controls aren't enforced so strictly any more; they relaxed their watch at the zonal borders a little; in Berlin border controls have been relaxed somewhat; they relented a little regarding long distance traveling to West Berlin, controls at border check-points are less strict now; etc.	3	4
Cooperation at United Nations sessions: They take part once more in United Nations negotiations; it could be witnessed on the occasion of the election of the (new) United Nations secretary general; they yielded at a UN session; there is a more positive atmosphere at the UN now; during United Nations sessions; in that they approved the nomination of the new secretary general of the United Nations; etc.	2	4
Other answers: Malenkov himself made concessions over the radio; Stalin as well as Malenkov have expressed the view that Russia can live peacefully side by side with the capitalist countries; after those plane incidents the Russians assured the others that they would see to it that this wouldn't happen again; I can think only of one occasion, when they turned over war dead to the French after they had waited for a long time; the new government simply must realise that something has to be done at last; etc.	8	12
No opinion:	3	5
	9%	15%

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

04934

BUT WIDESPREAD DISTRUST STILL IN EVIDENCE ...

That West Germans haven't gone overboard on the recent Russian professions of peaceful intentions, however, is indicated by the fact that only the order of one in five in West Germany - one in four in West Berlin - align themselves with the view that the recent Russian attitude bespeaks a sincere effort on the part of the new Russian government to bring about peaceful relations with the West. Others see trickery or a tactical breathing spell as the motivations for current Russian peace overtures, and it will be recalled a substantial proportion do not even agree that present Russian behavior is in fact any more conciliatory at all.

"Three persons are discussing what the reasons for the conciliatory attitude of the new Russian government may be." (Asked only of respondents who judge current Russian policy to be more conciliatory.)

A - Herr Schmidt: It's nothing but deceitful trickery with which the Russians want to lull the vigilance of the West.

B - Herr Schulze: All the Russians want is to gain a breathing spell in the cold war, they haven't had a change of heart.

C - Herr Maier: The new government of Russia is making a sincere effort to bring about peaceful relations with the West.

"Whom would you be most likely to agree with?"

(Mid-April 1953)	West Germany	West Berlin
Trickery	12%	12%
Breathing spell	18	31
Sincere effort	17	27
No opinion	5	3
	52%	73%

The point should not be overlooked, however, that the level of trust in the Russians indicated by the present figures is higher than any obtained in the past many months and, reversing the usual situation, is higher in West Berlin than in West Germany. So though distrust of the Russians continues to predominate, the latest peace offensive has apparently made an unprecedented inroad on German credulity.

04935

II. EMOTIONAL REPERCUSSIONS OF THE NEW DEVELOPMENTS

FEARS ALLAYED ...

Despite the fact that few Germans are without reservations as to the reality and sincerity of current Russian peace overtures, there is no doubt that emotions have been affected. Indicated in the trends below is a distinct falling off in fear of attack from the East in the near future to the point where now 53 per cent in West Germany and 58 per cent in Berlin hold that such a danger is "very small."

"In your opinion, is the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small? (Very great or great?) (Very small or small?)"

	West Germany						West Berlin		
	June 51 (799)	Feb 52 (789)	May 52 (791)	June 52 (786)	Dec 52 (786)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	June 51 (200)	Feb 52 (200)	Mid Apr 53 (299)
Very great	14%	7%	5%	7%	5%	2%	20%	6%	4%
Great	22	22	24	23	19	15	28	24	14
Small	34	43	42	38	49	13	34	46	19
Very small	11	13	14	12	15	53	12	16	58
No opinion	19	15	15	20	12	17	6	8	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

More direct evidence on the same point emanates from the late April "flash" survey which turns up 44 per cent in West Germany who explicitly state that the chances to avoid a new world war have improved lately with supporting reasons focusing most prominently on alleged changes in Russian attitudes.

"Do you have the impression that the chances to avoid a new world war have improved or worsened lately?"

(Late April 1953)	West Germany
	(376)
Improved	44%
Unchanged	33
Worsened	7
No opinion	16
	100%

IF "Improve":

"Why do you say so?"

	West Germany
Easing of Russian policy since Stalin's death: Because of Stalin's death: his successors don't seem to be so radical; I think there has been a change in Eastern policy - even if one doesn't really trust it and wonders whether it will last, we may still expect some advantages because of their domestic troubles; since Stalin's death Russia revised her foreign policy; Stalin's death: the new situation of Russian home politics; since Stalin's death it looks as though Russia were ready to compromise - the new men in power have made several concessions: the exchange of prisoners in Korea, the release of civilian internees; etc.	26%

(Cont'd on next page)

West Germany

(Cont'd from preceding page)

More conciliatory spirit on both sides: 8%

Because the political situation has eased, and peace efforts are being made on both sides; because the states may now come to terms; it looks as though everybody is in mood for peace, even the Russians; they are now negotiating more reasonably, and by help of reason people should be able to find a common base for an agreement; etc.

Increasing strength and unity of the West: 7

Because of the growing strength of the West - it's the only thing Russia will fear; because of the EDC treaty - the Western powers forming a union; I think it's because of the EDC treaty, the Russians will take heed of attacking the West - they would come off as losers; because of the treaty between America and Germany - I am thinking of German re-armament which makes the Russians less daring; if the Americans succeed in uniting the whole world against the East Russia can only be forced by a stronger power - there is nothing else; because of the cooperation between Germany and the West, which is to strengthen the West; the Russians won't start a war because we are going to be rearmed - the Russians fear a single German soldier more than a whole regiment of American tanks; etc.

Leadership of Eisenhower or Adenauer: 5

Because Eisenhower has definite success, he likes to follow a straight line; Eisenhower is much more energetic; because now we have got a good president in America; both Eisenhower and Adenauer are in favor of an agreement; Adenauer wants to settle all problems in a peaceful way - and I suppose his trip to the US will be a contribution to it; because of the policy of Adenauer and of the promises made by the USA - which both give Western policy a different turn; we have got a firm government, men upon whom we can rely; the Federal Chancellor Adenauer has brought about these things - people say he is another Stresemann; etc.

Others: 2

I believe Communism is shifting its main interest to the Far East and care less about us; the Americans finally recognize that the French are often wrong, and now they find out that we have a right, too; etc.

No opinion - No answer: 2

50%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

HOPES AROUSED ...

Parallel with a drop in fear is a rise in hopes. Currently 54 per cent in West Germany and 70 per cent in West Berlin judge the chances for German reunification to be fair to very good. This is a marked rise from the four in ten level of optimism evidenced as recently as last December.

"As matters stand today, do you think that the chances for a reunification of Germany are good or bad? (IF "Good": Very good or good? - IF "Bad": Bad or very bad?)"

	West Germany		West Berlin	
	Dec 51 (1201)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Dec 51 (600)	Mid Apr 53 (299)
Very good	2%	6%	2%	8%
Good	24	27	25	43
Fairly	13	21	11	19
Bad	31	29	40	22
Very bad	10	5	18	6
No opinion	20	12	4	2
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Again a direct query corroborates the trend here indicating that particularly in Berlin is the point of view marked that the chances for a peaceful reunification of Germany have improved lately. Reasons advanced for such a judgement are cited below:

"In your opinion, have chances for a peaceful reunification of Germany improved or worsened recently?"

(Mid-April 1953)	West Germany (764)	West Berlin (299)
Improved	29%	51%
Worsened	14	10
Unchanged	41	34
No opinion	16	5
	100%	100%

IF "Improved":

"Why do you say so?"

(Mid-April 1953)	West Germany	West Berlin
Easing of Russian policy since Stalin's death: I believe more in it since Stalin has died; it's because a new era has begun in Russia after Stalin's death; because of Russia's different, friendly policy; I suppose Russia will change her tune; the Russians have started to make concessions: because they have started a different kind of policy and I believe they have an honest will for negotiations; because of the Russian proposals; etc.	22%	33%
Efforts made by Western statesmen, especially by Adenauer and Reuter: Because of the trips of Adenauer and Reuter to the US that caused a worldwide echo; Adenauer and Reuter went to the USA to tell them what things look like over here, and they'll discuss what could be done on behalf of reunification; I trust our politicians who'll succeed, most of all Adenauer; negotiations during the foreign ministers' conference in Rome, invitation of Adenauer to the US, the impending trip of the French ministers to the US; etc.	4	4

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Inner weakness of Russia constituting a chance for the West: Because through closer union of the Western world, the West has grown strong; through the treaties between America and the other Western countries it has developed into a factor of power that Russia will have to respect; because of the firmness of Western policy towards Russia; because of Eisenhower's firmness; etc.	1%	6%
The West gained strength through unity and a policy of firmness: Because through closer union of the Western world the West has grown strong; through the treaties between America and the other Western countries it has developed into a factor of power that Russia will have to respect; because of the firmness of Western policy towards Russia; because of Eisenhower's firmness; etc.	1	6
Desperate situation in the East Zone: The desperate economic situation in the East Zone; the level of living standard in the East Zone is going down fast whilst living standard in the West climbs up more and more. Famine in the East Zone is near; dissatisfaction among the East Zone population is growing more and more; because of the many refugees pouring in; etc.	*	8
Others: The Russian interests have shifted more to the East, I think to Persia; because of the attitude of France - France is against the contractual agreement; one can say: all nations are interested in reunification, they all distrust each other in view to armament, nobody knows what the other one has got; people can travel within the Zone without a passport now; etc.	2	4
No opinion - No answer:	2 32%	1 62%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

III. WHAT EFFECTS ON SUPPORT FOR WESTERN POLICY?

GAINS NOT LOSSES ARE THE STORY ...

All of the foregoing is by way of introduction to the crucial question - Has Stalin's death and the subsequent Russian "peace offensive" undercut rank and file support for Western policy? Indices chosen for trend examination on this point were the contractual agreement, military participation in European defense, and Western allegiance as versus Neutralism in the East/West struggle. On these foundation stones rests Western defense policy. Have the new Russian tactics knocked them awry?

The answer is a distinct no. The latest trend figures on these crucial issues reveal no losses in popular support but rather the sharpest gains of many, many months. West Berlin levels of support have already been high and have less room to rise. But in West Germany support for the contractual agreement, German military participation in Western defense and German allegiance to the West have since the turn of the year risen to unprecedented levels. (See below and page following.)

"Do you approve of the Bundestag acceptance of the Germany treaty, or don't you approve?" (Asked of those indicating awareness of the treaty and aware or told of Bundestag acceptance.)*

	West Germany					West Berlin	
	June 52	Aug 52	Oct 52	Dec 52	Mid Apr 53	June 52	Mid Apr 53
	(786)	(397	(399)	(1196)	(764)	(290)	(299)
Approve treaty	33%	40%	38%	31%	46%	53%	66%
Disapprove treaty	19	17	18	22	17	15	12
No opinion	21	14	22	20	13	17	8
	73%	71%	78%	73%	76%	85%	86%

* Prior to Bundestag ratification of the contractual agreement the wording of this trend question went as follows: "What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject the contractual agreement?"

CONFIDENTIAL

"Are you in general, for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe?"

West Germany

	Feb 52 (794)	12 May 52 (1188)	17 May 52 (791)	June 52 (786)	Aug 52 (1195)	Oct 52 (1582)	Nov/ Dec 52 (1196)	Dec 52 (786)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Late Apr 53 (376)
For it	43%	46%	44%	47%	45%	47%	48%	50%	59%	63%
Against it	48	41	46	42	44	41	41	40	32	28
No opinion	9	13	10	11	11	12	11	10	9	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

West Berlin

	Feb 52 (195)	May 52 (178)	Dec 52 (199)	Feb 53 (189)	Mid Apr 53 (299)
For it	74%	85%	79%	79%	83%
Against it	24	13	17	17	13
No opinion	2	2	4	4	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East, or not be on either side?"

	West Germany							West Berlin	
	Apr/ May 52 (800)	May 52 (791)	Sept 52 (1591)	Oct 52 (1582)	Nov 52 (1193)	Nov/ Dec 52 (1193)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Feb/ Mar 53 (400)	Mid Apr 53 (299)
West	34%	35%	58%	53%	57%	65%	71%	89%	92%
East	*	1	*	-	1	*	*	-	-
Neither side	46	43	31	39	30	28	18	9	7
No opinion	20	21	11	8	12	7	11	2	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

STRIKING GAIN AMONG OPPOSITION ...

When one examines population group comparisons on the pivotal trend - that on military participation - the significant fact emerges that the greatest gains in the last four months have occurred among respondents of SPD affiliation. That despite the adverse stand of their leadership these individuals have switched from preponderantly against to preponderantly for German participation in West European defense offers considerable food for thought.

"Are you in general, for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe?"

West Germany:	For it		Against it		No opinion		No. of cases	
	Dec 52	Mid Apr 53	Dec 52	Mid Apr 53	Dec 52	Mid Apr 53	Dec 52	Mid Apr 53
Sex:								
Men	55%	66%	39%	28%	6%	6%...100%	374	368
Women	45	52	40	35	15	13	395	393
Education:								
Elementary school	47	55	43	35	10	10	616	615
Beyond elementary	62	72	28	22	10	6	156	149
Income (per month):								
- 299 DM	48	55	40	33	12	12	412	375
300 - 399 DM	50	63	41	30	9	7	201	182
400 DM and more	54	64	37	32	9	4	148	182
Age:								
18 - 24 years	38	47	53	44	9	9	86	85
25 - 34 years	47	51	47	42	6	7	184	157
35 - 44 years	51	62	39	31	10	7	163	156
45 - 54 years	49	62	38	27	13	11	156	167
55 years and over	59	65	27	23	14	12	183	193
Party Preference:								
SPD	32	56	61	39	7	5	206	169
CDU/CSU	72	77	21	18	7	5	198	214
FPD	75	76	19	21	6	3	63	34
Other parties	53	58	41	29	6	13	47	48
*No party	38	49	44	42	18	9	67	209
*Don't know	41	38	41	33	18	29	190	90
Occupation:								
Professionals	64	79	28	12	8	9	25	33
Businessmen	60	67	26	25	14	8	79	78
White-collar workers	57	55	35	35	8	10	107	107
Skilled laborers	40	58	49	38	11	4	180	183
Semi-skilled laborers	36	56	55	36	9	8	90	96
Farmers	56	56	35	26	9	18	82	83
Not employed pens.; students; ret.; etc.	54	60	33	27	13	13	145	130
Religion:								
Catholics	53	57	37	33	10	10	341	348
Protestants	46	61	43	30	11	9	390	381
Origin:								
Natives	49	57	41	34	10	9	616	614
Expellees, Refugees	54	67	35	23	11	10	149	146

* The "no party" and "don't know" category comparisons should only be taken as suggestive here because in view of slightly different methods of ascertaining party preference in the two surveys, the categories are not entirely comparable.

CONFIDENTIAL

04942

IV. POSSIBLE REASONS FOR RISING SUPPORT

The fact that currently despite the Russian "peace offensive" West German support for Western defense policy evidences a marked increase rather than the relaxation that was to be feared, calls for consideration of possible reasons.

WHY NO DROP IN SUPPORT? ...

A first finding does not explain why Western defense support has risen in past weeks, but would seem to help make clear at least why such support has not gone down. Only the order of one in ten (13% in West Germany, 7% in West Berlin) in response to a direct question voiced the conviction that the present political situation is such that German participation in European defense is less important now than it has been. The majority position was on the contrary that such participation is just as important (or more) now as before.

> "Reflecting on the present political situation throughout the world: do you consider West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe to be as important now as it was formerly, or do you consider it to be less important than formerly?"

	West Germany		West Berlin
	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Late Apr 53 (376)	Mid Apr 53 (299)
More important (volunteered)	8%	8%	10%
Just as important	53	54	70
Less important	13	12	7
No opinion	26	26	13
	100%	100%	100%

Reasons advanced make evident what has already been indicated earlier, that West Germans do not trust the Russians; so that despite the fact that the new Russian overtures have stirred hopes and allayed fears the viewpoint seems to be too - but keep your powder dry.

> IF "Just as important" or "More important":
>
> "For what reasons do you consider it to be now just as important (or more important)?"

(Mid-April 1953)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Russian aggression is still to be feared: Vigilance must not slacken no matter whether Stalin or Malenkov is at the head of affairs; because Russia is still a sort of a nightmare, we can't do without an army; because the menace of aggression is as threatening as ever; because the danger of Russian aggression has not decreased; Communism won't keep quiet; as long as the situation is this unsettled you have to protect yourself against surprise; because the danger of a future war is as great as ever; because the situation wasn't fundamentally changed by the death of Stalin; if we can't accomplish an equality of military strength with Russia they'll overrun us one day; etc.	26%	36%

(Cont'd on next page)

04943

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Every nation needs an army for its protection: A country that is not armed is an easy prey to anybody; you can hold your ground only then if you can rely on your own strength; because every country needs an army, that's necessary for its protection; for Germany's protection; after all an army is part of every normal state; we have to have an army again, otherwise we won't be free; still as a protection; etc.	14%	19%
Only military power will stop the Russians: Because the demands on Russia will be successful only then if they are supported by military strength; yes, unfortunately it will be necessary to bring pressure to bear in order to accomplish Germany's reunification although the Russians show some yieldingness; because power is the only thing that will impress the Russians; because you have to employ strong means to keep the Russians within bounds; to be able to stop the Russian terror if a suitable occasion should arise; etc.	5	6
So the European nations can carry out a joint defense program: So the Western nations can at least begin with their unification - mainly that Western European nations would unite so that there couldn't be any war among them; if Germany is to defend itself then I think, it's important but only together with all the other European soldiers, unity is strength; etc.	4	7
Without German participation West Europe cannot be defended: For our own safety; Western Europe has to have a strong position against the East and that's not possible without Germany; I keep on thinking that if something should happen it's better for us to have an army, the Americans can't do without our soldiers; without Germany it won't work; etc.	2	4
Germany, by its geographical position, is forced to maintain an army: Because we are forced to by our geographical position; because we are just between the two of them, in any case; etc.	2	2
The Russian danger is more imminent than ever: Because the Russian danger is more imminent now; because the danger of Communism has increased through the yieldingness of the West; at present there are only political sweeps - Malenkov is still more rigorous than Stalin was; formerly Russia was not to such an extent against everybody and everything as it is now; because the situation gets still worse, because the situation has not improved, on the contrary it has become much more dangerous; etc.	2	2
To maintain internal security in Germany in case of need: For internal security; if there should be a riot or something like that there won't be anybody to stop it; for internal security reasons, it's always important to have an army; etc.	2	-

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Youth should learn order and discipline: The young people need discipline; I think of the young men, they have to be trained to strict discipline; I think it's important that there won't be a war now but that the young men will learn order and discipline through army life; etc.	2%	1%
There is rearmament in the East Zone: In the East Zone they have soldiers already now; the East Zone rearms already; the establishment of the VOPO in the East Zone; because the Russians keep Germans under arms in the East Zone; because the Russians are armed up to their teeth and are right in the center of Germany; etc.	1	3
Other answers: I don't regard the Americans as good soldiers; unemployment is decreasing; what I fear is that we will get into the same mess again, I wouldn't care but for my children; etc.	5	5
No opinion - No answer:	1 66%@	1 86%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04945

It is worth noting also in the present connection a point from the late April "flash" survey that any feeling that present American-backed policies vis-a-vis the East are too tough in view of Russian peace overtures, can at most be no more than negligible in West Germany since only 4 per cent are inclined to characterize present policy as too unyielding, and as many as 18 per cent want even greater firmness.

"Do you feel that American policy towards Russia today is too yielding, is it about right, or is it too unyielding?"

(Late April 1953)	West Germany (376)
Too yielding	18%
About right	46
Too unyielding	4
No opinion	32
	100%

WHY GAINS IN SUPPORT FOR WESTERN POLICIES? ...

So in the face of Russian blandishments, waryness has helped to hold the line on popular backing for Western defense policy. But what accounts for the current marked gains in support? Evidence at hand suggests that more West Germans are now lining up with Western defense policy at least partly because more have come to feel that such policies are in fact paying off. The proportion who feel that the Western powers have had the greater success recently in the cold war has since the turn of the year risen 19 percentage points in West Germany and a remarkable 40 percentage points in West Berlin.

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success lately: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	West Germany					West Berlin	
	Apr 51 (797)	Sept 51 (799)	May 52 (791)	Dec 52 (1196)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	May 52 (161)	Mid Apr 53 (299)
Communist powers	31%	15%	21%	24%	15%	21%	11%
Western powers	37	40	32	28	47	32	72
Both the same	14	16	16	23	*	16	-
Undecided	18	29	31	25	38	31	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Accompanying comments reveal that the Western efforts to weld together a Western defense community have been impressive to many. Others see evidence of Western success and Communist weakness in the stream of refugees to the West. Most specifically in reference to Korea it is clear from comments that some respondents are interpreting present Russian softness as a consequence of Western policies - which fact, of course, is likely to contribute to increased support.

IF "Western powers":

"Why are you of this opinion? In what respect have the Western powers had more success?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Success in welding together Western defense:	15%	27%
Because they are consolidating their alliance all the time and thus the Russians have to be more cautious; they've welded the Balkans together, the EDC-treaty is about to be ratified; take Tito, for instance, he's a Communist, but in spite of that he departed from the party line, he fights against the Russians		

* Less than one half of one per cent.

(Cont'd on next page)

04946

West Germany | West Berlin

(Cont'd from preceding page) - - - - - - - - -

and sticks by the West, another proof that the Western powers have had more success is that the Schuman-Plan and the EDC-treaty have been concluded, there was nothing the Russians could do about it; the nations are getting more closely together and are joining forces with the Western powers; they have pursued a firmer policy towards Russia recently and have pooled their resources in planning a joint defense front against the Russians; the efforts at unification on the part of the Western world directed against Bolshevist forces; they are closing their ranks, they want to form a United Europe as a protection against the East, it looks as if they tend to side with the Americans, they're stronger now than in the past and realise that only jointly can they face Communism successfully; the bonds between the Western countries are stronger than they used to be, you realise it when you listen to the radio and follow developments; they've had more succes in Europe as the contractual agreement has been concluded, it means they've gained time that way; the union between the three Balkan countries Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, it's a new bloc against Communism; the integration of Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey into the Western defense system; the Atlantic Pact is a proof for that as now the alliance between the Western countries becomes a reality; American policy has been outstanding, they are the more skillful politicians, I guess, I can't put it more clearly; etc.

Success in attracting followers: 14% 24%

The fact alone that a veritable migration of people from the East Zone takes place proves how little confidence people have in the Russians, ever more nations turn away from the East; just think of the defection of Communist parties in Western countries and the stream of refugees that arrives from the East Zone because life has come to be unbearable over there; because of the humane way in which they tackle problems the Western powers have gained more followers, while the Communists have lost adherents; it's obvious that most nations in the world look to the West for guidance, most countries are against Russia, as it is, lately the Russians have lost many followers; because so many people feel drawn towards the West, and so few declare for Communism, even die-hard Communists scorn Russian Communism; the majority of nations leans towards the West, the West is more humane, that's why people are drawn to the West; just think of all those refugees who arrive from Eastern Germany, nobody wants to have anything to do with the Russians; Communist influence in the West has declined; much is done for East Zone refugees and that increases the prestige of the West; etc.

Success in checking Communist expansion and the spread of the Korea conflict - effecting the exchange of POWs in Korea: 7 9

In that they succeeded at long last to bring about the exchange of prisoners, and could induce the Russians to go about the negotiations in Korea a little more open-mindedly; the Russians try time and again to cut off Berlin and every time the Western powers prove to be stronger; the Western powers make headway regarding the peace efforts; the Communists have to go on to retreat in Korea, for instance; because once more they've got the Reds in Korea to resume negotiations; Asian policy has veered around by 180 degrees, Roosevelt is to blame for that because he considered Asia to be a matter of minor importance, through their perseverance the Western powers have induced the Russians to o.k. the exchange of wounded prisoners and

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

to resume truce talks; the exchange of the wounded POW's is a proof for that, the Communists have accepted the Western proposal; through their tactics the Western powers have prevented war, after all, if they had been as stubborn as are the Russians, we'd be in the middle of a new war by now; it's proven by the fact that things have calmed down in Korea, the Western powers have shown great patience, now they are rewarded for it; because they could prevent the Russians from invading in our country; that's what I think, if it weren't so, the Russians would have shown up here long ago; because they are more concerned about peace, judging from outward appearances, at any rate; they agree among themselves that Russia should not be allowed to advance that far; up till now the Communists didn't dare to start a new war and the Americans take pains to prevent war; etc.

Success through economic superiority - economic aid - raising of living standard: 6% 15%

Food stores are running out in the East, things are different over here, all those refugees come here because they can't face life any longer over there, people feel differently over here; the West has become stronger economically; they were able to absorb the refugees, the fact that for all of them a place to stay and some job was found, means a political success for the West; in the West things prosper, while in the East things go downhill in economic as well as in other respects; because capitalist countries are so rich, they can support all suppressed nations and thus they win them to their side; people in the West can buy things for the money they earn, while people in the East still starve, by and large, people who live in the West are quite content, not so, however, people who live in the East; the US can provide all countries with food stuffs and funds, Germany, Yugoslavia, Turkey, that's a proof for the political success of the Western powers; it's proven by the economic boom in Germany that the Western powers have had more success; etc.

Success in expansion of defense and armament programs: 2 5

Through their economic and political strength a substantial counterweight has been created against Russia; armament and methods of modern warfare are much more advanced in the Western world, I guess that the Russians are pretty uneasy about that and will thus not start a new war; because they have more arms than the Communists; the Western powers are more powerful; I think so judging from what people say, you see the new weapons produced under the armament program, you don't hear much about the East; because they have greater strategic success, they have superior arms; the Western powers have become stronger, in economic as well as in military respect; etc.

Other answers: 3 4

It is a favorable development that Eisenhower has been elected president, he has an idea what's going on in Europe and he feels sympathy with Germany; because Malenkov is quite different from Stalin, he is more yielding and because Eisenhower has taken office; the Russians gave in and ordered to release the Russian physicians who had been arrested some time ago; in America the Republican Party came out on top at the elections, that means America will show a firmer attitude towards the East from now on; Stalin's death alone means a severe setback for the East; etc.

No opinion - No answer: 5 (5%) 3 (8%)

© Some respondents gave more than one answer.

CONFIDENTIAL

FURTHER LIGHT ON GAINS ...

The kind of increased confidence that might have helped engender the more widespread support for Western policies now current in Germany, is also evident from findings tabulated below. It will be noted that (a) general satisfaction with American policy toward Russia has been on the rise and (b) confidence that America is really for German unity has shown steady increase.

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the American policy towards Russia?"

	West Germany		West Berlin		
	May 52 (791)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Apr 52 (510)	Dec 52 (600)	Mid Apr 53 (299)
Satisfied	36%	45%	56%	41%	53%
Dissatisfied	17	11	30	39	25
Partly-partly	8	18	9	9	10
No opinion	39	28	5	11	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Which of the following views comes closest to what you think is the attitude of the United States concerning the reunification of Germany?"

	West Germany			
	Apr/May 52 (800)	May 52 (791)	Sept 52 (399)	Late Apr 53 (376)
I'm sure the United States is for a reunification of Germany	47%	50%	58%	65%
I have some doubts that the United States is for a reunification of Germany	19	22	12	14
I'm very doubtful that the United States is for a reunification of Germany	6	6	4	2
I'm sure the United States is not for a reunification of Germany	3	5	3	2
No opinion	25	17	23	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Follow-up questioning as to what specifically about American policy towards Russia meets with satisfaction reveals much of interest. The two most frequent categories of reply proved to be that (1) America is conciliatory and (2) America is firm. This would seem to suggest that progress is being made in the effort to explain to German people that the American-backed policies for Western Germany are designed to be firm but not agressive.

IF "Satisfied":

"What are you satisfied with?"

(Mid-April 1953)	West Germany	West Berlin
With the American readiness for negotiations and their striving for peace:	17%	24%

The Yanks try time and again to reach a peaceful settlement; because the Americans try to prevent another war; with their strategy, negotiations but not war; that they try to prevent a war by diplomatic means, you have to show your strength if you want to be successful at negotiations; that they are not blind with hatred and always inclined to reconciliation, they

(Cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
(cont'd from preceding page)		
are always ready for negotiations; that a war was prevented up to now and that they get on tolerably well; that the Americans try hard to prevent a war, perhaps that's the reason for his putting up with so many things; because America is all for peace; that they are always prepared to negotiate with Russia about all pending problems; that they are always ready for negotiations; that the Americans try to come to terms with the Russians; with the American readiness for negotiations, with their sense of fairness the Americans are famous for; they do everything in their power to prevent war; America wants to have peace everywhere in the world; because they are honest about it, they want to live in peace with all other nations; that we do not yet have war; etc.		
th the firmer American policy toward Russia: That the American policy toward Russia has become firmer, pursuing a clear course; they are of a firmer attitude towards the Russians; because they don't let the Russians intimidate them; with America's stopping the Russians in every respect by their readiness for defense; the energetic way in which America reacts on all threats; the Russians cannot be impressed but by a firm policy; that America always found the right way of dealing with the stubborn Russians; I think it's quite good that the Russians are being kept under; the Americans are very consistent toward Russia, England, however, has still some liking for it; a good diplomatic course; with the clear course they are now steering; that they don't give in any more; with their careful attitude towards promises; the attitude the Americans take toward Russia is quite right; etc.	11%	13%
at America supports Germany politically, military and econocally and protects it against the East: That they would support us in case of Russian aggression and that they take care of us; the American troops are here in Germany as a protection against the Russians; if the Americans won't be here the Russians would and then we would be in a fine mess; what the Americans do is quite right, in any case they sided with us; their friendly attitude toward Germany which must be a thorn in the flesh of the Russians and would certainly prevent them from attacking us; that they don't approve of what the Russians have done in Germany, refugee problem and division of Germany; that the American foreign policy is rather identical with the West German foreign policy; the economic assistance; that the American people take upon themselves the burden of the Marshall-Plan, etc; that Eisenhower sort of pulls together with us, that he realises that it's no use trying to come to terms with the East, that he needs Germany, that he invited Adenauer to America for negotiations, that things improve here in Germany; because the Americans want to help the Germans in the East Zone; compared to the Russian policy in the East Zone I think that the higher living standard, caused by American influence is very gratifying; etc.	8	14
at Eisenhower takes a better political course: With Eisenhower's policy things look better than before; there seems to be a fresh breeze blowing now that Eisenhower has taken over and so I'm a little more hopeful; I like it that Eisenhower visited the front; because Eisenhower has at least recognised the danger and seen that one can't put an end to it by merely talking - he has removed the Communists from offices in which they could have endangered the state; etc.	3	6

(Cont'd on next page)

C O N F I D E N T I A L

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
That they fight Communism: With the fighting of Communism; because they keep Communism off from us; because they protect the free world from Communism; because the Americans are the only ones who oppose and stop Communism; that they have the strength to stop the Russian policy of aggression; that they keep Communism from the door; that the Americans are against the Russians; etc.	3%	6%
That they stick out the cold war and don't attack: That they stick out the cold war and don't attack; that they don't make short work of it as one thinks they ought to - that they think things over; they don't make the mistakes we've made, they don't act rashly, they take their time; that under no circumstances they would take any radical steps which might lead to war; they don't threaten with war or present an ultimatum straight away as an answer to all those incidents between East and West, for instance the plane incident; etc.	3	4
That America unites the free nations of Europe against Communism: With their European policy; with the EDC treaty which provides a certain strength for the West; that the Americans don't keep their country isolated from the others but support all free nations against Communism; with their strife to unite the Western powers; with their general attitude - America tries to unite the anti-Communist countries and to increase their number; that America has more understanding for the necessity of a common defense front in which Germany will be included, than France; their strife for and support of European unification; in general, with their support of the free nations against Russia; etc.	2	5
With their latest Far-East policy, with their Korea policy: Above all that the Americans show a bold front to the Russians, in Far East, in Korea - with everything; with their policy in Korea; negotiations in Korea; with the latest course of their policy in Korea and China; etc.	2	2
Other answers: The Americans don't conceal their policy whereas the Russian policy is inscrutable; that you are free here and don't have to live under pressure; regarding our way of living we are content; I'm satisfied in every respect; and anyway, how could we ever side with the Russians; that the Russians are kept within bounds by these new inventions (of the Americans) of which they are afraid; the Americans are more humane than the Russians; etc.	8	8
Not satisfied with anything:	4	6
No opinion:	42	23
	103%@	111%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

V. CURRENT ATTITUDE TOWARD BONN REGIME

SHARP GAIN IN SATISFACTION WITH BONN GOVERNMENT ...

That Western policies are currently being looked upon with increased favor by the West German citizenry is suggested also by the sharp rise, since the turn of the year, in satisfaction with the activities of the present German government, which has been espousing those policies. In the latest survey almost three in four - an unprecedented proportion - registered satisfaction with the activities of the Bonn regime.

"Are you, in general, satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West German Federal government up to now?"

West Germany

	May 51 (799)	Aug 51 (798)	2 Sept 51 (796)	28 Sept 51 (799)	June 52 (786)	Aug 52 (1195)	Dec 52 (1193)	Mid Apr 53 (764)
Satisfied	44%	39%	49%	52%	56%	58%	58%	71%
Dissatisfied	44	42	37	37	30	23	28	18
No opinion	12	19	14	11	14	19	14	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Complaints from the dissatisfied, it will be noted below, only infrequently relate to Western policy considerations.

IF "Dissatisfied":

"What are you dissatisfied with?"

(Mid-April 1953) — West Germany

Wages- and price policy (low living standard): 5%

All things are much too expensive, you don't know where to take the money from for the most essential things; food is too expensive and the income is too small; prices should be more uniform - they shouldn't have such high prices; because you've got to pay too much; food and luxuries cost too much; prices are too high, you don't get enough money, farmers don't get much for their products and what they have to buy is frightfully dear; I can't understand that potatoes get a selling-price of 4.50 DM and the seed potatoes cost 13.60 DM; prices for agricultural products are too low, the Marshall-plan is harmful for agriculture, because the farmers get spoiled with all the modern equipment they get; wages for agricultural labor are low; my husband doesn't earn enough and living-costs are high; etc.

Economic and social policy: 4

So much money is wasted by the equalisation of burdens and the bombed-out people don't get a scrap; there are no markets for agricultural products because too many goods are imported from abroad; with what's done for the youth insufficient financial means are provided for this purpose by the Federal budget, with the shop organisation law, we feel gagged; with the housing problem; the economic situation should be handled differently; nobody wants to work because the distribution of unemployment relief isn't fair, all these idlers get money although there are so many vacant jobs throughout the country; artisans are insufficiently cared for, partly through their own fault, they also should be provided with financial means; because they are against our trade - unions; all those who lost everything through bombing were not sufficiently assisted and supported; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

CONFIDENTIAL

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Tax policy: 3%

Because the small people get ruined ever so slowly, taxes for artisan firms are too high; above all the high taxes; my husband and I both work and we'll be the worse off for the new finance-bill; taxes for small business people like us are too high; we've got to pay too much taxes, especially hourly and monthly paid workers; because the Federal government wants to introduce a bill to the effect that husband and wife, if both of them work, have to pay double taxes; taxes on coffee are too high; etc.

EDC treaty, Germany treaty, re-militarization: 3

About the EDC treaty - I'm very strongly against a defense participation of this kind; I don't agree with the treaties they concluded, I don't want to fight again, have risked my life for five years; that there are still German soldiers who are sentenced or imprisoned and, on the other hand, they want to establish an army again; the preparations for a new army; if you see that they intend to start a war then you can't agree with them; the aim of the West German government is re-armament - if that's to be an instrument of political power I'm against it; etc.

Pensions: 2

In my opinion they should pay an additional amount for pensioners; the disabled don't get enough money; pensions are too low, they aren't too well-disposed toward the working-classes; my husband is an invalid and has to pay taxes from his small pension, is that fair?; with almost everything the government does - wherever you go people complain about something - the low pensions for instance, we old ones aren't properly cared for; because I'm badly off - I have no pension and my husband has died; etc.

Preference is given to the middle classes - extravagance in Bonn: 2

The CDU advocates first of all for businessmen and farmers, not for the working-classes; they do more for the businessmen than for us; they don't do enough for the masses; this is not a government for the man in the street, the laws are made for capitalists; too much money is spent in Bonn; socially unfair, high taxes and, on the other hand a much too high number of civil servants; too many officials, too much luxury and extravagance, they should be more modest; we have to pay high taxes so that the ministers may live pleasantly and you don't see that they get us any farther; that the ministers' salaries are raised and that's taken away from pensioners; the government doesn't do much for the workers, all they do is for the middle classes; etc.

Unemployment: 1

There's no work for the unemployed; they don't do much to improve social conditions, the problem of unemployment should be settled; no work, no jobs; how can I be satisfied with a government that can't even provide work for me?; the problem of unemployment isn't handled with sufficient energy; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

04953

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany
Refugee problems: That we refugees don't get enough help, particularly in respect to the housing problem; there should be more support for refugees; because we refugees don't get enough help, everything was taken away from us but there is not even work for us; refugees are not sufficiently cared for; above all they should do more for refugees - they shouldn't be so mean in granting credits; because I had to leave my home country; etc.	1%
Too much preference is given to refugees: Refugees get more than locals; about the equalisation of burdens - payments should be distributed to all who suffered financial losses, not only to refugees; why don't they help the bombed out people in West Germany, or doesn't there exist anybody else but refugees?; they haven't built enough houses, all the dwellings were for refugees, the locals also want houses; I'm annoyed that everywhere the refugees get help and we don't; that all the money is thrown on the refugees, where are we heading for, now still more of them come from the East, the Prussians have all the rights and we have to pay for it; that time and again preference is given to refugees even if it's not justified; etc.	1
Foreign affairs: With their attitude toward the Western powers; he sells Germany to the Americans; the government yields too much to the American government and doesn't try hard enough to come to an understanding with the Russians; the attitude of the government toward the Allies is not sufficiently independent; about German home affairs and with their strife for re-unification of Germany; the Federal government should try harder to achieve re-unification of Germany; etc.	1
Other answers (in general): They don't pay much heed to what the people think, the Germany treaty is very important and they should have held a plebiscite; because up to now politics was made by the upper ten and not, as is the true democratic way, by the people; this splitting up into all the various parties; the undemocratic way of handling the party disputes and the debates; they talk too much and don't get any results out of it; because of this super-bureaucracy we have, if there ever was cheat and humbug then it's what we have now; because nothing suits me of what they do - nothing, nothing, I don't want to have anything to do with anybody, whether Nazi, Sozi (Social Democrat) or whatever there is; etc.	1
No opinion / No answer:	* 24%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

GAINS IN SATISFACTION GENERAL ...

Group comparisons reveal the recent gain in satisfaction with the Federal government to be general among population groups. But just as on the military participation issue, the most interesting change would appear to have occurred among SPD respondents, who despite their opposition affiliation now register preponderant satisfaction with the present Adenauer regime.

"Are you, in general, satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West German Federal government up to now?"

West Germany	Satisfied		Dis-satisfied		No opinion		No. of cases	
	Dec 52	Mid Apr 53	Dec 52	Mid Apr 53	Dec 52	Mid Apr 53	Dec 52	Mid Apr 53
Sex:								
Men	59%	73%	35%	22%	6%...100%	5%...100%	618	368
Women	56	69	20	15	24	16	578	393
Education:								
Elementary school	55	69	29	19	16	12	968	615
Beyond elementary	71	80	22	13	7	7	226	149
Income (per month):								
- 299 DM	53	69	30	18	17	13	630	375
300 - 399 DM	57	74	30	19	13	7	289	182
400 DM and more	72	74	20	18	8	8	243	182
Age:								
18 - 24 years	56	71	22	20	22	9	149	85
25 - 34 years	56	70	32	20	12	10	254	157
35 - 44 years	56	70	28	23	16	7	254	156
45 - 54 years	65	72	23	14	12	14	265	167
55 years and over	53	73	33	14	14	13	271	193
Party Preference:*								
SPD	42	59	46	35	12	6	292	169
CDU/CSU	82	93	9	3	9	4	277	214
FDP	77	82	19	9	4	9	118	34
Other parties	56	65	33	31	11	4	102	48
*No party	38	64	37	19	25	17	84	209
*Don't know	50	61	27	12	23	27	323	90
Occupation:								
Professionals	82	79	13	9	5	12	56	33
Businessmen	61	75	27	15	12	10	127	78
White-collar workers	61	74	30	16	9	10	138	107
Skilled laborers	51	67	37	24	12	9	236	183
Semi-skilled laborers	59	71	25	18	16	11	175	96
Farmers	63	77	18	13	19	10	138	83
Not employed: pensioners; students; retired; etc.	54	70	28	17	18	13	214	130
Religion:								
Catholics	63	74	24	15	13	11	539	348
Protestants	54	70	29	20	17	10	594	381
Origin:								
Natives	57	78	29	18	14	12	958	614
Expellees, Refugees	60	79	25	16	15	5	238	146

*. The "no party" and "don't know" category comparisons should only be taken as suggestive here because in view of slightly difference methods of ascertaining party preference in the two surveys, the categories are not entirely comparable.

CDU GAIN IN PARTY PREFERENCE ...

Though indication of party preference continue to exhibit more stability than variation, along with the gain in satisfaction with the Bonn government over the past weeks there is definite evidence of a rise in CDU preference. Currently for the first time in RAS surveys over the past two years the CDU appears to be running ahead of the SPD.

"Would you please tell me which party you like best?"

WEST GERMANY 51/52

	Jul 51 (799)	Aug 51 (800)	Sep 51 (796)	Oct 51 (1200)	Oct 51 (1193)	Jan 52 (1199)	Feb 52 (796)
SPD	22%	22%	26%	23%	24%	24%	23%
CDU/CSU	19	15	21	16	19	19	19
FDP	5	5	6	6	6	6	6
DP	-	-	-	not ascertained		-	-
NDP	-	-	-	not ascertained		-	-
BHE	-	-	-	not ascertained		-	-
KPD	1	*	1	1	1	*	1
SRP	not ascertain.		2	1	*	1	1
Others	6	7	6	7	7	5	6
No party / No opinion / No answer	28 / 19	31 / 20	15 / 23	25 / 21	19 / 24	25 / 20	24 / 20
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

WEST GERMANY 52/53**

	Apr 52 (1172)	May 52 (1188)	June 52 (786)	June 52 (1595)	July 52 (796)	Sept 52 (400)	Jan 53 (1600)	Mid Apr 53 (764)
SPD	26%	21%	23%	20%	20%	26%	23%	22%
CDU/CSU	21	18	19	18	17	22	22	28
FDP	7	6	5	7	7	6	6	4
DP	-	-	not ascertained		-	-	2	1
NDP	-	-	not ascertained		-	-	*	-
BHE	-	-	not ascertained		-	-	2	3
KPD	1	*	1	*	1	1	*	1
SRP	*	*	*	1	1	*	not ascertained	
Others	5	6	7	5	4	5	2	2
No party / No opinion / No answer	18 / 22	29 / 20	25 / 20	33 / 16	33 / 17	23 / 17	31 / 12	27 / 12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some earlier reported party preference figures are not included in the present trend tabulations because they have been based upon a slightly different mode of questioning. These omitted figures, however, do not depart from the pattern of the figures presented.

VI. ATTITUDES ON FOUR POWER CONFERENCE AND SUSCEPTIBILITY TO POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PROPOSAL

PERSISTENT DESIRE AND INCREASED OPTIMISM ...

West Germans continue to manifest a three in four desire for a Four-Power conference. Irritation with American policy on this score must be diminishing as an appreciably increased proportion now believe that America subscribes to such a conference. And finally, as earlier foreshadowed in increased optimism about German reunification, an increased proportion currently express the opinion that a Four-Power conference would be likely to result in advantages for West Germany.

"Would you be for or against America, England, France and Russia joining in a Four-Power conference on Germany at the present time?"

	West Germany					West Berlin
	June 52* (786)	Aug 52* (397)	Sept 52 (399)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Late Apr 53 (376)	Mid Apr 53 (299)
For it	75%	75%	70%	78%	72%	92%
Against it	8	10	7	8	9	5
No opinion	17	15	23	14	19	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you believe America is for or against holding a Four-Power conference on Germany between the Western powers and Russia at the present time?"

	West Germany	
	Sept 52 (399)	Late Apr 53 (376)
For it	43%	56%
Against it	19	11
No opinion	38	33
	100%	100%

"Supposing in the near future a Four-Power conference on Germany would take place, do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for West Germany will result from it?" (Asked of all who did not express disapproval of a Four-Power conference.)

	West Germany					West Berlin
	June 52 (726)	Aug 52 (397)	Sept 52 (399)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Late Apr 53 (376)	Mid Apr 53 (299)
Advantages likely	33%	26%	35%	47%	43%	68%
Advantages unlikely	34	45	33	23	23	19
No opinion	25	19	25	22	25	8
	92%	90%	93%	92%	91%	95%

* Earlier wording went as follows: "Would you appreciate it or not if the Western powers and Russia would join in a Four-Power conference on Germany?"

CONTINUED REJECTION OF EARLIER RUSSIAN PROPOSAL ...

Clearly West Germans are eager for an East-West conference, so it becomes of some moment to ascertain how susceptible they might be to some superficially attractive Russian proposal that might emanate from such a conference. Over a year ago the Russian made their most systematic proposal about the future of Germany, embodying the provisions listed below. The West German and West Berlin reactions, it may be seen, was a distinct majority rejection at the time, and is no less so currently.

"Supposing Russia would make a proposal regarding the reunification of Germany consisting of the following points:

A reunification of all Germany through free elections under Four-power supervision.

Germany shall have the right to build up a limited army of its own, but shall not be allowed to make military treaties against any of the Four-Great-Powers.

Germany shall give up its claim to the former German territories, East of Oder and Neisse.

Peace treaty for Germany and withdrawal of all occupational powers.

If the Western powers had to decide to either accept or reject this Russian proposal as it stands, would you then prefer to see this proposal accepted or rejected?"

	West Germany		West Berlin	
	Apr 52 (800)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Apr 52 (178)	Mid Apr 53 (299)
Prefer to see accepted	17%	18%	11%	14%
Prefer to see rejected	62	70	86	83
No opinion	21	12	3	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%

04958

BUT MARKEDLY INCREASED SUSCEPTIBILITY IF ODER/NEISSE NEGOTIABLE ...

But further analysis revealed at that time that if the Russians would not demand final recognition of the Oder/Neisse border but would leave the matter open, then in toto as many West Germans would approve the Russian proposal of a neutralised Germany as would disapprove. What provides current cause for concern is that the extent of approval of such a revised Russian proposal has risen over the past year to the point where it now represents the clear majority position both in West Germany and in West Berlin.

"Supposing the Russians would no longer insist on point 3, that is to say, they would not demand the final recognition of the Oder/Neisse line, would you then prefer to see the Russian proposal accepted or rejected?" (Asked of those who answered "Prefer to see rejected" to previous question.)

	West Germany		West Berlin	
	Apr 52 (800)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Apr 52 (178)	Mid Apr 53 (299)
Accepted	22%	51%	23%	57%
Rejected	33	17	59	25
No opinion	7	2	4	1
	62%	70%	86%	83%

Combined Results:

	West Germany		West Berlin	
	Apr 52	Mid Apr 53	Apr 52	Mid Apr 53
Total accepting Russian proposal with Oder/Neisse condition dropped	39%	69%	34%	71%
Reject even if Oder/Neisse condition dropped	33	17	59	25
No opinion	28	14	7	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%

So clearly the currently rising support for Western policies in Germany does not preclude considerable softness in the face of an attractive Russian offer. It is not to be wondered at that the proposal described would be very attractive since it appears to give Germany just about all they want, which Western policy at best only promises to achieve slowly and by indirection. The nub of the situation of course is - could the Russians be trusted? - and German public opinion with the long conditioned distrust of everything Russian might shape up to something quite different than the present hypothetical sounding suggests if such a proposal as described ever in fact came to pass.

But despite these considerations it would nevertheless seem to have to be reckoned as a negative element in an otherwise remarkably favorable picture that West German inclinations to approve the hypothetical Russian offer that was posed seem to have so markedly increased over the past year.

04959

GERMAN IMPACT AND EVALUATIONS OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S FOREIGN POLICY ADDRESS

Report No. 178
Series No. 2
May 14, 1953

DECLASSIFIED
by authority of
Morton F. Fosberg,
Chief, 6/28/55

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

04960

INTRODUCTION

President Eisenhower's major foreign policy addr.ss of April 16th was a message directed to a worldwide audience, outlining America's interest in peace and America's proposals for ending the Cold War. As a contribution to the assessment of international rank and file reactions to the address, the Reactions Analysis Staff, Office of Public Affairs, went into the field between April 23rd and 28th with a "flash" survey of West Germany and West Berlin. Sampling embraced 376 cases in the former area and 191 cases in the latter.

As usual, interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff.

SUMMARY EXCERPTS

I. Impact of President Eisenhower's Speech

... Measured as of a week following its delivery, President Eisenhower's address appears to have achieved an appreciable but less than majority audience, with but a third in West Germany - half in West Berlin - claiming awareness, and only the order of a quarter in West Germany - about a third in West Berlin - able to prove familiarity.

... Among the respondents claiming familiarity with President Eisenhower's speech the reactions were almost wholly favorable, with only a miniscule one per cent in West Germany - no one in West Berlin - voicing an unfavorable impression.

... What is perceived as hopefulness, sincerity and good will in Eisenhower's speech figure most prominently as reasons for its overwhelmingly favorable reception among West Germans and West Berliners aware of the address.

II. General Evaluation of the Address

... Clearly President Eisenhower's speech has gone over well among the minority of West Germans and West Berliners who as of the date of the present survey have heard or read something about it. But these people, it must be understood, are not representative of the whole population and are likely to have only a sketchy awareness of the concrete details of the address. So it becomes of interest to raise the further question - does the Eisenhower speech have the kind of appeal that stands up (a) with the entire German citizenry and (b) under detailed scrutiny?

... The informed and representative West German reaction to President Eisenhower's speech proves to be clearly favorable,* but on the part of more than a few tinged with skepticism particularly as to the realizability of the objectives.

* To obtain this kind of evaluation of the speech, following initial inquiry as to awareness and reaction all respondents were given a copy of Eisenhower's address to read and then subsequently questioned as to their evaluations.

04961

- That skeptical reactions relate more to the difficulties of the present world situation rather than to Eisenhower's words themselves is evident from overwhelming general approval of the speech per se.

- Favorable overall reactions to Eisenhower's address do not preclude occasional criticisms on details. However, these are scattered in direction and would appear to be close to the level of inevitable die-hard dissidence from any set of proposals. The more important fact is that three quarters in West Germany - 85 per cent in West Berlin - say they have nothing whatsoever to disagree with in the speech.

- A somewhat larger proportion are willing to volunteer things they believe Eisenhower should have spoken of in their judgment. But here the picture adds up largely to the theme that more should have been said about German problems - the kind of criticism that a world-directed speech could hardly hope to avoid in any particular country. Again the point of major significance is that so many have no criticism to make on the present score.

- Questioned specifically on the intent of the speech, respondents preponderantly judged it an earnest step on the part of the American government to solve the cold war. Only the order of one in ten - 13 per cent in West Germany, 9 per cent in West Berlin - judged the speech to be a mere tactical maneuver.

- And finally, few Germans expressed the view that the speech makes excessive demands on the Russians in its proposals for peace.

04962

I. IMPACT OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S SPEECH

LESS THAN MAJORITY AWARENESS ...

Measured as of a week following its delivery, President Eisenhower's address appears to have achieved an appreciable but less than majority audience, with but a third in West Germany - half in West Berlin - claiming awareness, and only the order of a quarter in West Germany - about a third in West Berlin - able to prove familiarity.

"Have you heard that President Eisenhower held a speech on April 16?"

	West Germany (376)	West Berlin (191)
Yes	37%	50%
No	63	50
	100%	100%

"Would you please tell me what the speech of President Eisenhower roughly was about? (What did President Eisenhower in his speech pay special attention to?) (Could you please give some examples?)"

Able to cite details	27%	38%
Not able to demonstrate awareness	10	12
	37%	50%

"And did President Eisenhower say something specific about Germany on this occasion?"

Correct (Yes)	22%	32%
Wrong (No)	15	18
	37%	50%

Comments made by respondents able to document some familiarity with the speech were on the following vein:

"Would you please tell me what the speech of President Eisenhower roughly was about? (What did President Eisenhower in his speech pay special attention to?) (Could you please give me some examples?)"

IF "Yes": "What?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>He wants to cooperate with the Russians:</u> It's a peace offer to Russia; he addressed himself to the Russians and told them that Russia, too, could be admitted to the community of nations; he made peace proposals to the Russians; an appeal to Russia to cooperate with the other nations; he declared he was willing to negotiate with the Russians anywhere at any time; he stated that he would consider any peace overtures made by Russia favorably; he said he was gratified that the Russians had come round and were willing to negotiate now, above all, he made it quite clear that America is now as ever for peace; he discussed the peace offer made by the Russians and laid down the conditions Russia had to meet so that the two parties could reach an agreement; he made it plain to the Russians that he is willing to negotiate, but that he can be firm, too; etc.	7%	17%

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)	West Germany	West Berlin
suggested a worldwide disarmament program: He said that the armament drive should be stopped, and that the money saved that way should be used for economic and social projects to increase the prosperity of people generally; he made it clear that the money spent for the armament program would be put to better use if it would help to further the prosperity of nations; disarmament proposals; the armament program should be discontinued; proposals for the disarmament programs; that they are willing to disarm; instead of armament drive, economic development; etc.	6%	7%
wants to secure peace for the world: He talked about world peace, how peace can be reestablished; the main point was world peace; he wants peace, he's concerned about the well-being of all nations; to secure peace for the world; he said he wants to establish peaceful and friendly relations with the whole world; peace talks to be held throughout the world; a peace program embracing the whole world; he assured the others of his desire for peace; he said he wants peace and wants to protect weaker nations; efforts to bring about peace for all countries; to avoid war at all costs; etc.	5	14
is for a German reunification: The reunification of Germany; about the reunification of Germany; German reunification; etc.	5	4
wants to end the Korean war: He said he wanted to put an end to the war in Korea; truce problems in Korea; peace in Korea; peace talks in Korea; etc.	1	4
wants to clarify the prisoner-of-war issue: The POW issue; the repatriation of all prisoners-of-war; he demanded the release of the POW; etc.	1	2
her examples: You can say he outlined current issues clearly to the free world as well as to Russia; Russia's policy after Stalin's death and America's position on this issue; above all, he told about the fear people feel all over the world of a new war; their readiness to give stronger support to the West; etc.	5	9
opinion/No answer:	9 39%	2 5%

Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"And did President Eisenhower say something specific about Germany on this occasion?"

IF "Yes": "What did President Eisenhower say about Germany?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Reunification of Germany - all-German elections: He demanded the reunification of Germany and free elections; secret elections about Germany's reunification; he pleaded for a united Germany with one government elected in free elections; that his political aims include the reunification of Germany; reunification of East- and West Germany; that an all-German government should be formed; etc.	14%	16%
Accepting Germany into the European community of nations: That Germany has to take its place once more among the peace loving nations; that Germany is to be admitted to the European community; he said that Germany belongs to the West European nations; he wants a united Europe including Germany; about Germany's integration into the Western world; a united Germany within a European union, or something like that; etc.	2	2
Equality of rights and freedom: That Germany is to become equal; that we are entitled to equality and freedom; that Germany is to become free again; that no negotiations about Germany shall take place without members of the Bonn government participating; etc.	2	2
EDC-treaty, military backing: He told about the EDC treaty; that they will grant us military aid; about our defense contribution, the treaty has to be ratified soon; about our share in the defense system; about our equality of rights in the European defense community; that we shall become an equal and free member of the defense community; etc.	1	3
Release of the prisoners-of-war: The POW question; that Russia has to repatriate the German POWs at once; release of the POWs; etc.	1	1
American aid: That he is willing to go on supporting Germany; that America wants to help Germany in its reconstruction work; he promised to support our economy; that America won't give up Berlin, and that it is willing to support us; etc.	1	2
Other answers: That the Eastern territories are restored to Germany; we now suppose the Yalta agreement will be denounced; America is willing to give us money to buy back the East Zone from the Russians; free elections in the East Zone, peace treaty with Austria, returning the occupied territories; that he is entirely approving of the German policy; an offer to Russia regarding the appeasement of the world; etc.	*	4
No opinion/No answer:	3 24%	3 35%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"And did President Eisenhower say something specific about Germany on this occasion?"

IF "Yes": "What did President Eisenhower say about Germany?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Reunification of Germany - all-German elections: He demanded the reunification of Germany and free elections; secret elections about Germany's reunification; he pleaded for a united Germany with one government elected in free elections; that his political aims include the reunification of Germany; reunification of East- and West Germany; that an all-German government should be formed; etc.	14%	16%
Accepting Germany into the European community of nations: That Germany has to take its place once more among the peace loving nations; that Germany is to be admitted to the European community; he said that Germany belongs to the West European nations; he wants a united Europe including Germany; about Germany's integration into the Western world; a united Germany within a European union, or something like that; etc.	2	2
Equality of rights and freedom: That Germany is to become equal; that we are entitled to equality and freedom; that Germany is to become free again; that no negotiations about Germany shall take place without members of the Bonn government participating; etc.	2	2
EDC-treaty, military backing: He told about the EDC treaty; that they will grant us military aid; about our defense contribution, the treaty has to be ratified soon; about our share in the defense system; about our equality of rights in the European defense community; that we shall become an equal and free member of the defense community; etc.	1	3
Release of the prisoners-of-war: The POW question; that Russia has to repatriate the German POWs at once; release of the POWs; etc.	1	1
American aid: That he is willing to go on supporting Germany; that America wants to help Germany in its reconstruction work; he promised to support our economy; that America won't give up Berlin, and that it is willing to support us; etc.	1	2
Other answers: That the Eastern territories are restored to Germany; we now suppose the Yalta agreement will be denounced; America is willing to give us money to buy back the East Zone from the Russians; free elections in the East Zone, peace treaty with Austria, returning the occupied territories; that he is entirely approving of the German policy; an offer to Russia regarding the appeasement of the world; etc.	*	4
No opinion/No answer:	3 24%	5 35%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REACTIONS ALMOST WHOLLY FAVORABLE ...

Among the respondents claiming familiarity with President Eisenhower's speech the reactions were almost wholly favorable, with only a minisc per cent in West Germany - no one in West Berlin - voicing an unfavor impression.

> "Considering all you know about the Eisenhower speech, did it on the whole leave a favorable or unfavorable impression with you?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Favorable impression	25%	41%
Unfavorable impression	1	-
No opinion	11	9
	37%	50%

What is perceived as hopefulness, sincerity and good will in Eisenhow speech figure most prominently as reasons for its overwhelmingly fav reception among West Germans and West Berliners expressing awareness address.

> "In what respect did it (the Eisenhower speech) leave a favorable impression with you?".

	West Germa
Eisenhower's words raise hopes for peace and an amicable settlement of all pending problems:	7%
Because he went out to explain and made it quite clear that the Western world strives to settle all problems amicably; that Eisenhower once more made an approach to settle all problems peacefully; I consider the speech to be a valuable contribution towards peace, if the other nations, the Russians go along, then peace is secured; because the speech aims at bringing about peace everywhere; it makes you hope that peace may be preserved; he knocked the bottom out of Soviet propaganda, he didn't rattle with the sword; because this speech does not increase in any way the danger of war; etc.	
Eisenhower's words were sincere and straightforward:	3
Because the speech was very reasonable and idealistic, it was frank, there were no hidden motives; because Eisenhower's ideas are concrete, he doesn't indulge in empty phrases, he gets down to brass tacks; I believe that Eisenhower's intentions are sincere; I liked all he said, I share all his views fully and I trust he's sincere; as to this, I don't think America is putting on enact; because he talked in an objective and sober manner; etc.	
Eisenhower's words evidenced readiness to negotiate and good will:	3
Because he made an overture to the Russians to get them to discuss current issues; he talked in a very humane way, he showed his willingness to negotiate; because he goes all out to prevent another war, he wants to negotiate; because it was a proof for his good will, in my eyes that's very important, that's all I have to say to that; etc.	

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Eisenhower's speech may bring favorable results for Germa
Though Eisenhower was among our deadliest enemies, I ha
concede that he now always has our interests in mind;
it may mean an advantage for Germany; etc.

Eisenhower's words are a request to Russia to show its co
Because he hit the nail on the head, the Russians are c
to own up now and we will know at last where we stand;
as I know the Russians were told quite bluntly that fro
on action is expected from them and nothing else; beca
liked it that at last somebody spoke up as regards the
he made concrete proposals to the Russians; because Ei
hower wants to keep the Russians from launching another
by means of a European army, that's the meaning of the
he wants to force a showdown, he shows fight to the Rus
at long last; etc.

I'm impressed with the personality of President Eisenhowe
Because Eisenhower impresses me, not only with his spee
the man behind his actions who impresses me; etc.

Generally favorable commentaries:
I believe there can't be a single person in this world
didn't get the meaning of this speech and who wouldn't
of it, every sensible person simply must share Eisenhow
views, I heard many people talk about the speech, they
about the same opinion I do, the speech was effective;
cause I have the impression that those problems which c
everybody were dealt with, practically everybody had to
an interest in this speech; that the speech was receiv
interest by the whole world; etc.

Other answers:
Eisenhower wants to clear up the mess in Europe; it wa
tial to understand this, everything else was just some
essential details; he wants to watch over Europe; etc

No opinion/No answer:

? Some respondents gave more than one answer.

II. GENERAL EVALUATION OF THE ADDRESS

INTRODUCTION ...

Clearly President Eisenhower's speech has gone over well among the of West Germans and West Berliners who as of the date of the prese have heard or read something about it. But these people, it must stood are not representative of the whole population and are likel only a sketchy awareness of the concrete details of the address. becomes of interest to raise the further question - does the Eisen speech have the kind of appeal that stands up (a) with the entire citizenry and (b) under detailed scrutiny?

To obtain this kind of evaluation of the speech, after initial que as to awareness and reaction all respondents were given a copy of hower's address to read and then subsequently questioned as to the tions, with results as described in this section.*

SOME QUESTION REALIZABILITY OF AIMS ...

The initial returns reveal that the informed and representative We reaction to President Eisenhower's speech is clearly favorable, bu part of more than a few is tinged with skepticism particularly as realizability of the objectives. A summary and detailed breakdown reactions follow below.

"After you've read the speech of President Eisenhower now, what do you think of it by and large?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Favorable reactions	52%	72%
Favorable but skeptical reactions	31	26
Unfavorable reactions	6	1
Neutral to indifferent reactions	11	1
	100%	100%

We
Ge

FAVORABLE REACTIONS

Unqualified approval of the speech:

What this man says is 100 per cent right, there can't be any misunderstanding, I really don't know what could be criticised about this speech; on the whole I agree with what Eisenhower said; there is nothing objectionable; good, it's according to my own wishes; that's all quite right; that it's quite right what he said; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

* As is to be expected, not all respondents would cooperate with th lengthy business of reading a speech. Most of the loss (13% in 8% in West Berlin) appeared to be instances of pressure of time disinterest. Only a few appeared to be cases of hostile refusal though, all in all, a complete sampling would probably reveal adve to be a shade more frequent than pictured, the indicated order o are not likely to be appreciably affected.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

Eisenhower has proved America's desire for peace:
It's right what he says, he also is all for it that there shoul be a real peace very soon, the whole world is longing for it; Eisenhower is right in every respect - he wants peace and the general good; it's very good, about peace and all that, really good; it was a very fine speech he made, especially that bit about a just and lasting peace for all nations; that no other proposals could have been made - they prove his willingness to achieve peace and order for the world, these suggestions are acceptable; that it is very good because it advocates peace; etc.

By disarmament and a policy of peace Eisenhower wants to render possible a higher living standard for all nations:
These are suggestions for a lasting peace - instead of guns improvement of living conditions, the speech is good; I regard i as good, I believe that they don't want war but well-being for all nations; that Eisenhower wants to preserve peace and Russia also has to disarm; etc.

Eisenhower proclaimed his aims honestly and frankly:
If a general speaks of economizing on the military sector, it shows that his intentions are honorable; that Eisenhower names his aims clearly and frankly; what President Eisenhower has sa is to the benefit of all the world, it is very good, fair and honest - I'm satisfied with it; I regard the speech as absolutely honest; his ideas and proposals are appealing - on the whole I have the impression that it (the speech) is honest; etc

Eisenhower has taken the political initiative in the East/West struggle:
That he is right in his speech, he wants that the East at last has to put its cards on the table, this should have happened before, Truman should have done so already; the American government tries to take the political initiative; that's right, at last Eisenhower wakes up; I'm glad that Eisenhower gave a bit of his mind to those over there and has made it clear how well everyone could live without war; etc.

Germany can trust Eisenhower - he spoke also on behalf of Germany
It is good, it's on behalf of Germany; that we can trust him because we are a borderland (between East and West); etc.

The speech was well-worded and could be understood by everybody:
I think it's very well-worded and very well arranged; the spee is very good from the human point of view, he viewed just those problems we are really concerned with; the speech made a deep impression - it inspires hope and seemed quite natural to me, just the way a father would speak to his children; he spoke very humanly; that his speech was held at the right moment and in the right manner and that it could be understood by everyone; etc.

Other comments - favorable:
I'm glad that he recognises the Lord as the superior power, on the basis of this mental attitude he judges political issues and everyday problems; etc.

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany | West Berlin

FAVORABLE BUT SKEPTICAL REACTIONS

[redacted]

Eisenhower's aims are good but it's doubtful whether they can be reached: 17% | 15%

This man has quite good ideas, it looks all very well on paper - it remains to be seen what will come out of it; it sounds fine, I only hope that it can be realized; it would be very good if what he wishes and what he said would come true; there was much talking of peace, I hope we'll live to see it; if all that could be realized it would be o.k., that's all; I liked his speech, his intentions are good but whether it can all be realized ...; etc.

Eisenhower's suggestions are good but whether the Russians will agree to them ...: 8 | 10

I think it was quite right what he said and it would be fine if it came true but I suppose the Russians won't play the game, perhaps the people but not the government; yes, the speech is very fine but I believe that the Russians have a different idea of peace, on the whole they might agree to the proposals, they are stupid; this speech is very fine really, but whether it can all be realized? Who knows what the Russians will have to say to it; former statesmen have made these proposals in a similar way and we know from experience that it doesn't solely depend on the proposals, especially if the intentions of the opponent are not honorable; if the East agrees to Eisenhower's ideas all the world will be on the road to prosperity; etc.

Speech is fine if sincerely meant: 6 | 2

It would be fine, if everything he said about his intentions is really true - that really would be a good thing; all things considered I think the speech is good, if the proposals are meant seriously I agree entirely; it is good, it is really excellent if he really has these intentions I'm all for it; I have no insight into high politics, perhaps Eisenhower's intentions are quite honorable; if that's really his opinion it's reasonable; his intentions are good but the hidden meaning - who knows what is behind all that; etc.

The speech is Eisenhower's personal opinion but certain American circles will be of a different opinion: 1 | -

Eisenhower's expressed his personal opinion before the newspaper editors - not before the American people - the Morgenthau people are sure to be of a different opinion; but what will Eisenhower's fellow-countrymen (big industrialists) have to say to it; etc.

Other comments - skeptical: 1 | 1

That he has very high aims, but nobody can achieve them merely through his own strength, man has to respect the Word of the Lord and has to be tolerant towards his neighbor; that about the disarmament scheme, I don't think they will come to an understanding about it; etc.

33%@ | 28%@

UNFAVORABLE REACTIONS

The speech was not meant honestly: 2% | 1%

Others before him have said the same - I can't believe in it as yet, too many people have said the same thing; on the whole it was a good speech for the public but I think he doesn't even believe himself that it will come true; you know that's just so much talk, they won't ask us small people whether we want war or not; paper doesn't blush, America wants to do business and needs the German help in Europe for this purpose; but I don't

(Cont'd on next page)

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

	West Germany	Berlin
trust Eisenhower, during the war he hated the Germans and suddenly he should have changed his mind like that? I can't believe it but it would be very pleasant; etc.		
They won't try in earnest to realise the ideas mentioned in the speech, it's more or less propaganda: It's seen in too one-sided a way from the American point of view - in theory it would be very fine but I don't believe that it will be realized nor that they really want to realise it; I trust that he meant it but it will never be realised; it's rather in the line of propaganda; it made quite a hit as propaganda; etc.	2%	1%
The speech had a menacing undertone: That's just threatening - because he pointed out how dangerous the situation really is, he emphasises his point; the speech is good but I am against the many references to a (possible) war; etc.	1	-
The speech expressed too unyielding an attitude: Everybody wants to have his own way - he doesn't give in nor will the Russians; etc.	1	-
The speech was pretentious: I think the way he talked was rather conceited; etc.	1	-
Other comments - unfavorable: It's not what I'd call acceptable, but it was well composed; etc.	*	-
	7%@	2%@

NEUTRAL TO INDIFFERENT REACTIONS

Not interested in the speech: I'm not interested in reading this speech of Eisenhower's, besides it's time now that I went to work and to-morrow, on Sunday, I can't be bothered, I want to sleep; I don't want to hear anything about politics, you'd better interview somebody else, I don't know anything about things like that; I didn't pay any attention to it, I want to be left alone, politics is something for men; that's beyond me, I can't read that, it's about politics again and I'm not interested in that sort of thing; etc.	3%	-%
Other comments - neutral: I guess the status quo will be maintained; now that Eisenhower is president he can go all out to realise his plans; there are fine ideas expressed in this speech, but in a rather general way, it's as neutral as a funeral eulogy; the power of America is demonstrated through it; etc.	1	2
No opinion/No answer:	7	*
	11%@	2%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04971

BUT ALMOST ALL APPROVE SPEECH ...

But that the occasional skeptical reactions evidenced in the preceding question relate more to the difficulties of the present world situation rather than to Eisenhower's words themselves, is evident from the overwhelming general approval of the speech per se:

"Now, after you've read the speech do you on the whole approve of the words of President Eisenhower, or do you disapprove of them?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Approve	89%	98%
Disapprove	1	-
No opinion	10	2
	100%	100%

Reasons for generally approving Eisenhower's speech ran in the following vein:

"For what reasons do you approve of them?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>He wants peace for the whole world, friendship between nations, conciliation:</u> To bring about peace for the world, he repeated that over and over again; because you can hear throughout the speech that he is serious about realizing peace, I too feel that no stone should be left unturned to bring about peace in Korea as Eisenhower said; because the whole speech is keyed to peace and friendship between nations; war could be avoided, in my opinion, if several of the points he made are observed, it sounds pretty good, but ...; well, because I consider the speech to be a contribution towards peace, he points out a way for all nations to live in peace; because I think the speech is sincere, in my eyes it's a step forward on the road to mutual understanding; because Eisenhower is in favor of peace, he is ready to negotiate with the Russians; because it's a peace offer to the world; if his proposals are accepted, world peace is secured; etc.	45%	53%
<u>Generally favorable commentaries:</u> Because it's a fine speech; because what he said was right after my own heart; I share Eisenhower's views in all points; the speech came out of his heart; because his advice stems from sound ideas; because he is right; he stands for positive developments in the whole world; because he is frank and sincere, and as to the bright side, things were borne out by the Americans; for humanitarian reasons, every sensible person should share his views; etc.	23	25
<u>He wants to further welfare of mankind, he wants freedom and equality for all:</u> If President Eisenhower's program would be carried out, it would mean the welfare of mankind is secured; he pleads the cause of freedom and equality for all people, that's what the whole world is waiting for; because his speech is inspired by high ideals, the interests of all nations are taken into accounts in a very generous way; because if these points would be accepted, the whole world would benefit, East and West have to proceed to action now, however; because he stands for freedom and equality for all; because people all over the world would benefit if Eisenhower would succeed, if his points would be accepted; the realisation of his program is desirable, he wants, for instance, that all nations and every individual should prosper; etc.	10	14

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

His program would benefit the economy, armament appropriations would be spent for business and industry:	6%	10%
Because the world would benefit, trade and commerce would prosper; because then there would be prosperity throughout the world; because what he said was good, he talked about reconstruction and things like that; because I too think instead of arms they should construct things meant for our welfare such as homes, hospitals and the like; there would be an economic boon; he doesn't want to spend any money for armament purposes any more, he wants to promote the welfare of his country with these funds; what I would like best is: no war, no weapons, instead assistance for all underprivileged people; etc.		
He faces the Russians determinedly, he forces them to show their colors:	5	13
That Communism will be checked; to put a stop to Russian aggression; to drive the Russians into a corner so that they will have to show their colors at last; because he puts the Russians in their place; because Eisenhower firmly opposed Communism; I hope the speech will make the Russians react in a positive way; well, the Russians will have to lay their cards on the table at last; etc.		
He wants to aid Germany (general answers):	4	2
Because they have supported Germany in the past and will go on to do so; because I realize that Germany will profit from it, such a nation must not perish; because they help us, after all; because through his speech our future looks brighter; well, I think he means well by us Germans; parts of his speech were uttered in a friendly spirit, I consider everything to be good that benefits Germany; etc.		
He pleads the cause of Germany's restoration:	3	3
Because the Americans are for the reunification of Germany; they are really swell guys, they favor the reunification of our country, they would like to see the refugees return to their homelands, the whole world could live in peace at last; because in his speech he spoke for the reunification of Germany, among other things; because President Eisenhower pleads for the cause of Germany, that the country will be reunited; because he held out the prospect of a just peace to us, that means that we won't lose our territories in the East; we have to get our Eastern provinces back; because he is for free all-German elections; etc.		
Other reasons:	7	4
One's rather suspicious from the time of the Third Reich; because he faces the truth, he brings real facts; it's not bad at all, but what sense is there in a father rearing a child only to find his child is killed in a war later on; because in his speech he laid down the outlines of his policy; because I don't like long arguments about the pros and cons of a thing, I like action, which may result in the realisation of peace, or we have to fight for it; out of sympathy; this speech is inspired by ethical principles, honesty and objectivity on all points; there's too much big talk on their part, you can't bulldoze the Russians that way, the Yanks shouldn't talk so big, they live in too grand a style; they can't even provide for the victims of the first world war, so they can't think of starting a new war, you should think there will never be a war again; etc.		
No opinion/No answer:	2	-
	10%*	12%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04973

SCATTERED DISAGREEMENT ON DETAILS ...

Overwhelmingly favorable overall reactions to Eisenhower's address do not preclude occasional criticisms on details. As will be noted below, however, these are scattered in direction and would appear to be close to the inevitable dichard dissidents from any set of proposals. The more important fact below is that three quarters in West Germany - 85 per cent in West Berlin - say they have nothing whatsoever to disagree with in the speech.

"And with which points made in this speech do you particularly disagree?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
I don't disagree with anything, agree with all of it:	73%	85%
Nothing, it's very good as it is; I don't disagree with any of them, it would be fine if all the points could be realized on an international basis; it's right what he says but what's the use of it, the Russians will do exactly as they please; there's nothing in it that's negative; I didn't find anything in it I would disagree with; no, I didn't find any, it's a very fine speech; everything is to be approved; I'm satisfied if things are done as he said I agree; I haven't found anything I would have to disagree with, I approve of everything; etc.		
Control of atomic energy:	2	1
Control of atomic energy can't be realized, there'll always be a surprise, you can't do anything against that; I don't believe that he earnestly wants a control of atomic energy; if I hear things like "control of atomic energy," some might do it, the thers do their stuff secretly, control - rubbish, I don't even believe that America really wants it, I'm sure this point is nothing but propaganda; etc.		
Doubt the desire of all nations for peace and disarmament:	1	2
I doubt that they really want to cut down rearmament; I'm not convinced that all people really want peace, otherwise there's nothing I disagree with; etc.		
His speech shouldn't have been aggressive against the Russians:	1	1
I thought that he had better not said anything aggressive against Russia, besides that I didn't find anything objectionable; that he is aggressive against the Russians - he is of the opinion that they have to accept his proposals or the cold or hot war will be continued; etc.		
Western rearmament:	1	1
Rearmament; to rearm in order to prevent war; that we've reached that state again, that again rearmament will lead people into troubles and people have not yet recovered from the collapse; Western militarisation; that he sees but one way for West Germany and that is joining the European Defense Community; etc.		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	Berlin
With his mentioning of atom bombs and their use: I don't like to hear anything about atom bombs and the like, I don't like what he says about them; use of atom bombs - the mere announcement of this kind should already be forbidden by all nations; etc.	1%	-%
Other answers: His liking for the French who are but a hindrance, the new start in 1945 wasn't exactly nice; that Russia survived the war by diligence of its people; the term "equal rights" in respect to us Germans shouldn't only be used in talks but should be put into effect, as long as Germans are kept in prison as so-called "war criminals" you don't see too much of equal rights - that only makes you feel suspicious; it's just what people would like to hear but whether it will be realized or not that's another question - it's not possible to be realized; that even now they still believe that the way they acted in 1945 was the right way; why truce in Korea? I'm against it because the West won't get anything out of it - it's all very well to talk of peace but it's still better if it's being brought about by actions; the disarmament program, the Russians would take it for a sign of weakness and take advantage of it; that their politics would change by Stalin's death - that's the most crazy thing I ever heard of; etc.	6	6
No opinion/No answer:	17	5
	102%@	101%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04975

... WOULD HAVE LIKED MORE ON GERMAN PROBLEMS ...

A somewhat larger proportion are willing to volunteer things they believe Eisenhower should have spoken of in their judgment - sins of omission so as to speak. But here the picture adds up largely to the theme that more should have been said about German problems - the kind of criticism that a world directed speech could hardly hope to avoid in any particular country. Again the point of real interest is that so many have no criticism to make on the present score.

"Do you feel that President Eisenhower didn't bring up something about which he should have talked, in your opinion?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
No, nothing - it was a fine speech, everything was said: No, he mentioned the main points; no, he's discussed all pending problems; no, he mentioned everything there is; I can't think of anything he left out; no, if he had said more, the speech would have been too detailed; no, it contained everything worth mentioning; no, it's a fine speech, for it was a warning and a profession of peace at the same time; no, I can't think of anything; no, he can't speak of everything there is in the world; no, he dealt with everything; etc.	61%	71%
Reunification of Germany: He should have stressed the point about German reunification still more; he should have mentioned that America is working towards a reunification of Germany and will stand up for this cause; he should have said more about the reunification of Germany; he didn't make any concrete proposals regarding the reunification of Germany; etc.	4	7
Oder/Neisse line, future borders of Germany (Saar excluded): He didn't mention the Oder/Neisse line; he didn't say anything about the Oder/Neisse line, that millions of refugees want to return to their homelands; yes, he didn't deal with the Oder/Neisse line, he should have brought that up; etc.	2	5
France's attitude towards Germany, Saar issue: Yes, about France, that France is insatiable, too; he could talk about France, about the Saar issue, and about a Franco-German rapprochement; about the Saar problem, about issues between France and Germany, the war criminals issue, the concessions made to Germany should have been more clearly defined; the Saar issue; maybe he could have mentioned the problems regarding the Saar territory; etc.	2	5
Peace treaty for Germany: We have no peace yet, he didn't talk about that, he should have brought up this point, as a country we don't exist any more; I would have liked to hear something about a peace treaty for West Germany, even if Russia shouldn't be a party to it; yes, I missed any reference to a peace treaty concluded with Germany; etc.	2	3

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Concrete proposals about a rapprochement with Russia: He should have made a more concrete proposal about how to come to an understanding with Russia, if you come down to it, he demanded that they should stop carrying out their Communist program everywhere; about the possibility of holding a Big Four conference; what plan Eisenhower has to get the others in a frame of mind to sit down at the conference table; what he plans to do if the Russians don't like his speech; what I missed are detailed proposals, he expressed himself in rather a general way, he dealt with the crucial issues rather sketchily; etc.	2%	2%
Prisoner-of-war issue: The release of the German POWs; he didn't say anything about the German prisoners-of-war, peace in Korea is the foremost thing with him, but the big trouble in Germany, the POW issue among others, doesn't worry them; in Korea American prisoners are exchanged, our POWs have been in Russia for eight years now, he really should have mentioned this problem, for it's high time to set them free at last; etc.	2	1
Refugee problem: That the refugee problem wasn't mentioned; yes, about the refugees; didn't he notice the refugees, he didn't say anything about them; we are expellees, you know, we would have liked to know whether we will obtain justice at some time, whether what belonged to us will be restored to us, it's not our fault that we are still here, after all; etc.	2	*
Berlin: He should have said more about Berlin, but in my opinion that's not too important as he dealt with a reunification of Germany; the president should have mentioned Berlin, we Berliners aren't so unimportant after all, we could well do with a few words of consolation or praise, and we are well worthy of it, too; etc.	1	1
Remilitarization of Germany: About the future rearmament program for Germany, Eisenhower should have been more specific about the number of soldiers we are to raise and what type of an army we are going to have; that an army has been set up in Eastern Germany already, while we haven't got an army yet, that we have to defend ourselves against them; that if Germany makes a defense contribution, it should have a say in things, too; some years ago, after the end of the war, they turned thumbs down on any army for us, now it's all right that we set up an army, he should have explained this about-face; etc.	1	*
Other answers: Christian principles in politics; he could well have enumerated what America has done for Europe up till now, otherwise people will forget it over here; he talked in a rather general way, he didn't give enough room to German problems; he could have told us a little about his negotiations with Adenauer; he should insist on it that we are treated at least as well as are the Japanese; that the American government will appeal to the American people to give donations to a fund out of which aid for other nations will be financed, that's really true; etc.	7	7
No opinion/No answer:	16 10270	5 1070

* Less than one half of one per cent.

\+ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04977

SEE SPEECH AS MERE TACTICAL MANEUVER ...

Asked specifically on the intent of the speech, respondents preponderantly judged it an earnest step on the part of the American government to solve the cold war. Only the order of one in ten - 13 per cent in West Germany, 9 per cent in West Berlin - judge the speech to be a mere tactical maneuver.

"And what impression of the speech do you have now after you could read it, do you feel it represents an earnest step on the part of the American government, or does it represent only a tactical measure in the cold war?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Earnest step	63%	81%
Only a tactical measure in cold war	13	9
No opinion	24	10
	100%	100%

Reasoning for both points of view distributed as follows:

IF "Earnest step":

"For what reasons are you of this opinion?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Because the desire for peace on the part of the Americans is genuine:	36%	58%

After I heard his speech I came to think that he expressed the will of the American people, they don't want another war; speaking for the American people Eisenhower wants peace just as any decent person does; because he spoke in such a sincere and frank manner; you simply have to believe him, America has never done anything malicious; the Americans aren't so deceitful as not to mean what they say; if we can't trust Eisenhower, everything is lost, it's a matter of life or death for Germany, you feel confident that the Senate and the President will bring about a peace for us, America too wants to be at peace with the Communists; I have more confidence in Eisenhower than I used to have in Hitler some years ago, at that time I always felt he was lying, that's not so in the case of Eisenhower; because I trust Eisenhower; because the Americans are as keenly interested in establishing peace as we are, otherwise they would have left us to our fate and we had to deal with the Russians singlehandedly; I am under the impression that the Americans earnestly want to settle all issues peacefully; etc.

Because Eisenhower wants to clarify the situation, he intends to get in touch with the Russians to find out where they stand:	7	6

So that pending political problems are clarified, it was a wise move on the part of Eisenhower to hold this speech; Eisenhower made an offer to the Russians, now we have to wait and see how the Bolsheviks will react, in my opinion Eisenhower wanted to serve the cause of peace through his speech; he wants to put the Bolsheviks to test; because they wanted a showdown: it's either war or peace; because the Americans don't like to be left in the dark any longer, they want to find out where Russia stands; they want to make a clean sweep at last, America considers this constant tension to be absurd, too; the Americans now also want to clarify the world situation; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	Berlin
It's just a hunch, one believes it, one takes it for granted:	6%	6%
It's just a feeling I've got, I've kept up with political developments up till now; I don't know, I just feel it's an earnest step; I figure it that way; that's the impression I've got; I have no solid reasons, it's just a hunch I've got; that's how I feel, judging from what the papers said about it, I believe it, too; because the speech left me with the impression that it's an earnest step; etc.		
Because peace is requisite for promoting the welfare of people of all nations and to banish the fear of a new war:	4	5
He wants peace just as we all do, because then many people will fare better, as he is a democrat he doesn't want to suppress other nations; they know what's at stake if the present tension won't be eased; the Americans need peace as much as we do; America prefers engaging in trade to waging war; because the United States too will benefit if orderly conditions exist throughout the world; war always means loss, and they take a dim view of that as they are clever businessmen; I guess it serves his interests if there's a chance; etc.		
Because one party has to take the initiative:	2	3
One party had to take the lead; if two pig-headed people quarrel nobody will get anywhere; I guess it's a step ahead made by the American government, quite a big step as it is, provided the East will come around and will show its positive sides and the West will contribute its share; he had to make a move some time so that the East knows how things stand; I tend to think that we may make a little headway, as things are now one party had to take the initiative, peace won't come about all by itself; etc.		
Other reasons:	7	8
Because the President kept harping on the rearmament program; because in the last paragraph of his speech he called to the Lord; because he wants to regard the Germans as equal partners once more; because in his speech this particular problem is discussed systematically and publicly for anybody to hear; etc.		
No opinion/No answer:	3 (65%)	1 (87%)

IF "Only a tactical measure in the cold war":

"For what reasons are you of this opinion?"

Nothing will ever change, it's all words, neither deeds nor results will ever follow:	2%	3%
The whole thing has been an appeal to the world, he reviewed what has been done and what is still to be done; no decisive change will take place, the facts have been known before and were merely expressed once again. Much has been said before but nothing so far has been realized; things simply don't advance but rather go backwards - first they should prove their will by deeds; etc.		
His speech was designed to make the East show their cards:	2	1
They don't know Russia's attitude yet; to make the East voice their intentions; his speech was designed to find out Russia's future attitude; etc.		

(Cont'd on next page)

C Some respondents gave more than one answer.

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
I don't trust America: On account of the experiences I have gathered in two world wars, I must state that America has been a bitter disappointment to us, and that's why I don't trust America, my attitude is derived from the cruel experiences I have undergone in eight different American POW camps - America is unpredictable; because so far the Americans have disappointed me; they all talk of peace but they mean war, it's all bla-bla, I don't believe anybody and anything; I am a skeptic and don't easily believe what people say; etc.	2%	4%
America - just like Russia - tries to win the European nations to its side: As I said before: he wanted to back up Adenauer; America wants to rule the world, just like Russia does; to tie the West European nations more closely to America - that's what it is all about; etc.	1	1
America can afford to make such offers, knowing that Russia won't respond: Because they know Russia won't make concessions; the American government must know that Russia will never give up her political aims in Europe, that is why it doesn't cost them much to make such offers; the Americans do know that they will have only little success with the Russians, maybe there will be negotiations once again, but that will be about all; etc.	1	1
America wants to shun the responsibility if another war should break out: The Americans are concerned about their reputation, they like to deny any responsibility on their part; I feel Eisenhower wants to shift the blame for a possible war to the opposite side; etc.	1	-
It was merely propaganda and a show of America's will for peace: It was nothing that the Russians didn't already know - it was rather a demonstration of the will for peace; it was a propaganda show for newspapermen; etc.	1	-
Other answers: He doesn't make any concessions that the Russians could hold on to; etc.	3	3
No opinion/No answer:	* 13%	* 9%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

FEW SEE PEACE PROPOSALS TOO DEMANDING ...

And finally, few Germans expressed the view that the speech makes excessive demands on the Russians in its proposals for peace.

"And are you of the opinion that this proposal by President Eisenhower makes excessive demands on the Russians, or does it not?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Excessive demands	6%	7%
No excessive demands	70	86
No opinion	24	7
	100%	100%

Reasoning on the present question divided as follows:

IF "No excessive demands":

"In what respect does this proposal not make excessive demands on the Russians?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Eisenhower's demands express the obvious - Russia can fulfill them without losing prestige:	34%	59%
The Russians always claim that they want peace - these demands are not too much if they want it seriously; he doesn't ask for anything more than peace which doesn't cost any money just good will; the Russians don't lose anything if they agreed to them; these demands are not disgraceful, they don't interfere with the domestic affairs of Russia; The Russians can accept these demands, it would win them prestige; the Russians are able to fulfill every single one of these demands - there's nothing in them what they couldn't fulfill; to any honest person and any sensible Russian they require the obvious; he doesn't make demands he merely claims the human rights for every individual, for every people and for all the nations; etc.		
Eisenhower didn't make demands, but rather suggestions, proposed cooperation, etc:	6	8
He made no demands whatsoever, merely proposals; he avoided putting firm demands at all, therefore one cannot speak of any excessive demands; on the contrary: America gives the Russian Chief of government another chance for honest cooperation on behalf of the common welfare of all nations in freedom and justice; these are no demands but at last call for reason; the Americans have to suffer much from the Russians who in turn would have made much greater demands, the Americans show a correct, patient and conciliatory behavior; the President offered to meet the Russians half-way; etc.		
The West can never demand enough of Russia - up till now the Russians were the ones who made demands - America's attitude towards Russia is still too slack:	4	10
The West can never demand enough; Eisenhower's demands ought to have been of quite a different kind - America's attitude towards Russia is still too slack; One has to force them by threats; they are entitled to make such demands, the Russians too made demands, so can the West; one can never demand enough, because so you have a chance of getting some of them fulfilled; etc.		

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

The demands are justified - the Russians, though, won't respond: They are not excessive, but the Russians won't fulfill them; the demands were fair and not excessive, but I doubt whether they can ever be realised, it would be wonderful to think of an atomic control at least; the Russians have an opinion of their own; the Russians won't comply with any greater demands anyhow; etc.	4%	1%
Particularly the demands referring to Germany (Release of POWs, peace treaty, etc.) ought to be recognised by the Russians: Because we simply have to regain equality of rights, the East Zone does belong to Germany, and Russia has to release the prisoners of war (the others have done it, too); he doesn't make proper demands on the Russians - after 8 years we are entitled to claim a peace treaty; It is only fair that the prisoners of war should be released; the Russians have by now pillaged and robbed Germany more than enough; etc.	*	5
Other answers: Because I'm an anti-Communist, I don't want to hear anything of things like that, I always leave when a Communist shows up; it's meant as a warning, so that the Russians understand that the free world won't put up with just everything any longer; etc.	3	5
No opinion/No answer:	20 71%o	3 91%o

IF "Excessive demands":

"In what respect does this proposal make excessive demands on the Russians?"

Demands are excessive, therefore unacceptable: It would have been better if the Americans had made a few concessions, as it is there's more or less nothing but demands of the Russians; because in the end the demands won't be met by either side, they are deliberately made so excessive as to be unacceptable and finally there'll be no change at all; because that necessitates a basic change of attitude, the existing contrasts are still too great; etc.	3%	2%
Demand for liberation of the Satellite states is unacceptable for Russia: For the Russians it would practically mean to give up the domination of the Satellite countries and that's sure to be too great a demand from the Russian point of view; there is too much interference in respect of the countries under Russian domination, that's no good as it means for them to give up their regime in these countries; to give up the East bloc countries; because the Russians have a different standpoint in this matter, they would never give up their sphere of influence, the Eastern countries; etc.	2	3
Other answers: Because the Russians want to have everything all at once, they aren't satisfied with these partial solutions; if they expect them to meet these demands all at once, then the demands are excessive; he keeps repeating that the Russians will bring on a third world war, while he is doing it himself; etc.	1	2
	6%	1%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
O Some respondents gave more than one answer.

04982

CURRENT WEST GERMAN POLITICAL TRENDS AND PROJECTED REACTIONS TO POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PROPOSALS

Report No. 179
Series No. 2
June 15, 1953

Classification changed to
OFFICIAL USE ONLY
CONFIDENTIAL
by authority of Leo P. Crespi

OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

INTRODUCTION

A preceding study* explored initial West German reactions to the Soviet "peace offensive" that followed the death of Joseph Stalin. The present report continues a trend study of West German political attitudes in this context, and explores in detail an important question that has been raised as to the extent to which Germans would insist upon German defense forces as a condition for accepting a possible Russian proposal for a neutralized reunified Germany.

Returns are as of early June and are based upon a West German representative probability sampling of 740 cases. As usual interviewing was done under German auspices by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff.

In the interest of speed in getting out the present report only the most relevant findings have been included and except in one particularly important instance population group comparisons have been omitted.

Caution: The "current situation" alluded to in the present report refers to early June and thus antedates the present new Soviet program of conciliatory measures in the East Zone. What the effects of these concessions will be on the political attitudes of the West German population remains for future study to ascertain.

SUMMARY

PART A: CURRENT POLITICAL TRENDS

I. Trend and Current Attitudes Toward Adenauer Administration

... Satisfaction with Chancellor Adenauer's administration has shown a continuous rise over the past many months and currently has attained a level of seven in ten (69%) in West Germany.

... The same period has witnessed correlated gains in expressions of satisfaction with West German economic developments, and in this respect, too, favorable sentiment has now reached a level of seven in ten.

... These trends toward increasing satisfaction with the Adenauer administration and with general economic circumstances have been accompanied by a progressively narrowing lead of the SPD over the CDU in political party preferences, until initially in April and now again in the early June returns the CDU leads the field.

... The FDP has not shown any gains and may possibly in the past few months have undergone some loss of support.

* Special Report, April 30, 1953 entitled "West German Public Opinion In the Wake of Stalin's Death and the Soviet 'Peace Offensive'."

II. Trend in Reactions to Soviet "Peace Offensive"

... Optimism about Russian peace intentions accompanying Stalin's death and subsequent conciliatory gestures has in the current early June survey fallen off markedly from its mid-April level. Only a quarter (26%) in the present survey express the belief that the new Russian government is more conciliatory than the old, and fear of war has bounced back somewhat from its record low in April.

... With judgments revised downward as to improvement in Russian attitude, there has been some falling off, too, in inclinations to ascribe gains to the West in the East/West struggle, or to look with approval upon American policy toward Russia.

III. Trend and Current Support for Western Policy

... Lessened feelings that the Russians have become more conciliatory (as of prior to present East Zone concessions) appear to be accompanied by some loss of support for Western policies. However, present levels tend to remain higher than in the period before the peace offensive.

PART B: PROJECTED REACTIONS TO POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PROPOSALS

I. Current Attitudes on Four-Power Conference

... Desire for a Four-Power conference on German problems continues to be widespread in West Germany, and despite losses in German optimism about Russian conciliatoriness, approximately a quarter still believe that the new Russian regime as contrasted to the old is more desirous of reaching an agreement and is more likely to abide by an agreement.

... The majority of West Germans do not, however, want a conference so badly that they would look with approval upon the Western powers entering into a conference on the basis of some Russian proposal that appeared unacceptable to Germany.

... This finding suggests that most West Germans would not be alienated if the West objected to any conference based upon proposals that did not appear to take German interests adequately into consideration.

II. Reactions to Possible Russian Proposals

... Respondents were asked in the present survey to indicate acceptance or rejection of possible Russian peace proposals similar in all respects except that they embodied successively - no German military, limited arms, and limited arms plus a guarantee of German neutrality.

... Though there is some unescapable artificiality in the mode of questioning employed, the suggestion is strong that with the Oder/Neisse open to compromise almost four in ten West Germans would buy a neutral reunified Germany even if unarmed, a majority would buy such with a limited military, and almost two out of three with a limited military plus a guarantee.

... Readiness to accept limitation on German defense capabilities - if other considerations are attractive enough - appears to characterize the better educated just about as frequently as the less educated and, interestingly enough, the better off somewhat more frequently than respondents with lesser incomes.

III. Further Light on Reactions to Proposals

... Comments of the 38 per cent who would accept even a completely unarmed Germany make it clear that few explicitly welcome the unarmed provision; the situation is rather of presumed peace treaty gains overshadowing the absence of any German defense force.

... Further questioning of the 64 per cent who indicated they would go along with an unarmed or limited-armed Germany reveals evidence of vacillation and wishful thinking in respondents' estimate of Soviet likelihood of respecting German neutrality.

... These indications carry the suggestion that, if such were desirable, support for a Russian proposal embodying limiting military provisions could be cut into by emphasis on Germany's lack of protection and the dangers of trusting the Russians.

04986

PART A: CURRENT POLITICAL TRENDS

I. Trend and Current Attitudes Toward Adenauer Administration

SATISFACTION NOW WIDESPREAD ...

Returns from the present early June survey reveal that satisfaction with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government has risen to the level of seven in ten (69%) in West Germany.

> "In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now? (IF "Satisfied": Very satisfied or fairly satisfied?) (IF "Dissatisfied": Very dissatisfied or merely dissatisfied?)"

	WEST GERMANY	
	Aug 52	Early Jun 53
	(1195)	(740)
Very satisfied	11%	19%
Fairly satisfied	47	50
Dissatisfied	18	14
Very dissatisfied	5	3
No opinion	19	14
	100%	100%

The figures above corroborate indications from a less explicitly worded query that the Adenauer administration has progressively grown in popularity over the past many months, from a state of neck and neck satisfaction-dissatisfaction in mid-1951.

> "Are you, in general, satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of the West German Federal government up to now?"

	WEST GERMANY						
	May 51	Aug 51	Early Sept 51	Late Sept 51	June 52	Dec 52	Mid Apr 53
	(799)	(798)	(796)	(799)	(786)	(1193)	(764)
Satisfied	44%	39%	49%	52%	56%	58%	71%
Dissatisfied	44	42	37	37	30	28	18
No opinion	12	19	14	11	14	14	11
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

04987

CONTINUED INCREASE IN ECONOMIC SATISFACTION ...

Further suggestive of a rising level of satisfaction with the Adenauer regime, is the trend in attitudes among West Germans toward the development of their economic circumstances. In the latest survey 70 per cent express themselves as fairly to very satisfied with their economic progress - a progressive gain from earlier figures.

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the development of your economic circumstances during the past year? (IF "Satisfied": Very satisfied or fairly satisfied?) (IF Dissatisfied": Very dissatisfied or merely dissatisfied?)"

WEST GERMANY

	Nov 51 (1193)	Oct 52 (1195)	Dec 52 (1196)	Early June 53 (740)
Very satisfied	4%	8%	8%	11%
Fairly satisfied	44	51	56	59
Dissatisfied	39	30	28	22
Very dissatisfied	12	10	7	7
No opinion	1	1	1	1
	100%	100%	100%	100%

CDU ALLEGIANCE FORGES INTO THE LEAD ...

That these expressions of satisfaction are having their effect upon political orientations is indicated by the trend in political party preferences tabulated on the page following. In eighteen consecutive surveys since 1951 the SPD has led the CDU. But, despite fluctuations, the unmistakable trend has been toward a narrowing difference, and with the April '53 survey the CDU jumped into the lead for the first time. That this switch to CDU leadership in German political party preference is no mere statistical aberration, is now clear from the current early June returns which almost identically reproduce the April findings.

In view of the remarkable stability of the FDP figures within a range of from five per cent to seven per cent over 18 consecutive surveys, it is possible that the current four per cent adherence represents a drop of support for this political group.

CONFIDENTIAL

TREND IN WEST GERMAN POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCES

"Would you please tell me which party you like best?"

	- 1951 -							- 1952 -									- 1953 -		
	Mar●	Apr●	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Oct	Jan	Feb	Apr	May	Jun	Jun	Jul	Aug#	Dec#	Dec#	Jan	Apr early	Jun
	1000	798	799	800	796	1200	1193	1199	796	1172	1188	786	1535	796	1195	1196	772	1600	784	780
SPD	26%	25%	22%	22%	26%	23%	24%	24%	23%	26%	21%	23%	20%	20%	25%	24%	27%	23%	22%	21%
CDU/CSU	19	23	19	15	21	16	19	19	19	21	18	19	18	17	24	23	26	22	28	28
FDP	6	7	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	7	6	5	7	7	6	7	6	6	4	4
DP	Not ascertained								Not ascertained						1	3	2	2	1	1
BHE	Not ascertained								Not ascertained						3	5	3	2	3	4
KPD	*	*	1	*	1	1	1	*	1	1	*	1	*	1	1	*	0	*	1	*
SRP	Not ascertained				2	1	*	1	1	*	*	*	1	1	1	*	1	Not ascertained		
Others	10	11	6	7	6	7	7	5	6	5	6	7	5	4	3	4	2	2	2	4
No party	18	15	28	31	15	25	19	25	24	28	29	25	33	33	13	7	9	31	27	26
No opinion/ No answer	21	19	19	20	23	21	24	20	20	22	20	20	16	17	23	27	24	12	12	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent

● Question worded somewhat differently - "Suppose there would be elections tomorrow, which party would you vote for?"

\# Trend checked with alternative wording - "Supposing new elections for the Bundestag were held now in West Germany - for which party would you cast your vote?"

04989

II. Trend in Reactions to Soviet "Peace Offensive"

OPTIMISM SAGS ...

Optimism about Russian peace intentions accompanying Stalin's death and subsequent conciliatory gestures has in the current early June survey fallen off markedly from its mid-April level.* Only a quarter (26%) in the present survey express the belief that the new Russian government is more conciliatory than the old, and fear of war has bounced back somewhat from its record low in April.

"Do you have the impression that the attitude of the new Russian government towards the West has become more conciliatory recently or not?"

	WEST GERMANY	
	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Early June 53 (740)
Has become more conciliatory	52%	26%
Not become more conciliatory	25	48
No opinion	23	24
	100%	100%

"In your opinion, is the danger of West Germany being attacked from the East in the foreseeable future great or small? (Great or very great?) (Small or very small?)"

	WEST GERMANY						
	June 51 (799)	Feb 52 (789)	May 52 (791)	June 52 (786)	Dec 52 (786)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Early June 53 (740)
Great	22%	22%	24%	23%	19%	15%	13%
Very great	14	7	5	7	5	2	3
Small	34	43	42	38	49	13	50
Very small	11	13	14	12	15	53	15
No opinion	19	15	15	20	12	17	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* It is again pointed out that what the effect will be of present Soviet East Zone and Austrian relaxations remains to be seen.

04990

AND CRITICISMS GROW ...

With judgments revised downward as to improvement in Russian attitude, there has been some falling off in inclinations to ascribe gains to the West in the East/West struggle, or to look with approval upon American policy toward Russia.

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success in the past time: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

WEST GERMANY

	Apr 51 (797)	Sept 51 (799)	May 52 (791)	Dec 52 (1196)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Early June 53 (740)
Communist powers	31%	15%	21%	24%	15%	18%
Western powers	37	40	32	28	47	40
Undecided (including both the same)	32	45	47	48	38	42
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the American policy towards Russia?"

WEST GERMANY

	May 52 (791)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Early June 53. (740)
Satisfied	36%	50%	31%
Dissatisfied	17	11	13
Partly/Partly	8	18	22
No opinion	39	21	34
	100%	100%	100%

04991

III. Trend and Current Support for Western Policy

SLIGHT DROP FROM APRIL HIGH ...

In the prior report it was indicated that optimism about Soviet peace intentions was accompanied by increased rather than decreased support for Western policy. The suggestion was that many West Germans saw Russian peace overtures as evidence that the Western program was paying off. In line with this interpretation it comes as no surprise that the currently lessened feeling that the Russians have become more conciliatory appears to be accompanied by some loss of support for Western policy - particularly on the pivotal military participation issue. However, it will be noted, the present level remains above that prior to the peace offensive, and on the general question of siding with the West has apparently not faded at all from its April high.

"Are you, in general, for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe? (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)"

WEST GERMANY

	Feb 52 (794)	May 52 (1188)	May 52 (791)	June 52 (786)	Aug 52 (1195)	Oct 52 (1582)	Nov/ Dec 52 (1196)	Dec 52 (786)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Late Apr 53) (376)	June 53 (740)
For	43%	46%	44%	47%	45%	47%	48%	50%	59%	63%	51%
Against	48	41	46	42	44	41	41	40	32	28	33
No opinion	9	13	10	11	11	12	11	10	9	9	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(Cont'd on next page)

04992

(Cont'd from preceding page)

"Have you ever heard or read about the Germany treaty or the contractual agreement?"

WEST GERMANY

	June 52 (786)	Aug 52 (397)	Oct 52 (399)	Dec 52 (1196)	Apr 53 (764)	June 53 (740)
Yes	73%	71%	78%	73%	76%	71%
No	27	29	22	27	24	29
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you approve of the Bundestag acceptance of the Germany treaty, or don't you approve?"

WEST GERMANY

	June 52** (786)	Aug 52** (397)	Oct 52** (399)	Dec 52** (1196)	Apr 53 (764)	June 53 (740)
Yes, approve (Accept it)	33%	40%	38%	31%	46%	39%
No, don't approve (Reject it)	19	17	18	22	17	10
No opinion	21	24	22	20	13	22
	73%	71%	78%	73%	76%	71%

"Do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East, or not be on either side?"

WEST GERMANY

	Apr/ May 52 (800)	May 52 (791)	Sep 52 (1591)	Oct 52 (1582)	Nov 52 (1193)	Nov/ Dec 52 (1193)	Mid Apr 64 (764)	June 53 (740)
West	34%	35%	58%	53%	57%	65%	71%	72%
East	*	1	*	-	1	*	*	*
Neither side	46	43	31	39	30	28	18	20
No opinion	20	21	11	8	12	7	11	8
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** What would you prefer: should the Bundestag accept or reject the contractual agreement? (Asked of all indicating awareness of contractual agreement after told - "The Bundestag has yet to vote on the contractual agreement.")

04993

PART B: PROJECTED REACTIONS TO POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PROPOSALS

I. Current Attitudes on Four-Power Conference

DESIRE UNABATED AND MANY STILL HOPEFUL OF NEW RUSSIAN REGIME ...

Desire for a Four-Power conference on German problems continues to be widespread in West Germany, and despite losses earlier indicated in German optimism about Russian conciliatoriness, approximately a quarter still believe that the new Russian regime as contrasted to the old is more desirous of reaching an agreement and is more likely to abide by an agreement.

"Would you be for or against America, England, France and Russia joining in a Four-Power conference on Germany at the present time?"

WEST GERMANY

	June 52 (786)	Aug 52 (397)	Sept 52 (399)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Late Apr 53 (376)	Early June 53 (740)
For it	75%	75%	70%	78%	72%	71%
Against it	8	10	7	8	9	9
No opinion	17	15	23	14	19	20
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"If you think of Stalin's death and the attitude of the new Russian government - do you have the impression that Russia is today more desirous of reaching an agreement with the Western powers on Germany, or do you have the impression that Russia is today less desirous than prior to Stalin's death?"

WEST GERMANY

	June 53 (740)
Today more desirous	23%
Today less desirous	4
Just as desirous as before	51
No opinion	22
	100%

"If Russia today would make an offer to the West about the Germany issue, would you then be more inclined to believe that Russia would abide by an agreement concluded with the West, or would you be less inclined to believe this than prior to Stalin's death?"

WEST GERMANY

	June 53 (740)
Today more inclined to believe	22%
Today less inclined to believe	5
Today same as before	51
No opinion	22
	100%

LIMITS HOWEVER TO GERMAN DESIRE FOR CONFERENCE ...

The majority of West Germans do not, however, want a conference so badly that they would look with approval upon the Western powers entering into a conference on the basis of some Russian proposal that appeared unacceptable to Germany.

> "Supposing Russia would make a proposal unacceptable for Germany, and would request the Western powers to hold a Four-Power conference about this proposal - should the Western powers go into such a Four-Power conference or should they turn it down?"

	WEST GERMANY
	June 53 (740)
Go into	19%
Turn down	56
No opinion	25
	100%

The question wording above is a little strong and not entirely unambiguous it will be seen from accompanying comments, but the results do suggest that most West Germans would not be alienated if the West objected to any conference based upon proposals that did not appear to take German interests adequately into consideration.

REASONS ADVANCED FOR FAVORING DISCUSSION OF EVEN AN UNACCEPTABLE PROPOSAL ...

The minority for a conference in spite of an unfavorable basis of discussion argued mainly that perhaps the Russians could be persuaded to change their minds and in any case no harm can come from willingness to negotiate.

> "Why should the Western powers in that case go into such a Four-Power conference?"

	West Germany
Because through negotiations advantages may be achieved for Germany and the Russians might be made to change their opinion: Negotiations in any case, if it's unacceptable one could perhaps try wo work on the Russians to change it; negotiations are always an open door and perhaps it could be tried very seriously to make Russia give up such a proposal; a proposal is nothing final and can still be changed to our advantage; because there's still the chance that the Russians might give in on some points; perhaps the Russians could be made to change their mind; perhaps we might still get something out of it; because acceptable proposals can only be obtained through negotiations; because something might yet be brought about; there might still be a possibility to achieve an easing of the tense world situation; etc.	11%

(Cont'd on next page)

04995

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany

It can't do any harm if you show willingness to negotiate and one could learn what standpoint the Russians are taking: 6%
Such a conference couldn't do any harm; willingness should always be shown; you can always negotiate, to negotiate is better than to refuse right from the start, every opportunity that offers itself should be seized; everything should be tried, one shouldn't have prejudices; so that nobody could say they had made a peace overture but the Western powers didn't turn up to discuss; to find out what is behind all that, with the Russians you can't know beforehand and this might be a way to find out; the conference would show in any case whether the proposals were really unacceptable or not; they should negotiate as the Russians have suggested, then all the world would know Russia's intensions and they couldn't play their propaganda tricks on people anymore; etc.

Because in that way war may be prevented: 1
To prevent war and to ease existing tensions; it's better they go into such a conference, thus war might perhaps be prevented; they should keep trying to maintain peace;, etc.

Other answers: 1
I don't think that the Russians would ever have dark designs in regard to us because we are the only people they are afraid of; if you give in to the Russians that would only make them stronger, my idea is to negotiate but not to give in; that our POWs will be released, that the East of Germany would be ruled in a different spirit and oppression would cease; because Germany isn't free to negotiate - Germany won't have anything to do with it; etc.

No opinion/No answer: * 19%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

04996

REASONS ADVANCED FOR REJECTING DISCUSSION OF UNACCEPTABLE PROPOSAL ...

The majority who expressed disapproval of any Four-Power conference grounded on an unacceptable Russian proposal argue in the following vein:

"Why should the Western powers in that case turn down such a Four-Power conference?"

	West Germany
<u>Because it's no use to discuss an unacceptable proposal, the Russians won't give in anyway:</u> If the proposal isn't acceptable, no negotiations should take place, for in that case all that negotiating would be useless, the Russians will never give in; if the proposal is unacceptable, it's no use to hold a conference; if the proposal is no good, why then hold useless negotiations, the Russians should reconsider the whole matter and make better proposals; if the proposal is unacceptable, an agreement wouldn't be reached anyway; to make unacceptable proposals is no basis for negotiations; I really don't know, but it looks to me as if you can't go into anything that's unacceptable, after all; because nothing much does ever come of a conference with the Russians, Korea is the best example for that, and such a conference would just be futile; because in that case the Western powers won't achieve anything anyway, once the Russians are set on a thing, they won't budge; etc.	25%
<u>Because it would only harm Germany:</u> To prevent the issue being settled at the expense of Germany; because they might reach some agreement at our expense behind our back; we'll always be the losers if it doesn't turn out favorably for us, just remember, in Potsdam they cut up Germany; it's quite obvious that you can't approve of a thing like that if it's likely to harm you; because things are in bad shape in the East, and we don't want to suffer the fate of the people over there, after all; because it would do damage to Germany; because Germany wouldn't gain anything by it; if it's detrimental to us, then it's no use to be sure; etc.	12
<u>Any conditions unacceptable to Germany should be unacceptable to the Western powers, too:</u> If the proposals seems to be unacceptable right at the start, it would harm the Western powers, too, for they need Germany; if it's out of the question for Germany to meet these conditions, the same would apply to the West; it would be utter nonsense, a proposal that's unacceptable for Germany would injure the interests of the Western powers at the same time; because it would lower their prestige if they would discuss unacceptable proposals; they can't sell and betray us, for it would be the end for them at the same time; because it would be a sign of weakness on the part of the Western powers if they would accept; because our national life has to be preserved at any cost, and because going into an unacceptable proposal would be an alarming sign of weakness; etc.	6

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page) West Germany

Because it would mean strengthening the Russian position and would place us at the mercy of the Russians: 3%
At the present moment the West shouldn't even consider to accept a proposal to negotiate, the longer such negotiations are drawn out, the stronger these guys over there get and then one fine day the Western powers will be steam-rollered; if they don't reject this proposal, those boys on the other side of the fence will get things under their control again; because step by step we would fall into the hands of the East; Russia's predominance would become even more marked; because it then wouldn't have much use to negotiate with the Russians, we'd only be a pawn in their hands; because in that case Germany might be sold to the Soviets; because the Russians would become too strong then; etc.

Because Germany can't do without the Eastern territories: 2
The Russians shouldn't be allowed to keep our Eastern territories; because in that case Germany would have to give up its Eastern provinces for a long time, and we need them badly; if, for instance, the Oder-Neisse line would be declared to be the final border, and they probably would come to such an agreement, then I'm positive that there will be but one opinion shared by all of us, that is, to turn thumbs down on such a conference; the Western powers want to help us get back our homelands, after all; because we want to get our homeland back; etc.

Because the Russian proposal wouldn't be sincere: 2
Because the Russians won't keep their word anyway; because none of the Russian proposals is sincere; because it would just be a pitfall, the Russians would only pretend to be willing to make peace, they wouldn't actually mean it; there would always be lies at the bottom of it and the Western powers would only tie themselves more closely to a thing; etc.

Because the Russians would make even greater demands: 1
In that case the Russians could ask anything from us; Russia only wants to start negotiations to bring up different issues later on; etc.

Because Germany wouldn't be allowed to participate in the conference as an equal partner: 1
Because Germany wouldn't be a party to such a conference, for one thing; Germany should be granted such a measure of freedom that it would have a voice in deciding whether such a conference should take place or not, Germany would reject this proposal, to be sure; they should let us manage our affairs all alone; etc.

Other reasons: 5
Because all they would do would be to make demands on Germany that it can't meet; it's absolutely useless, the aim of Russian policy is to conquer the world, nothing is changed about that, only through a war will the situation be clarified, that doesn't mean that I'm in favor of a war, it's just how I see things; Germany can't afford to make experiments, some day it must dawn on the Russians that the time has come to live side by side with us peacefully; the Russians don't know any more what they are after, they always disagree among themselves; all this work is just being done for the capitalists; it seems that it's pretty difficult to negotiate with those Russian chaps; etc.

No opinion - No answer: 1 38%

** Some respondents gave more than one answer

II. Reactions to Possible Russian Proposals

INTRODUCTION ...

In early 1952 the Russians made a proposal about Germany which appeared to embody the following major provisions:

> A reunification of all Germany through free elections under Four-Power supervision.
>
> Germany shall have the right to build up a limited army of its own, but shall not be allowed to make military treaties against any of the Four Great Powers.
>
> Germany shall give up its claim to the former German territories, East of Oder and Neisse.
>
> Peace treaty for Germany and withdrawal of all occupational powers.

It is already known from earlier studies that without some compromise on the Oder/Neisse provision Germans predominantly reject such a solution of the German problem. The specific consideration investigated in the present study is the influence of military considerations in German receptivity or resistance to a Russian proposal of this type.

REACTIONS TO MILITARY PROVISIONS IN POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PROPOSALS ...

Respondents were given an opportunity to accept or reject possible Russian proposals similar in all respects except that they embodied successively - no German military, limited arms, and limited arms plus a guarantee of neutrality. The successive proposals and the results to each can be examined in the page following. In summary, it will be noted, the following picture obtains.

SUMMARY OF REACTIONS TO POSSIBLE RUSSIAN PROPOSALS

	June 1953 (740)
Will accept with no arms	38%
Will accept with limited arms	15
Will accept with limited arms plus guarantee	11
Will accept only with specified modifications	11
Will not accept under any circumstances	5
No opinion	20
	100%

Though there is some unescapable artificiality in the mode of questioning employed, the suggestion is strong that with the Oder/Neisse open to compromise almost four in ten West Germans would buy a neutral reunified Germany even if unarmed, a majority would buy such with limited military, and almost two out of three with limited military plus a guarantee.

GROUP VARIATIONS IN REACTIONS ...

It will be noted further (see second page following) that lack of objection to the absence of an unlimited German military in connection with any proposed solution of the German problem, is not confined merely to those elements in the population who would be the least capable of assessing consequences. On the contrary readiness to accept limitations on German defense capabilities - if other considerations are attractive enough - appears to characterize the better educated just about as frequently as the less educated and, interestingly enough, the better off somewhat more frequently than respondents with lesser incomes.

"Supposing Russia would make a proposal regarding the reunification of Germany consisting of the following points: (CARD)

1. A reunification of Germany through free elections under Four-Power supervision
2. Germany shall be neutral and shall not enter into a military alliance with either the East or the West
3. Germany shall remain unarmed and shall not establish any military forces
4. Germany has the right to raise the issue of the Oder/Neisse line and to negotiate about the former German territories in the East
5. Peace treaty for Germany and withdrawal of all occupation powers

If one had to decide to either accept or reject this Russian proposal as it stands, would you then prefer to see this proposal accepted or rejected?"

	(740)
Accept	38%
Reject	41
No opinion	21
	100%

If "Rejected" or "No opinion" to preceding query:
"Supposing the Russians would no longer insist on point 3, that is to say, they would not demand that Germany remain unarmed - and the proposal would read thus: (CARD)

1. A reunification of Germany through free elections under Four-Power supervision
2. Germany shall be neutral and shall not enter into a military alliance with either the East or the West
3. Germany shall have the right to build up a limited army of its own under Four-Power supervision
4. Germany has the right to raise the issue of the Oder/Neisse line and to negotiate about the former German territories in the East
5. Peace treaty for Germany and withdrawal of all occupation powers

Would you then prefer to see this proposal, as it stands, accepted or rejected?"

Accept	15%
Reject	26
No opinion	21
	62%

If "Rejected" or "No opinion" to preceding query:
"And supposing the Western powers would guarantee that any violation of the neutrality of Germany would be regarded as an act of war against the Western powers: would you then prefer to see this proposal, as it stands, accepted or rejected?"

Accept	11%
Reject	15
No opinion	21
	47%

If "Rejected" or "No opinion" to preceding query:
"In your opinion which points would have to be deleted, added or changed first before you would like to see such a proposal accepted, or would you not want to accept such a Russian proposal under any conditions?"

Delete, add, change	11%
Not accept under any conditions	5
No opinion	20
	36%

CONFIDENTIAL

	Will accept with no arms	Will accept with limited arms	Will accept with limited arms plus guarantee	Will accept only with specified modifications	Will accept under no circumstances	No opinion	Number of cases
Sex:							
Men	41%	16%	14%	12%	7%	10%...100%	382
Women	34	14	8	6	3	35	358
Education:							
Elementary school	39	13	11	8	5	24	398
Beyond elementary	35	21	12	16	7	9	142
Income (per month):							
0 - 299 DM	34	13	11	10	5	27	353
300 - 399 DM	39	18	13	6	6	18	173
400 DM and more	45	16	13	12	4	10	183
Age:							
18 - 24 years	36	13	11	6	2	32	93
25 - 34 years	41	16	12	11	5	15	167
35 - 44 years	41	12	12	8	5	24	160
45 - 54 years	39	15	11	8	8	19	167
55 years and over	31	18	11	10	5	25	180
Party Preference:							
SPD	46	17	10	8	5	14	154
CDU/CSU	34	17	14	13	5	17	209
FDP	31	35	15	11	-	8	26
Other parties	46	18	6	10	10	10	61
No party	37	11	11	6	5	30	194
Don't know	34	9	7	7	2	41	94
Occupation:							
Professionals	37	20	17	17	3	6	35
Businessmen	38	19	11	6	6	20	84
White-collar workers	37	18	11	16	7	11	99
Skilled laborers	48	13	10	6	5	18	175
Semi-skilled laborers	36	6	15	4	5	34	81
Farmers	29	20	5	9	6	31	93
Not employed: pens.; students; ret.; etc.	33	14	13	11	4	25	118
Religion:							
Catholics	39	14	12	6	4	25	355
Protestants	36	16	11	12	6	19	360
Origin:							
Natives	39	14	11	8	5	23	602
Expellees, Refugees	34	18	14	13	6	15	136

05000

CONFIDENTIAL

T-55

05081

III. Further Light on Reactions to Proposals

APPEALS OVERSHADOW ABSENCE OF DEFENCE FORCE ...

Study of the accompanying comments below, of the 38 per cent who would go along with even a completely unarmed Germany, points up the potency of the appeals in the hypothetical Russian proposal that was posed. Only one per cent appear to explicitly welcome the unarmed provision; for the others the situation seems to be of gains overshadowing and offsetting the absence of any German defence force.

"Why would you like to see this proposal accepted?"
(Proposal embodying no arms)

	West Germany
Acceptance would mean German reunification: Because reunification may come about that way and that's the most important thing for us; because a reunification of Germany must be placed above any alliance West Germany may conclude with the Western powers; in its policy and its actions it must be Germany's formost aim to get reunited as soon as possible; because it's the only way to realize the reunification of Germany; Germany wouldn't be divided any more; because it means a chance to reunite Germany; because those different parts of Germany belong together, this ridiculous partition should end at last; because all five Points should be accepted, above all the reunification clause, in economic respects especially it would be a good thing to go into such a proposal; because it would prepare the way for a reunification of Germany; our chief aim is the realization of a united Germany so that we'll be on our own once more; I just don't see why the East Zone should remain separated from us; etc.	9%
Acceptance would mean increased chances for peace: Then we'd have peace at long last, and the future would look brighter and more secure; so that an end will be put to the cold war, things can't go on the way they are now; because in that way war will be avoided, a war would mean a severe set-back to all; I don't want another war, and it seems to me that this proposal offers a chance to prevent a new war; there would be no danger of war any more at long last; it might be that a new war could be prevented in that way; because I'm very much for peace, and through this proposal peace may be brought about; because I'm for peace, I've suffered a lot at the hands of the Russians; first of all, the international situation would be changed, tensions would be relieved; maybe in that way peace may be realized; etc.	7
Acceptance would mean that the occupation powers would withdraw: So that all these people quit Germany at last and we will be free once more; once the occupation forces have withdrawn, you can breathe freely again, that's my conviction; yes, the occupation powers should beat it, all of them; because the proposal looks good to me, no occupation any longer, that would be a good thing; I think it's an advantage for us to be on our own again once the	5

(Cont'd on next page)

05002

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany

occupation powers have withdrawn; then we'd be on our own again and there would be no occupation costs any longer; it would serve the ends of the French, for they don't want Germany to become strong again, as well as it would satisfy the Russians, and we'd be rid of all four of them;

<u>This proposal contains everything that's desirable at present:</u> 5%
It would be as near an ideal solution of the problem as we could hope to get; that's exactly what we have been after for a long time; we would have got at last what we had been waiting for for such a long time; then everything will be fine and we would have achieved what we had been after; that's just what the German people desire; in my opinion this is a proposal which contains nearly everything we want to see realised; something tangible is offered to us through this proposal, that's just what we want, after all; because in my eyes it's the biggest step ahead imaginable; the proposal is o.k., we can't expect more; a more favorable proposal won't be made, so for the time being the situation looks quite hopeful; etc.

<u>Acceptance would mean a step ahead:</u> 5
It would be a step ahead at least; it would mean making at least some progress, and one thing may lead to the other; so we won't be on the downgrade forever; because it would be more advantageous for Germany; it would mean at least a beginning for us, things can't go on forever the way they are now; so we'd get somewhere at last, so that negotiations will get under way at least;

<u>Acceptance may mean settlement of the problem of the German territories in the East:</u> 4
Because then we could negotiate about the Oder/Neisse line; as long as they negotiate about the Eastern territories, the Oder/Neisse line issue will not be closed; the Oder/Neisse clause is all right, there isn't anything else about the treaty which we'd better turn down; the most important thing for us is to get our Eastern territories back; then we could return to our homeland provided our homes still exist; the refugees could return home then; etc.

<u>Acceptance would mean a return to normalcy:</u> 3
Because then we'd at last live under orderly conditions; be-because then things would be normal again for us; because then we could go about our jobs without having to worry; then we can live peacefully once more; because then there would be tranquillity; that things will be settled at last and people's nerves will be soothed; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

05003

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany
Acceptance would mean a peace treaty: Because it's the only chance to actually get a peace treaty soon; so that we'll get a peace treaty at last; etc.	3%
Acceptance would mean no military: It would be best if we'd be unarmed; it would be a good thing if Germany would be unarmed, if it had no military forces; once we have an army, war wouldn't be far off; etc.	1
Acceptance would mean a neutral Germany: It wouldn't be a bad thing at all, Germany would then be a neutral country; because we'd be neutral in that case; etc.	1
To accept the proposal would mean the prisoners of war would be repatriated: The prisoners would be set free; so that all POWs will be allowed to return to their home country; etc.	*
Skeptical commentaries and qualified answers: First of all the Russians will never withdraw, but if they really are sincere about their proposal, we should accept right away; if they stick to the terms of this proposal, I'm in favor of accepting it; apart from the fact that the Russians never live up to their promises, it would be a good thing if these five Points would be realized; if I had confidence in the Russians, this treaty would be all right in my eyes, except for Point 3, for it would mean we'd be unprotected; we must have some sort of a police force, no doubt, then this proposal would be acceptable; to be completely unarmed is pretty dangerous, but if the Russians actually would make this proposal I guess we should accept it; etc.	3
No opinion / No answer:	49%**

* Less than one half of one per cent.

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

05004

WISHFUL THINKING IN EVIDENCE ...

To get a deeper insight into the psychology behind acceptance of a possible Russian proposal that would preclude or limit Germany's ability to defend herself, the 64 per cent inclined to this viewpoint were subsequently queried as to whether they considered it likely or unlikely that Russia would respect German neutrality. Almost half (31%) said they believed it unlikely that Russia would respect German neutrality:

"Do you personally consider it likely or unlikely that Russia would respect our neutrality?"

	WEST GERMANY Early June 53 (740)
Likely	21%
Unlikely	31
No opinion	12
	64%

Why then, these respondents were asked, would you like to see a Russian proposal for a neutral Germany accepted? The reactions to this kind of pressure are very revealing. The way the respondents squirmed under this question - 6 per cent, it will be noted in the comments below, even changing their minds - suggests that there is an element of wishful thinking in German willingness to go along with an unarmed or only a limited-armed Germany. This carries the implication of course that, if such an objective were desired, support for a Russian proposal embodying limiting military provisions could be cut into by emphasis on Germany's lack of protection and the dangers of trusting the Russians.

"If you'd consider it unlikely that Russia would respect our neutrality, why would you then like to see a Russian proposal for a neutral Germany accepted?"

	West Germany
One should at least take a chance and see what will happen - maybe better results will be achieved through negotiations: Maybe they will keep their word, you never can tell, it would be grand if they came to an agreement; there will be nothing for us but to have a go at it, even if we aren't quite sure whether or not the Russians will respect our neutrality, the present state of affairs has to be changed anyway; an attempt should be made under any circumstances, maybe the Russians will live up to an agreement concluded that way; we have to take a chance and see whether the Russians will stick to an agreement because if they do, we'd be spared considerable expenses and heavy losses in human lives; the Russians really liked it here, they'll always keep an eye peeled on Germany, but still, we should take a chance on that neutrality line; it might be that they respect our neutrality, after all, things may turn out favorably for us, why not take such a risk, there's still time to make war on them later on; once we'd have got that far, we could try to negotiate even more favorable clauses for us in the course of time; one must accept the proposal in spite of any misgivings and find out whether or not the Russians will respect neutrality; to find out what the Russians are up to, some day the situation must be clarified; because I hope that things will take a favorable turn for us in the course of time; because you can achieve more at the conference table than on the battle-field, where there is a will, there is a way;	8%

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany 6%

If the West would guarantee our security the Russians will know better than to violate our neutrality:
We could pledge our neutrality if we'd know the Americans would defend us in case of an attack, once the Russians are convinced that the Americans meant business, they'll respect Germany's neutrality; if America gives a guarantee, things are all right; because I'm sure the Russians are afraid of America and thus they will leave us alone; the Western powers should see to it that such a thing won't happen, they should be aware of the danger; I take it that the West will give guarantees, I'm sure they at least will live up to their promises; because we always have the Western powers to turn to, it means they'll back us up; we'd still have a chance to get help from the West, for in that case the Russians would violate a treaty; because many people hope that Russia will respect the treaties, there still are the Americans who make us feel secure; if only the Western powers, above all, the Americans, would help us and keep their word, the Russians will know better than to attack us; it might be best for us, provided the Americans would protect us; etc.

All possibilities to bring about peace and a reunification should be exhausted: 4
To exhaust every possibility there is to bring about a reunification of Germany, even if it's likely that the attempt will end in failure; in order to secure peace, that an agreement be reached at last and East and West will stop quarrelling; above all, Germany shouldn't be divided any more; everything should be done in the interest of a reunification of Germany; only for the sake of peace and a reunited Germany; etc.

Once we have an army of our own, we can defend ourselves: 2
Well, I'm for neutrality, if they'd violate our neutrality we could offer resistance, that's how I consider this matter; you never can tell how things will develop, if we are in a position to defend ourselves, just let the Russians come; because then we would be able to defend ourselves; only if we have an army of our own, I approved of the proposal only because it would mean we'd have a national army and could defend ourselves, once we have armed forces, we are strong; the Russians would respect our neutrality only if we'd be strong; then we'd at least have an army; etc.

For the single reason to get the Eastern territories back and to be able to return to one's homeland: 1
Because in my eyes it would be so great a gain for us if the Eastern provinces would be returned to us that I would put up with neutrality, though I don't like the idea as such; it's an acceptable proposal and I'm in favor of going into it, I hail from the East and I would like to return to my homeland, our homeland would become free; because it would mean the Eastern territories would be restored to us; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

West Germany

Other reasons:
If the Russians take it into their heads, they'll steam-roller us, regardless whether we are neutral or not, therefore it's preferable to remain neutral so that our boys won't have to take any risks unnecessarily; I don't see any reason why we shouldn't accept this proposal as long as the Russians don't attack us; somehow the Germans would breathe more freely once the occupation forces had withdrawn; the Russians will never make such a proposal, that's just what you think, they like it too well in Germany, they'll never leave; a Russian proposal isn't decisive after all; etc. 5%

CHANGED OPINIONS

The proposal should better be rejected as the Russians cannot be trusted:
Well, maybe it's wiser to turn the proposal down, Germany can't stay neutral, after all, it should have the possibility to join alliances; well really, if you come down to it, the proposal maybe isn't too favorable, it might be better to leave it alone; no, I think I don't favor it, after all, our whole country might get under Russian control; only if the Russians would withdraw to Siberia could I go back to my homeland, before that it's hopeless, therefore I'm rather doubtful whether the proposal should be accepted; any Russian proposal should be turned down, up till now any promises made by the Russians have turned out to be just empty words; we have to reject the proposal as we'd be too weak all alone; I don't trust anybody any more, we've been hoodwinked too often; because you have to be wary of the Russians, I think it's pretty doubtful whether they'll respect our neutrality; the Russians are after world conquest, I have no confidence in their assertions; you'll never find out what the Russians' little game is; I'd rather reject the proposal, after all, as I don't trust the Russians; Russia will never respect the neutrality of any state, especially of a weak country; etc. 6

No opinion - No answer: 3

35%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

REASONS ADVANCED FOR BELIEVING RUSSIA WOULD RESPECT GERMAN NEUTRALITY ...

Respondents who felt that the Russians would not be likely to violate German neutrality argued in the following vein:

"In your opinion, what would keep the Russians from violating your neutrality?"

	West Germany
Fear of a new war and the strength of the West: Because it would mean provoking a third world war; they are afraid that there will be a serious conflict with the West if they violate our neutrality; the strength of the Allies, America is a country that has got everything, and nothing can go wrong for such a country, Russia wouldn't dare to take any risks; the danger of a conflict with the West which the Russians would like to avoid for economic reasons alone (rearmament drive, increased steel production and increased output in other strategically important industries), for they need at least 15 to 20 years to catch up with the West; because the Russians by themselves can't do much against the Western powers and Germany, and because they haven't got the nerve; because now as ever the Russians are afraid of Germany; Russia dreads a new war and is afraid of America; because at present everybody shrinks back from unleashing a new world war; maybe they are afraid of another war, I hope they are; probably their fear of the West; the guarantee the Western powers have given and their strength; only their fear of America; their dread of the Western powers, above all the US;	11%
Russia will respect any treaties: I think the Russians will stick to the terms of the treaty; there'd be a treaty, if they wouldn't respect our neutrality they would neglect their duty and break their word, I don't think they would do such a thing; if they are the ones to sponsor a pact, I'm sure they'd respect it, because the Russians can't afford to fall out with the whole world; negotiations would be held on this point and I believe they would stick to the terms agreed upon; to make the world believe that they always stick by their word; out of consideration for public opinion throughout the world; etc.	3
Russia will not start another war: Up till now the Russians have never started a war, though this certainly doesn't mean I'm partial to the Russians; they don't want a new war and that means they don't want to do anything if we don't attack them, they won't invade our country either; because the Russians will never attack a neutral country; if they were set on a new war, they would have started it long ago, they can't start a war just like that; it would be unfair to say the Russians have started a war yet, up till now they've always gained victories in the political sphere; the desire for peace; etc.	3

(Cont'd on next page)

05006

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany
<u>There are enough problems to be settled in the East by Russia:</u> They are fed up with war, too, and they've got a lot of problems on their hands in the East; they've got troubles of their own in the East; they can't afford to have enemies everywhere, it would mean they'd be less encumbered in the East, they will see to it that they don't get involved in anything in the West; there isn't any danger of the Russians coming here, they've got a large enough territory as it is; it would mean that there would be no danger for Russia on one front, it could shift the bulk of its attention to some other area; etc.	2%
<u>There would be little value in attacking Germany:</u> Because there is little they could get out of a poor nation such as we are, why then should they violate our neutrality?; because they don't care about that small country that's Germany: there is nothing in it for them; because we are such a small and weak country; etc.	1
<u>They will try to win us in other ways:</u> They will try to win us over politically; it seems to me that they will respect our neutrality outwardly, they will try, however, to change things in their favor through infiltration; because they believe that such a course isn't necessary, they think time is working in their favor; etc.	1
<u>Other commentaries:</u> Because there would be no reason for violating our neutrality as we wouldn't have an army; because the Russians consider cooperation (neutrality) to be more useful for them than to make enemies of us; they want to profit, they will claim German territories for good beforehand; etc.	3
<u>No opinion - No answer:</u>	1
	25%**

** Some respondents gave more than one answer.

05009

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

GERMAN POLITICAL TRENDS
FOLLOWING RECENT SOVIET CONCESSIONS
AND SUBSEQUENT EAST ZONE RIOTS

Report No. 180
Series No. 1951

Classification changed to Restricted
by authority of Lee P. Crespi
PUB/RA SECURITY INFORMATION

OFFICE OF THE U. S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
REACTIONS ANALYSIS STAFF

05010

INTRODUCTION

The recent East Zone uprising injected a complication into the Soviet "peace offensive" the repercussions of which on trends in West German and West Berlin political opinions are examined in the present study.

Returns were gathered between June 22nd and July 2nd - following the outbreak of East Zone rioting - and are based upon representative probability sampling of 761 cases in West Germany and 186 cases in West Berlin. As usual, interviewing has been conducted under German auspices by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Reactions Analysis Staff.

In the interest of additional speed in getting out the findings, the present report foregoes detailed analysis and embodies simply an updated revision of a June 26 "flash" presentation of early returns. For readers with detailed informational needs the highlight picture can be filled out by recourse to an appendix which presents respondents' whys and wherefors for the opinions expressed.

CAPSULE SUMMARY

... Despite the circumstances of the rioting in the East Zone, recent Soviet concessions have not failed to register with the West German rank and file.

... But now as earlier,* such concessions appear to predominantly boomerang to the advantage of the Adenauer government and Western policies.

... Desire for a Four-Power conference, however, has reached a new high and continues to be accompanied by a kind of optimism and susceptibility that could pose difficulties for the West.

* Special Report, dated April 30, 1953, entitled "West German Public Opinion on the Wake of Stalin's Death and the Soviet 'Peace Offensive'."

I. CONCESSIONS VERSUS RIOTS

DESPITE RIOTS PREPONDERANCE ONCE MORE IMPRESSED BY SOVIET CONCILIATORINESS ...

"Do you have the impression that the attitude of the new Russian government towards the West has become more conciliatory recently or not?"

	West Germany			West Berlin	
	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Early June 53 (740)	Late June 53 (761)	Mid Apr 53 (299)	Late June 53 (186)
Has become more conciliatory	52%	28%	46%	73%	61%
Not become more conciliatory	25	48	32	19	35
No opinion	23	24	22	8	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

LESS THAN MAJORITY OF WEST GERMANS BELIEVE DEMONSTRATIONS A GOOD THING FOR GERMANY - WEST BERLINERS DIFFER ...

"Considering everything, is it a good thing for Germany or not, in your opinion, that these demonstrations and riots have happened in East Berlin and in the East Zone?" (Asked of those aware of incidents.)

	West Germany	West Berlin
	Late June 53 (761)	Late June 53 (186)
A good thing	44%	87%
Only partly good	9	2
Not a good thing	23	6
No opinion	18	5
	100%	100%

(See Appendix for reasons given for answers)

FEW WEST GERMANS SEE DEMONSTRATIONS ACCOMPLISHING SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENTS - AGAIN WEST BERLINERS DIFFER SOMEWHAT ...

"Will these riots in East Berlin and in the East Zone, in your opinion, lead to a substantial improvement of the position of the East Zone population, or will no great changes in the East Zone result from them in the end?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
	Late June 53 (761)	Late June 53 (186)
Substantial improvement	17%	43%
No great changes	58	49
No opinion	19	8
	94%	100%

05012

II. REACTIONS TO SOVIET CONCESSIONS

SOVIET CONCESSIONS BOOMERANG - MOST SEE THEM AS PAYOFF ON WESTERN POLICY OF STRENGTH, WITH MORE TO BE EXPECTED IF POLICY CONTINUED ...

"Two persons are discussing the present policy of the Russian government and express in this connection the following views:

Mr. Mueller: The concessions which Russia now makes are owing to the growing strength of the West, therefore the West should continue the policy it has pursued up till now, then probably even more will be achieved.

Mr. Braun: Russia's present concessions are owing to a real change in Russian policy, therefore West Germany should postpone concluding any military alliance with the West until we see whether it's still the right thing for us to do under the new conditions.

Whom would you be most likely to agree with?"

	West Germany Late June 53 (761)	West Berlin Late June 53 (186)
Mr. Mueller	47%	78%
Mr. Braun	21	11
No opinion	32	11
	100%	100%

(See Appendix for reasons given for answers)

ADDITIONAL CORROBORATION (LATER IN QUESTIONNAIRE) ON ABOVE CONCLUSION ...

"Some people are of the opinion that the firm and determined policy of the West is responsible for the present attitude of the new Russian government, other people are of the opinion that this is not the case. What is your opinion?"

	West Germany Late June 53 (761)	West Berlin Late June 53 (186)
Completely owing to the firm and determined policy of the West	30%	45%
Partly owing to the firm and determined policy of the West	21	24
Not at all owing to the firm and determined policy of the West	20	23
No opinion	29	8
	100%	100%

(See Appendix for reasons given)

DISTRUST OF RUSSIANS STILL WIDESPREAD ...

"Do you believe that what the Russians have done lately is sufficient proof for a desire on the part of the Russians to negotiate in good faith with the West, or have the Russians, in your opinion, not done enough yet to back up their words with deeds?"

Sufficient proof	6%	4%
Not done enough yet	74	92
No opinion	20	4
	100%	100%

(See Appendix for reasons given)

05013

III. CURRENT SUPPORT FOR ADENAUER

GENERAL SATISFACTION HIGHER THAN EVER ...

"In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the activities of Dr. Adenauer's government up to now? (IF "Satisfied": Very satisfied or fairly satisfied?) (IF "Dissatisfied": Very dissatisfied or merely dissatisfied?)"

	West Germany			West Berlin
	Aug 52 (1195)	Early June 53 (740)	Late June 53 (761)	Late June 53 (186)
Very satisfied	11%	19%	19%	34%
Fairly satisfied	47	50	57	54
Dissatisfied	18	14	12	8
Very dissatisfied	5	3	2	1
No opinion	19	14	10	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%

FEW DISSATISFIED WITH ADENAUER ON REUNIFICATION ...

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Federal Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
	Late June 53 (761)	Late June 53 (186)
Satisfied	58%	74%
Dissatisfied	13	11
No opinion	29	15
	100%	100%

(See Appendix for reasons given)

ONLY MINORITY WISH CHANGE IN ADENAUER POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA ...

"In your opinion, how should the Adenauer government act towards the policy of the new Russian government: the same as up till now or differently?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
	Late June 53 (761)	Late June 53 (186)
Same as up till now	53%	64%
Differently	20	20
No opinion	27	16
	100%	100%

(See Appendix for reasons given)

SPD NO WHITE HOPE ON RUSSIAN POLICY ...

"Regarding Russia, who do you think can pursue a more advantageous policy for West Germany: the present government or an SPD-government, if it were in office?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
	Late June 53 (761)	Late June 53 (186)
Present government	36%	50%
SPD-government	12	11
Both the same	22	10
Neither of them	6	6
No opinion	24	15
	100%	100%

(See Appendix for reasons given)

ON POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCES THE CDU CONTINUES ITS RECENT LEAD ...

"Would you please tell me which party you like best?"

	- 1951 -							- 1952 -										- 1953 -			
																			Early		Late
	Mar@	Apr@	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Oct	Jan	Feb	Apr	May	Jun	Jun	Jul	Aug+	Dec+	Dec+	Jan	Apr	Jun	Jun
	800	798	799	800	796	1200	1193	1199	796	1172	1188	786	1595	796	1195	1196	772	1600	764	740	761
SPD	26%	25%	22%	22%	26%	23%	24%	24%	23%	26%	21%	23%	20%	20%	25%	24%	27%	23%	22%	21%	22%
CDU/CSU	19	23	19	15	21	16	19	19	19	21	18	19	18	17	24	23	26	22	28	28	29
FDP	6	7	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	7	6	5	7	7	6	7	6	6	4	4	5
DP		Not ascertained								Not ascertained					1	3	2	2	1	1	2
WDP		Not ascertained								Not ascertained					0	0	0	*	0	0	0
BHE		Not ascertained								Not ascertained					3	5	3	2	3	4	2
KPD	*	*	1	*	1	1	1	*	1	1	*	1	*	1	1	*	0	*	1	*	*
SRP	Not ascertained				2	1	*	1	1	*	*	*	1	1	1	*	1	Not ascertained			
Others	10	11	6	7	6	7	7	5	6	5	6	7	5	4	3	4	2	2	.2	4	2
No party	18	15	28	31	15	25	19	25	24	18	29	25	33	33	13	7	9	31	27	26	22
No opinion/ No answer	21	19	19	20	23	21	24	20	20	22	20	20	16	17	23	27	24	12	12	12	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one per cent.

@ Question worded somewhat differently - "Suppose there would be elections tomorrow, which party would you vote for?"

\+ Trend checked with alternative wording - "Supposing new elections for the Bundestag were held now in West Germany - for which party would you cast your vote?"

SECURITY INFORMATION CONFIDENTIAL

050147

05015

IV. CURRENT SUPPORT FOR WESTERN POLICIES

WESTERN ALLEGIANCE REMAINS HIGH ...

"Do you personally think that West Germany should be on the side of the West at this time, on the side of the East or not be on either side?"

West Germany

	Apr/ May 52 (800)	May 52 (791)	Sept 52 (1591)	Oct 52 (1582)	Nov 52 (1193)	Nov/ Dec 52 (1193)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Late June 53 (761)
West	34%	35%	58%	53%	57%	65%	71%	69%
East	*	1	*	-	1	*	*	*
Neither side	46	43	31	39	30	28	18	22
No opinion	20	21	11	8	12	7	11	9
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

West Berlin

	Feb/ Mar 53 (400)	Mid Apr 53 (299)	Late June 53 (186)
West	89%	92%	92%
East	-	-	*
Neither side	9	7	7
No opinion	2	1	1
	100%	100%	100%

ARMY SUPPORT REMAINS FIRM ...

"Are you, in general, for or against West Germany's military participation in the defense of West Europe?"

West Germany

	Feb 52 (794)	May 52 (1188)	May 52 (791)	June 52 (786)	Aug 52 (1195)	Oct 52 (1582)	Nov/ Dec 52 (1196)	Dec 52 (786)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Late Apr 53 (376)	Early June 53 (740)	Late June 53 (761)
For it	43%	46%	44%	47%	45%	47%	48%	50%	59%	63%	51%	56%
Against it	48	41	46	42	44	41	41	40	32	28	33	34
No opinion	9	13	10	11	11	12	11	10	9	9	16	10
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

West Berlin

	Feb 52 (195)	May 52 (178)	Dec 52 (199)	Feb 53 (189)	Mid Apr 53 (299)	Late June 53 (186)
For it	74%	85%	79%	79%	83%	84%
Against it	24	13	17	17	13	11
No opinion	2	2	4	4	4	5
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

CONTRACTUAL SUPPORT REMAINS FIRM ...

"Do you approve of the Bundestag acceptance of the Germany treaty, or don't you approve?" (Asked of respondents who had heard or read about the treaty.)

	West Germany							West Berlin		
	June 52 (786)	Aug 52 (397)	Oct 52 (399)	Dec 52 (1196)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Early June 53 (740)	Late June 53 (761)	June 52 (290)	Mid Apr 53 (299)	Late June 53 (186)
Yes, approve	33%	40%	38%	31%	46%	39%	42%	53%	66%	69%
No, don't approve	19	17	18	22	17	10	13	15	12	6
No opinion	21	24	22	20	13	22	16	17	18	9
	73%	71%	78%	73%	76%	71%	71%	85%	86%	84%

CONTINUED PULL OVER COMMUNISTS ON RECENT SUCCESS ...

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success lately: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

	West Germany							West Berlin		
	Apr 51 (797)	Sept 51 (799)	May 52 (791)	Dec 52 (1196)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Early June 53 (740)	Late June 53 (761)	May 52 (161)	Mid Apr 53 (299)	Late June 53 (186)
Communist powers	31%	15%	21%	24%	15%	18%	16%	21%	11%	15%
Western powers	37	40	32	28	47	40	41	32	72	71
Undecided (including both the same)	32	45	47	48	38	42	43	47	17	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

(See Appendix for reasons given)

PREPONDERANT CONCORD WITH WESTERN POLICY TOWARD RUSSIA ...

"In your opinion, what attitude should the Western powers show towards the policy of the new Russian government: the same as up till now or a different one?"

	West Germany		West Berlin	
	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Late June 53 (761)	Mid Apr 53 (299)	Late June 53 (186)
Same attitude as up till now	53%	50%	59%	51%
Different attitude	26	24	33	42
No opinion	21	26	8	7
	100%	100%	100%	100%

(See Appendix for reasons given)

V. CURRENT THINKING ON FOUR-POWER CONFERENCE

DESIRE FOR CONFERENCE - ALREADY WIDESPREAD - HAS NOT LESSENED BUT INCREASED UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS ...

"Would you be for or against America, England, France and Russia joining in a Four-Power conference on Germany at the present time?"

	West Germany							West Berlin	
	June 52	Aug 52	Sept 52	Mid Apr 53	Late Apr 53	Early June 53	Late June 53	Mid Apr 53	Late June 53
	(786)	(397)	(399)	(764)	(376)	(740)	(761)	(299)	(186)
For it	75%	75%	70%	78%	72%	71%	84%	92%	94%
Against it	8	10	7	8	9	9	6	5	6
No opinion	17	15	23	14	19	20	10	3	-
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

PREPONDERANCE STILL SEE GERMAN ADVANTAGES LIKELY IN SUCH A CONFERENCE ...

"Supposing in the near future a Four-Power conference on Germany would take place, do you consider it likely or unlikely that advantages for West Germany will result from it?" (Asked of all who did not express disapproval of a Four-Power conference.)

	West Germany						West Berlin	
	June 52	Aug 52	Sept 52	Mid Apr 53	Late Apr 53	Late June 53	Mid Apr 53	Late June 53
	(726)	(397)	(399)	(764)	(376)	(761)	(299)	(186)
Advantages likely	33%	26%	35%	47%	43%	46%	68%	64%
Advantages unlikely	34	45	33	23	23	26	19	27
No opinion	25	19	25	22	25	12	8	3
	92%	90%	93%	92%	91%	84%	95%	94%

REUNIFICATION EXPECTATIONS CONTINUE DESPITE RIOTS ...

"As matters stand today, do you think that the chances for a reunification of Germany are good or bad? (IF "Good": Very good or good? - IF "Bad": Very bad or bad?)"

	West Germany			West Berlin		
	Dec 51 (1201)	Mid Apr 53 (764)	Late June 53 (761)	Dec 51 (600)	Mid Apr 53 (299)	Late June 53 (186)
Very good	2%	6%	6%	2%	8%	15%
Good	24	27	27	25	43	41
Fairly good (volunteered)	13	21	22	11	19	18
Bad	31	29	25	40	22	20
Very bad	10	5	5	18	6	3
No opinion	20	12	15	4	2	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

AS MANY BELIEVE AS NOT THAT RUSSIANS PREPARED TO GRANT A REUNIFIED GERMANY AT THE PRICE OF NEUTRALITY ...

"What is your feeling, do you consider it likely or unlikely at the present time that Russia would agree to a reunification of Germany with free elections under the condition that we remain neutral and do not tie ourselves up militarily with the West?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
	Late June 53 (761)	Late June 53 (186)
Likely	38%	57%
Unlikely	35	38
No opinion	27	5
	100%	100%

SO THE PRIORLY DOCUMENTED RECEPTIVITY TO A REUNIFIED NEUTRALIZED GERMANY,* AS A BASIS FOR A PEACE TREATY, IS COUPLED WITH NO INCONSIDERABLE FEELING THAT THE RUSSIANS ARE PREPARED TO COME TO AN AGREEMENT ON SUCH A BASIS.

* Report # 179, dated June 15, 1953, entitled "Current West German Political Trends and Projected Reactions to Possible Russian Proposals."

CONFIDENTIAL
SECURITY INFORMATION

05019

SUPPORTING REASONS GIVEN FOR ANSWER
ON VARIOUS OF THE QUESTIONS IN PRESENT STUDY

APPENDIX

"Considering everything, is it a good thing for Germany or not, in your opinion, that these demonstrations and riots have happened in East Berlin and in the East Zone?" (Asked of those aware of incidents.)

IF "A good thing": "In what respect is it good?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Shows the Russians the dissatisfaction with East Zone conditions: To show the Russians how people really feel; in that Russia will understand that the Germans want to be on their own; in that the Russians realize that the Germans won't put up with just everything; so that it will become clear to competent quarters in Russia how people feel; in that the Russians will understand that the East Zone will no longer knuckle under to terrorizing methods; that the Russians have come to realize that we can never be won over for Communism; it's made clear for them that the German population can't be suppressed forever, even if they use power politics; they have shown to the occupation powers that there is general discontent and that people are in turmoil; I feel it may start a new chapter, it's a good thing that the Russians see that people in the East Zone are discontent and that many people quit, things are in pretty bad shape, after all; because the Russians realize that if they go on in the same way as before they will never get anywhere, they'll certainly be glad if things like that don't happen every day; in that the Russians get it clear for themselves that we are chafing under the present regime, East Germans may possibly be granted relaxations, not so much may be demanded of them any more; now the Russians have to show their colors, besides they have been badly scared, I believe that they'll now commit one error after the other, the way people behave when they have cold feet; it proved that the Russians haven't succeeded with their policy in the East Zone; I think the Russians are more likely to give in when they see that Germans resist if they go on treating them so harshly and unjustly; etc.	16%	31%
Shows the world the dissatisfaction with East Zone conditions: The whole world came to realise how terribly the people in the East Zone are being oppressed, especially since the people have started this uprising unarmed; the attention of the whole world was drawn to the sorry conditions in the East Zone; the conscience of the world has been aroused and I'm sure the desire to be free has become stronger in the East, the echo these incidents have had in the world press is sure to back up people in the East; that the world learned at long last how things actually stand over there, the events clearly proved that the stories people tell aren't just a bunch of lies; if you disregard the sacrifice, these demonstrations and riots have been a good thing, for the whole world will realise now that living conditions in the East Zone aren't as they are described in the SED press; that people throughout the world have learned what sort of life people over there lead; the people have given vent to their real feelings, it was necessary for the world to learn what's going on over there; it was a good thing but only because the attention of the whole world was called to the miserable conditions in the East, the East certainly isn't a paradise as the Communists claim; the Western powers and the rest of the world have seen that there is no paradise in the East but only enslavement and that the Germans rejest Communism, it's a blow against the Communist party in	15	39

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
West Germany; that the public all over the world realize that the Germans desire freedom more ardently than ever; the world will thus learn how dissatisfied the German people is under a Communist regime and that we wholeheartedly reject it; the free world sees that the East Zone people don't approve of the policy that's at present pursued over there; etc.	[redacted]	
General indication of dissatisfaction with East Zone conditions: They have demonstrated that they want to be free; the workers have shown that they are not willing to put up with Russian chicanery any longer, that's a fact; it proved that the Germans won't put up with everything; the Germans in the East have pledged themselves to the cause of Germany and have openly acknowledged that they belong to the West; it thus was revealed that people over there live under constant pressure, they had to let off steam at some time; because the people has rebelled against suppression at last; the sorry conditions that exist over there had to be exposed some time, people wouldn't revolt if they had no solid reasons; that it's clear at last that they can't make slaves out of us, that the Germans are fed up with the whole mess; that they demonstrated that the East Zone isn't a paradise after all; it's all because of the existing living and working conditions, food rations have to be increased, while working norms mustn't be stepped up; etc.	9%	10%
Shows the East Zone government dissatisfaction with East Zone conditions: The East Zone government has come to realize that the people won't stand being terrorized forever, but that it wants to have freedom; it's a good thing because the SED have thus found out how people feel about them, we have to wait and see what will come of the whole affair, it must dawn on the East Zone government that the people are against them, the people will go on with these demonstrations until the government will resign; from now on the SED will seriously consider whether a thing is good or bad, they should have been more loyal, through the demonstrations a lot of things have been revealed which people hadn't believed were true before; that the Russian-sponsored East Zone government realize that they can't do with people as they please; it proves that East Germans don't fare well and that they certainly don't back the SED government; in that the Pankow government has been exposed as a failure; people see that the workers won't stand oppression any longer, that means the East Zone government is tottering; etc.	4	11
Speeds up reunification: It means hastening a reunification; I guess chances for a reunification have thus been improved; everybody knows now that the people in the East Zone aren't Communists, maybe thus a reunification will sooner come about; maybe they are now more ready to negotiate; the world has taken notice of the developments, they'll push the reunification issue now; etc.	3	15
Shows the Eastern satellites that resistance is possible: The fact that the Berliners had the courage to rebel unarmed is of the greatest importance, it may be a signal for the other suppressed nations, events in the East Zone prove it; the other nations which are suppressed by the Russians have seen that something can be done; they've seen that there is a limit for them beyond which they can't go, it was a valuable example for others, the satellite countries for instance; it's a signal, an example for courage, an encouragement for the satellite countries; etc.	1	1

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Others: That's a break for the West, it proves that the policy of the West has been right; the Russians will show more respect to us Germans now, these incidents have been a good thing for Germany, they've proved that Communism isn't widespread in Germany; etc.	2%	2%
No opinion/No answer:	* 5%	1 11%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

IF "Not a good thing": "In what respect is it not good?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Endangers recently won concessions - makes situation worse for East Zone population: I'm afraid the Russians will retract all steps they've taken recently; the Russians will tighten the reins again now, I guess; I guess the Russians will revoke the relaxations they've granted and that they will make things tougher for people; I guess the concessions the Russians have made will be put off now; the Russians are not likely to forget the whole thing, they won't grant relaxations now, just to spite people; the East Zone people won't fare better because of these developments, the Russians will only become more severe and angry now; because of these developments the situation has become more critical, now the Russians will never give in; it may mean that the Russians will take even more severe measures; it's just no use, it will only serve to make the situation in the East Zone worse, now the Russians will bully the people over there; to resort to means of this kind will have no effect under such a regime, they will only serve to aggravate conditions generally; etc.	8%	4%
Delays understanding and negotiations, increases tensions between East and West: It just provides a new cause for a conflict between East and West, for the Russians will not take this lying down and the Germans won't do so, either; it only serves to increase East/West tensions; the Russian government feels provoked and the chances for negotiations thus have worsened; it only means that negotiations are put off indefinitely; relations between the governments have once more become very strained and unfriendly and that has a negative effect on any negotiations that are under way; it only means that Eastern Germany will be even more cut off from the West; it only makes a reunification more difficult; uprisings, riots and provocations lead to war; hatred has thus become more intense; because it will only sow the seeds of discord everywhere and that's the beginning of a new war; because these events will make a lot of bad blood and it will become even more difficult to come to an understanding, until in the end there will be another war; Germany might be turned into a second Korea; etc.	6	1
Riots accomplish nothing: Nothing good ever comes from riots; violence is never a good thing, you can see for yourself what it has led to, the only result is that there are dead and wounded, I'm in favor of passive resistance as it was advocated by Gandhi; I feel that things like that never are a good thing; riots will never result in favorable developments and peace; nothing good has ever come of strikes, though this is my conviction, I still can understand the step that was taken; what use is it? - they are no match for the Russians, the workers, I mean; because it's useless; etc.	4	1

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
	%	%

Such bloodsheds lead only to suffering: 3

Those poor people, they had to die just because the victorious powers can't get along; because once more human lives have been sacrificed; because so many people had to pay for it, things like that should be settled amicably; because there's been unnecessary bloodshed, people should proceed calmly, though they could well bring pressure to bear; it's never a good thing when many people are shot dead; because time and again some people have to pay with their lives in such demonstrations and riots, in some cases even innocent by-standers; because there have been so many dead and wounded; if it means such suffering for people, that's really terrible; because so many people lost their lives, and all of them were innocent; etc.

Others: 2 1

Because they now claim these riots have been instigated by the Western powers; it only will lead to new friction as the Yanks and the British haven't given any military support, they've steered clear of the whole thing; it's become clear to the Russians that though the West utters pompous threats, all they do is to protest weakly if something happens; because the demonstrations have got badly out of hand, both parties have gone too far, it could easily be foreseen that things would not come to a good end; many people from the East Zone will leave to settle down here; it's all because of the elections, I hope the SPD will come into office so that we won't get an army; etc.

No opinion/No answer: 1 (24%) * (10%)

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Two persons are discussing the present policy of the Russian government and express in this connection the following views:

Mr. Mueller: The concessions which Russia now makes are owing to the growing strength of the West, therefore the West should continue the policy it has pursued up till now, then probably even more will be achieved.

Mr. Braun: Russia's present concessions are owing to a real change in Russian policy, therefore West Germany should postpone concluding any military alliance with the West until we see whether it's still the right thing for us to do under the new conditions.

Whom would you be most likely to agree with?"

IF "Mr. Mueller": For what reasons do you oppose the view of Mr. Braun?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
There has been no real change in Russian policy: I can't think of any change, Stalin died but that didn't change conditions in Germany; I don't believe that the Russians intend to change their policy; foreign affairs is not the business of a single person in Russia so that a change in policy isn't very likely; I don't believe in a change of the Russian policy, look at them, the only thing they know to do is to send tanks and soldiers to shoot the masses; I don't believe that the Russians changed their policy all of a sudden; because Russia hasn't made any concessions up to now; Russia must prove its good will through acts before negotiations can take place; because I don't believe that the Russians honestly intend to change their policy; Russia doesn't make concessions, and there is no sign for a change in its policy; because it's nothing but trickery from the Russian side; etc.	14%	16%
One cannot trust the Russians, they don't keep their promises: One can't rely on the Russians, they never stick to their promises; because Mr. Braun is struck with blindness, one can't trust the Russians; the Russians are only considering their advantages, one cannot rely upon them, I know them, I worked as a porter with them; one simply shouldn't trust the Russians they are no good; because so far the Russians made nothing but promises which they never kept , one can't believe them; because the Russians have never been honest; Braun believes in the sincerity of the Russian intentions but they aren't sincere; one must be on the guard against the Russians, they never fulfill their promises; the Russians are false; etc.	10	8
Alliance with the West is necessary for defense: It's unwise to keep putting off the Western alliance for we never will agree with the Russian policy, Russia will always try to dictate the terms of a treaty and ignore our claims; I don't think that it would be good for us to drop the idea of a military alliance with the West otherwise it would be too easy for the Russians to attack us; the Russians will go on arming while we go on neglecting the opportunity to set up military forces, and one day we may whistle for it; we run a risk if we wait longer, it might be too late one day, we belong to the West, anyway; Mr. Braun's opinion to postpone concluding any military alliance with the West is wrong, we must be armed; postponing the military alliance would have unfavorable consequences for us; even if Russia's present efforts are sincere we can't afford doing without military forces otherwise Russia will always feel tempted to attack us; that would seem to meet the Russian wishes, they then would have no difficulty to cope with us; if the Russians note that we don't conclude a military alliance they'll overrun us one day; etc.	9	31

(Cont'd on next page)

R E S T R I C T E D

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Only strength and power influence the Russians: I don't think that Mr. Braun is right, only power and strength can impress the Russians; it's only strength that makes an impression on the Russians; I don't believe that Mr. Braun is right, the conciliatory attitude results from the Russian fear of the West; the Russians are obstinate, they won't make us any concessions unless they are forced to do so; I don't believe that the Russians are honest, they understand but plain language; the Russians must be treated in a different way, it's difficult to make them change their mind, rudeness must be met by rudeness; Russia doesn't really want peace, only fear can induce it to give way; only under pressure do the Russians make concessions; they won't give in for nothing, only a very strong opponent can face them; I believe that only a strong opposition can keep the Russians in check; etc.	6%	8%
The Russians strive for world domination and can't be induced to make real concessions: The Russians will never give up their striving for world domination, therefore, their concessions will never cause a real change; because the Russians won't abandon the idea of bolshevizing the whole world; in my opinion, the Russians cannot give in even if it looks like it at the moment, they want world domination at any cost; because I don't believe that the Russian intentions are honest, bolshevizing the whole world is still the main item of their program; I don't believe that the Russians will change their policy, their plan is to make the whole world Communistic, and they'll carry out this plan; as long as Communists who put conquering and oppression on their program are in power in Russia, nothing will be changed over there, politics either; world domination is still the target of the Russian government; because the Communists know nothing but power politics with strictly fixed laws, a change of the essence of Communism is impossible; the Russians will never stop to spread Communist ideas; etc.	4	10
A nation needs military forces: In my opinion a nation without military forces is a puppet in the hands of other nations; a country with strong military forces has a say in the world; you can compare a Germany without an army with a tank without caterpillar tracks, even the smallest country needs military forces for its protection; etc.	1	1
Others: We stand where the West stands, Russia doesn't interest us; I'm for Mr. Mueller; Germany has decided for the West and that's good; the Western powers should stick to their course and go on negotiating, violent measures are too dangerous; it might be relatively easy to cope with the Russians right now, one should profit by the situation, Churchill's idea to go to Moscow to pave the way for negotiations with the Russians might be quite good, but I can't agree with Mr. Braun's opinion; the West must negotiate, they owe that to the victims of the 17th of June, the view Mr. Braun expresses proves he is sleepy and stupid, believes too comfortably as it is; etc.	3	6
No opinion/no answer:	2 49%	2 82%

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

05026

IF: "Mr. Braun":

"For what reasons do you oppose the view of Mr. Mueller?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
The policy pursued up till now endangers peace, one should try to reach an agreement by negotiations:	7%	4%

Maintaining the course of the West German Government, i.e. making no efforts at all to come to an understanding with the Russians, would inevitably lead to an explosion, to another war (Korea); you cannot obtain anything by force, that would merely lead to another war, and we are still hoping that they will get together by peaceful means; because we should continue our efforts to relieve the tension by means of conferences; I guess there would soon be another war because both camps would compete with each other in rearming; I consider that as a danger which might cause an outbreak of hostilities; because I'm for a peaceful solution of problems; because I prefer to wait and see and not unnecessarily incite others; that would merely be an unnecessary challenge to the Russians and might cause another war; if we have a military alliance with the West, the Russians will even sooner start action against us; it may very well be that Mr. Braun's way will be more successful, it is not necessary to threaten immediately with military forces, more can be accomplished with some good will; etc.

Because Russia's attitude does not indicate weakness. (Mueller's opinion is wrong):	4	1

I just don't believe that Russia's attitude is a result of the growing strength of the West; Russia is still stronger than the Western powers, it may very well take a chance; the Russians do not fear the West because they are sufficiently armed themselves; because the growing military strength of the West will at the present stage of things not force the Russians into anything; the Russians are not afraid of the West; because Russia is just as strong as America; I don't think Russia will act thus just because the strength of the West has increased; because Russia is very strong, the Russians don't fear the Americans; up till now nothing has indicated that the West is strong, and besides, Russia is a country that needn't fear anybody; etc.

Because Ruscia is now sincere and should be met half-way:	2	2

I think that Russia realizes its past mistakes and is now trying to use other methods to come to an agreement with the West, we, therefore, should respect this honest effort and not show off our strength so much; it looks like the Russians have changed after Stalin's death, we should wait and see; the East, i.e. Russia, begins to realise that its attitude had not been correct and so we should be ready to meet them half-way; because I believe that the Russians are sincere this time; I believe that they are serious now, they too had to recover from the consequences of war, after all; they might be honest after all, one should not be too suspicious; because the events in the East zone have clearly shown that Russia has changed its policy; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Rejection of a German remilitarization program (general): I'm definitely against our participation in a military alliance with the West because that would necessitate a German rearmament program and I don't believe in that; Mr. Mueller is for rearming Germany and I'm not; the longer we postpone remilitarization the better for us; I take a dim view of setting up a new army; because I'm against military forces; they should postpone setting up a German army as long as possible; they should take up the subject of remilitarization at some late date; etc.	2%	2%
Because the West is not strong enough: It's my opinion that the West is not as strong as Mr. Mueller thinks it is; in my eyes, America is not yet so very strong; if the Russians start moving we'll get the worst of it, the West is just starting its rearmament program; because we have no way to gauge the growing strength of the West; in the past years no growing strength could be noticed but rather an increasing weakness, that's due to internal strife in the North Atlantic treaty countries which are out for their own advantage only, all of them; etc	2	1
Comments without concrete explanations: I can imagine that Mr. Braun has the right idea, but I couldn't say why; I hope that he is right; I can not explain why I think so; I've no answer to that, I just feel that Mr. Braun's opinion is more correct; well, I just prefer that solution; because I do not think that Mr. Mueller is right; etc.	1	2
We should respond to the conciliatory attitude of the East (general): They should do everything to come to an understanding, each side should be ready to compromise; nobody should jeopardize a beginning coordination with the Russian policy, thus, maybe, destroying it once and for all; we should not isolate ourselves too much from the East; they should negotiate first of all, it may be that we don't need an army at all if things should be settled amicably; etc.	1	1
Others: They should leave the Russians alone as long as they behave quiet and proper; because in that case the situation would remain as it is right now and we would like to see a change; because we cannot obtain so much from the Russians; etc.	3	*
No opinion/no answer:	1	-
	23%●	13%●

* Less than one half of one per cent.

● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

05028

"Some people are of the opinion that the firm and determined policy of the West is responsible for the present attitude of the new Russian government, other people are of the opinion that this is not the case. What is your opinion? (Do you fully agree, partly agree or don't you agree?)"

	West Germany	West Berlin
COMMENTS OF RESPONDENTS WHO FULLY AGREE:	(30%)	(45%)
General comments expressing agreement:	10%	27%

I am pretty sure that the firm and determined policy the West has pursued lately is responsible for the attitude of the new Russian government; I share this opinion, the firm and decisive policy of the West has brought about the present attitude of the Russian government; the attitude of the Western powers is responsible for it, the Russians by steps come to fear them; well, that's how I feel, if the West hadn't adopted a firm policy, this would never have been brought about; it's because the Western powers have pursued a determined policy recently, they should have adopted such a policy long ago; yes, I think the strength of the West is responsible for that; I guess it can be traced back to the firm attitude the West has shown, they've made it quite clear that they want peace; I share the view that it's owing to the strength of the West; I take it that their attitude can be traced back to the firm policy of America; I'm sure the clever policy of the West is responsible for that; I guess it can be traced back to the firm attitude the West has shown, they've made it quite clear that they want peace; I fully agree to the opinion expressed first; I feel the first view is correct; etc.

Russians are disturbed by firm policy of West:	6	13

Well, of course the Russians become alarmed about the firm policy the Americans pursue; the Russians feel driven into a corner; I guess the firm policy which aims at isolating Russia through a union between the countries bordering on the Soviet Union on all sides is responsible for that; the Russians realise that they won't get anywhere if the West pursues a firm policy; the firm attitude the Americans are displaying has influenced the Russians, no doubt; the Russians are scared, they hadn't expected that the Western world would unite; once the Russians realise that the others won't budge an inch, they simply have to change their ways; that's quite possible, the Russians only yield when they sense strength on the other side, if they feel their opponents are weak this just encourages them to commit new outrages; the Russians fear the West; maybe the Russians have come to realise that Eisenhower won't coddle them, but he means business, the Russians understand that one day there may be a powerful West Europe and that's why they give in, it may be, too, that the Eisenhower speech had made quite an impression on them; it simply must dawn on the Russians that the West sticks by us; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Other answers expressing agreement:	2%	2%

I guess the West has made it plain that they won't put up with everything, the Americans will make it clear that there's a limit to everything; I agree to the opinion expressed first, ever since Eisenhower has taken office the West has acted somewhat more energetically; Russia wants to prevent a rearming of Germany and they realise now that they won't succeed because of the vigorous policy of the Western powers and Germany pursue; they should go on following their present political course, they should seize every opportunity to discuss matters with the East, but only if it's not just so much talk and a squabble about the items of the agenda; in my opinion the determined attitude of the West is responsible for that, for once the Russians have got it clear for themselves that the Western powers will not deviate from their point of view, that they won't let us down under any circumstances and that's why the Russians have to loosen their grip somewhat; it's owing to the fear of the Germans the Russians feel and their respect of the strength of the West; etc.

Agree without comment:	12	3
COMMENTS OF RESPONDENTS WHO INDICATE PARTIAL AGREEMENT:	(21%)	(27%)
Determined policy of the West contributes to influencing the Russian attitude:	4	4

I'm pretty sure that this has had some influence; I feel that the Western powers act a little more determinedly and energetically; I guess it's mostly owing to the attitude the West has shown; I believe that they are influenced by the policy of the West; etc.

The change of government in Russia and a different school of thought asserting itself after Stalin's death are partly responsible for Russia's attitude:	2	9

Mostly Malenkov is responsible for that, I guess, I mean the complete break with Stalinist ideas, it's only partly owing to the evident military strength of the West; the chief reason for the present Russian attitude is the change of government in Russia, though the attitude of the Western powers may have had a little influence, too; I think the Russians act that way because Stalin is dead and because the Western powers have made it clear that they are forming an alliance to be able to repulse an attack which may be made on the Western world; it seems more likely to me that Stalin's death and Malenkov's new methods are responsible for the course of the new government; I guess it's partly owing to the fact that the Malenkov government isn't so docged as the Stalin government used to be; to some extent it may be due to the fact that these people have actually changed their opinion; etc.

Russia has come to respect Western strength:	2	4

I can well believe that the Russians gradually come to feel some respect for the West, otherwise a new war would have broken out long ago; I take it they have come to respect the firm attitude the West displays; I guess they feel some respect; I think the Russians are well aware of the strength of the West and that is possibly why they are willing to make concessions; those people in Moscow see that the Western powers are in the process of forming a bloc; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	Austria
Their precarious internal situation is partly responsible for Russia's attitude:	1	4
Only partly, to some extent it's due to the fact that the Russians have to give way to the pressure their own people exert; only to some extent, for the Russians have also to take into consideration how their own nation feels; the unsettled conditions in Russia itself are responsible as well; because of the internal struggle for power, the Russians haven't yet made up their minds as to what course they should take in foreign policy; etc.		
Only partly, you can never be sure of anything with the Russians:	1	3
Partly-partly, they only want to lull our vigilance to be able to go ahead with their plans; the Russians may give way, but they never capitulate; you never can tell what the Russians are up to, because they've always got something up their sleeve, you can't trust them; the Russians just fool the West in order to rule over the whole of West Europe later on;		
Other answers expressing partial agreement:	2	1
The West should be much more determined, then they would achieve even more; they should make their demands more energetically: free elections, reunification, a peace treaty for Germany; etc.		
Partly agree without comment:	9	-
COMMENTS OF RESPONDENTS WHO INDICATED DISAGREEMENT:	(20%)	(23%)
General answers expressing disagreement:	4	3
This is not the case, the West is so weak, that's why the Russians are so cheeky; I believe that it's not at all owing to the firm attitude of the West, because the Western powers are holding conferences all the time and never come to terms with the Russians; I'm of the opinion that it's not at all owing to the firm and determined policy of the West; I'm inclined to think that this is not the case; etc.		
Russia is carrying out its own plans and doesn't allow itself to be influenced by the West:	3	4
That didn't intimidate the Russians, they are too conscious of their strength; the Russians are strong enough, they won't be intimidated and they don't see any reason why they should be, if they do something it's entirely out of their own free will; the Russians take the course they think best, they can't be influenced; the Russians do as they please and won't pay any heed to the West; they won't be influenced, they do what they like; the Russians stick to their own policy; they carry on in the same tracks and pay no attention to anybody; the Russians won't take any notice of that, they carry out their own plans; etc.		
Merely owing to a change of government and of the governmental course in Russia:	2	5
The change of the governmental course in Russia since Stalin's death is the only reason for it; I think that the change in Russia's government is the reason for it; I'm of the opinion that it's due to the new course in Russia under Malenkov; I believe that it has nothing to do with the Western policy, the change of government in Moscow is the only reason for it; etc.		

(Cont'd on next page)

05031

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
The Russian attitude is nothing but an attempt to deceive, a diplomatic trick: That's initiated by the Russians and not at all owing to the firm attitude of the West, that's just clever strategy from the Russians to deceive the West; everything the Russians do is just for show, just attempts to deceive, they don't go by the West; that's not so, the Russians just want to throw dust into the eyes of the world - the Russians have come to understand that they can't go on in the present way, now they want to discover a weak point of the West and then take advantage of it; that's not at all owing to the policy of the West, that's just a Russian diplomatic maneuver; the new government has to find out carefully how matters stand - they want to see in which way the West reacts on their new course; it's just bluff from the Russians, they are not serious about it; that's just a new Russian strategy, the attitude of the West is not firm at all; I don't think that Russia is so very much impressed by the West, they have something up their sleeves; it's just for strategic reasons that the Russians are doing this; no, it's out of the question that the West has a firm attitude - Malenkov has to get used to things and in the meantime Europe will be 'softened'; the Russians want to go on with the cold war, they want to find out what the West is going to make out of the new situation; etc.	1%	6%
Owing to inner-political reasons (unstableness, internal struggles for power in Russia): The new policy is the result of disunity in the Kremlin; I think that this attitude is owing to the internal situation in Russia and not so much to the determined policy of the Western powers; that's because of internal political reasons in Russia; the less severe attitude of the Kremlin government is owing to disunity among its members; Russia is forced by its internal situation to adopt a more yielding attitude for the moment; that's the same for years, but it has changed since the new government has got into power, I think the reason is that its members struggle for power; etc.	1	3
Disagree without comment:	9	2
NO OPINION:	(29%) 100%	(8%) 103%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Do you believe that what the Russians have done lately is sufficient proof for a desire on the part of the Russians to negotiate in good faith with the West, or have the Russians, in your opinion, not done enough yet to back up their words with deeds?"

IF: "Not done enough yet":

"What would the Russians have to do, in your opinion, to show sufficient proof of honest intentions?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>They should release all POWs and political internees:</u> All POWs and political internees should be released; above all to release all the prisoners; the POWs could be released, all of them - as long as they don't do that they don't have honest intentions; the POW issue is the main question - that's the test for their intentions - it won't cost them anything to return those people which are withheld from us - it would be the cheapest way for them to proof their honest intentions; they should return our POWs and civilian internees and should release the political prisoners; to send the POWs home and announce how many they are still holding; a solution of the POW issue, that's most important of all; etc.	33%	22%
<u>They should restore freedom and political rights in the East Zone:</u> They should treat people in the East sector and in the East Zone as human beings and not as slaves - they should stop keeping them under the Communist knout; give political rights and freedom to the East Germans; to grant more freedom to the Germans, freedom of thought and of action, I mean; first of all to stop all those imprisonments; people over there should be given more personal freedom and freedom of conscience; they should stop all coercive methods and imprisonment in their zone; first of all they should treat people decently, they are a terrible bad lot; should not treat people in the East zone so badly; not imprison people without proper grounds; to eliminate the SED from legal proceedings; to remove the "People's judges" from office; abolish the SED, provide better living conditions in the East; they should show themselves more humane in every respect; to give people a fair trial, instead of deporting them and put them in jail without a sentence - people should be given more freedom, there's far too much despotism; people shouldn't be deported but be left to live in peace; they should see to it that the citizens in their country can express their opinion freely; etc.	26	35
<u>They should agree to free elections:</u> They should agree to free elections in the East zone and in the East sector, without any restrictions, then I might believe that their intentions are honest; they should above all other things agree to absolutely free elections in Germany then everything else could be settled; they should agree to free elections in the East zone and in East Berlin; free elections under international supervision in all countries controlled by the Russians; free elections, that would be a clear proof for the East zone people; first of all they should allow the East zone people to vote as they want to, without any conditions which come near to blackmailing; free democratic elections without any oppression; above all they should agree to free elections, that elections would be carried out under four-power supervision; etc.	16	44

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
They should remove the zonal barriers and the iron curtain: Remove the zonal barriers, the zonal barriers and those of the sector should be removed; to clear the situation in Germany so that people will know at last where they stand, to remove the zonal barriers; to remove the barriers, every German should be allowed to pass freely from West to East and vice versa; the zonal borders should be re-opened, that's the most important thing; a free route to Berlin without controls and passes: etc.	10%	15%
They should show greater conciliatoriness and willingness to negotiate: They should show clearly that they are prepared for negotiations; to agree that a conference be held; they should cooperate to schedule a conference about the German peace treaty; to attend a four-power conference; peaceful understanding with the West; to show by action that they are willing to give in; they should make reasonable proposals which we could accept; should come to terms with the West so that there won't be a war; they should show a more conciliatory attitude; etc.	11	12
They should see to a higher living standard in the East zone: The food supply for people in the zone should be improved; they should give people more to eat; better living conditions for the East zone people; they should grant the East zone people a decent living standard; they should be a bit more conciliatory so that people in the East zone would be better off, their living conditions are much worse than ours; to establish a normal living standard without demanding too much work of the individual; they should have reached our level so that the rationing system could have been abolished; the West would be satisfied to see that workers in the East get higher wages; they should see to it that people have enough to eat, if they would do so things would pick up for us; etc.	11	11
They should withdraw their troops from East Germany, reduce the "People's police": The Russians should withdraw their troops from Germany; they should leave Germany; withdraw their troops; Soviet troops should be withdrawn from East Germany; first of all they should considerably reduce their occupation troops in Germany; leave the East zone alone, withdraw their occupation troops; disarm!; they would just have to make a start with disarmament; and dismiss the Vopos (members of the "People's police"); to demobilise 80% of the Vopos and send them home; etc.	7	12
They should return the former German territories: All the territories behind the Oder which belong to us must be returned; they should reestablish the German frontiers of 1945 and then get off into their own country; to return the territories beyond the Oder-Neisse line; to negotiate with us about the Oder-Neisse line; to retreat behind the Oder-Neisse line and then negotiate about these territories; to return the German Eastern territories, to clear the way home; they should allow us to return to our homelands at last, they should see to it that the barriers which keep us out of our homeland are removed; we want to return to our homes, they should allow us to go back to our homeland; they should negotiate at last so that we may return to our homes; etc.	7	5

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>They should agree to German reunification, to a peace-conference:</u> To agree to a reunification, the East shouldn't be so isolated; they should unconditionally agree to a peaceful settlement of the all-German question; to promote Germany's reunification; should bring about reunification; the division of Berlin should be brought to an end, I mean that there should be one Mayor for all-Berlin; reunification of Berlin, that would be the best thing to start with; to be sensible in negotiations and state clearly what they want so that Germany could become reunited; to conclude peace and reunify Germany; etc.	5%	13%
<u>They should conclude peace in Korea:</u> They really should make peace in Korea; they should stick to a thing once they have started it, for instance Korea, they start and pretend to give in and then all at once they change their mind and start the whole thing over again; the war in Korea should be ended at last, they should make peace; peace in Korea should be their chief concern; etc.	1	6
<u>They should cooperate to settle the Austrian question:</u> Austrian treaty; they should settle this Austrian peace treaty, then we could hope that something like that might be done here; they should vacate Austria; a peace treaty should at last be concluded with Austria and conclude a peace with this country; etc.	1	4
<u>Others:</u> They should be more cultured, should live more free and in better conditions in their own country; the uprising interrupted the normal development, as you know the Russians had announced measures of relaxation which, however, had not yet become effective; they should put a stop to that Communist undercover agitation in all countries; they should live up to the promises they make; etc.	3	1
<u>No opinion/no answer:</u>	*	-
	131%@	180%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"Are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way Federal Chancellor Adenauer is dealing with the problem of German reunification?"

IF "Dissatisfied"

"What should he do different in this respect?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Adenauer should be more energetic in this respect, less talk and more action:	5%	6%

He could be still more active, could emphasize time and again that we Germans belong together; he should handle the whole affair more actively, the Allies are doing more for it than our own government; stress this point with our Western Allies, especially with the Americans so that they would do more about this; to be more firm about it, Adenauer is a very likeable person - perhaps there's no other way but if it should be possible than he could show his teeth; to put an end to all this talk about reunification - we want to see that something is really done about it; they do nothing at all - all the ministers talk big - they shouldn't flog a dead horse but demand a decision one way or the other; that's a difficult question, up to now they do nothing but talk; insist upon reunification; he should press the matter forward without any compromising; he should demand most energetically that the state of 1937 should be reestablished - he should broach the refugee problem to both, the East and the West with all his energy; he should show more consideration for the will of the people; etc.

He should try to enter into negotiations with the East:	3	2

He should try to get in contact with the East zone and the Russians; he should use the opportunity to get in contact with the Russians; he should try to agree to the Russians. proposals; he should try harder to enter into conversation with the Russians; agree to Russian proposals for reunification of Germany; they should discuss things with the East zone government; they should invite Pieck and Grotewohl to come to Bonn and speak before the Bundestag in order to explain to the West German Federal government what their aims are; he should sit down at the conference table with the East zone government and should at least try to come to an understanding; he should get together with Herr Pieck and should negotiate; they should be more conciliatory toward the East; he should get into contact with the Russians to start negotiations; he should be more conciliatory; etc.

He shouldn't tie himself to the West too closely:	1	2

The ties to the West shouldn't be so close as to prevent negotiations with the East, he shouldn't rely on the West to such a degree; he shouldn't allow himself to be so strongly influenced by the Western powers; this problem seems to be treated in an unrealistic manner - to get the ties to the West ever closer -; he shouldn't act in a one-sided manner; he dallies to much with the West; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
He should be more diplomatic: He is too despotic - too autocratic - he shouldn't be so much of a dictator; he shouldn't act in a dictatorial manner, he should come to an understanding with the opposition party; he mustn't be so aggressive and insisting; then he should use a different approach to things from now on, we are democrats, in our eyes everybody is entitled to have an opinion of his own; he should hold a conference with the other German parties, should talk things over and should try to find a solution to the problem; he should establish friendlier relations to the opposition; etc.	1%	1%
He should be against the EDC treaty and an army: He shouldn't join the EDC; he shouldn't insist on re-establishing a German army; without military participation; etc.	1	1
Others: Adenauer isn't the right man for us, we workers feel there should be someone else at the top; I don't understand why he gets so deeply involved with France; nothing will come of this policy;	1	-
No opinion: That's too difficult for me to say; I don't know but I'm not satisfied with the way he is handling this - it would take too much time to think over what he could do different; pensioners and people who draw social insurance should get more help - pensions should be raised; etc.	1	-
	13%*	12%*

* Some respondents gave more than one answer.

05037

"In your opinion, how should the Adenauer government act towards the policy of the new Russian government: the same as up till now or differently?"

IF "Differently":

"What should the Federal government do now? How should it now act towards Russia?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>The government should be more conciliatory and show more willingness for negotiations:</u> Adenauer should be a little more conciliatory, he should be a little more yielding; he shouldn't show such an uncompromising attitude when proposals are offered to him; he shouldn't be so aggressive and demanding; the government should get in touch with the Russians; they should agree to negotiations; they should ask the Russians once more to meet for real talks; Adenauer should try to negotiate with the Russians directly in order to find out how honest they are about it; he should lay more stress upon negotiations and not always make demands; the government shouldn't show too stubborn an attitude towards the Russian proposals; they should at least try to get in touch with them and not always reject everything; they should rather go into the Russian proposals without jeopardizing the talks beforehand; they shouldn't mistrust everything but be more willing to negotiate; they should leave the door open for negotiations; it wouldn't be a great mistake to make an attempt to negotiate; they should try time and again to find a solution, the way Ollenhauer does it: through negotiations; try to get in touch with them, just as old Churchill does it, he sticks by the Americans and the Russians as well; not to leave any stone unturned to bring about negotiations with the East; one should show more good will towards the Russians and more willingness to negotiate; etc.	11%	8%
<u>The government should be firmer toward the Russians:</u> Show them an uncompromising attitude until they offer a proposal regarding Germany's reunification that can be taken into consideration, they shouldn't bargain with the East; they should be more unyielding; Russia must be shown the teeth, our government consists of totterers who fear for their lives, they have to learn that one can't live on friendly terms with the Russians, they shouldn't accept all Russian proposals but show more courage and self-confidence; they should defend themselves more vigorously; I'm not familiar with diplomatic tricks but I guess that the Russians can only be managed by the same stubbornness they use to show, they then will probably have to give up this practice; I'm not a diplomat after all and I might be wrong but I think that the Russians have to be more vigorously opposed and more stress has to be laid on reunification: we should wait and see and not give ourselves up, we shouldn't cringe to the Russians but show them the teeth; more rigid measures; the government should take more energetic measures, they shouldn't give way to the Russians and not put up with so many things; they should show more energy, they ought to present themselves with an ultimatum they should use more radical measures, why do they still protect the Soviet monuments in West Berlin?; etc.	3	8

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>The government should make demands: peace treaty, reunification of Germany, free elections, Four-Power conference, repatriation of POWs:</u> It's now the time to make demands for free elections; they should make demands; they should see to it that a peace treaty is concluded; they shouldn't only talk about reunifacation of Germany but omit nothing to bring about free elections, reunification and peace treaty; Adenauer should give up his stubborn resistance against a Four-Power conference, and he ought to approach the Russians for free elections and similar questions; they should urge upon negotiations and constructive proposals; etc.	1%	4%
<u>The government should bide its time:</u> They should wait and see, they shouldn't provoke the others; they should bide their time; just wait and see without continuously arguing about the Russian faults; now after Stalin's death, they should show great restraint in making remarks about Russia; though the Russians have shown their good will by granting relaxations, it's still wiser for our government to wait for developments; they should be cautious; whenever the Russians make a peace overture they should take their time to consider it, they shouldn't make any remark such as: we'll get our Eastern territories back with armed force if need be; etc.	1	2
<u>The government shouldn't be so credulous, they should ascertain whether the Russian intentions are honest:</u> They shouldn't be too credulous, the latest incidents in Berlin that caused military interventions prove how dangerous such an attitude can be; they should be more skeptical than ever before, the Russians are sincere about reunification; they should say to the Russians: give us some proof of your sincerity, then we'll negotiate with you; first thing they have to do is to find out whether the Russians are sincere or just pretending; etc.	1	1
<u>Other proposals:</u> Above all, they should have spontaneously demonstrated their sympathies towards the new Russian government, they can't to very much at the moment, just wait and see; stop the influx of refugees, it's hard, but only by these means the world will pay the appropriate attention to the misery in the East zone; etc.	2	1
<u>No opinion/No answer:</u>	1 20%@	* 24%@

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer

"Regarding Russia, who do you think can pursue a more advantageous policy for West Germany: the present government or an SPD-government, <u>if it were in office</u>?"

IF "Present government":

"Why, do you think, the present government would pursue a more advantageous policy towards Russia?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>The CDU has proved its effectiveness</u>:	13%	21%

The Adenauer government has proved that its course is right and successful, it has gained quite a reputation; the present government doesn't talk so much but rather acts, they have accomplished quite a lot and they will do even more; because the present government has done a good job up till now; it was proven during all these years that the present government's policy was advantageous in every respect - the SPD couldn't have done better; because it has been successful as regards foreign policy, they know more about foreign affairs than does the SPD; I've seen that Adenauer has achieved everything that could possibly be achieved and he will also succeed in bringing about a reunification, because up till now it was right what they did, I'm not too good about explaining what I mean, but the Federal Chancellor has done all right up till now; up till now those guys in Bonn have tried hard to follow the right course, they know what the Russians are like, besides, the SPD people are slightly off their trolley, to put it mildly, they talk and talk, then everything is quiet for some time and then they start talking again; I couldn't reproach Adenauer and his government in any way, I really don't know how one could have handled things differently, Adenauer is a great politician, he wouldn't do anything that would be to Germany's disadvantage; because Adenauer does things the right way, the SPD knows nothing about the job, what they do is to disturb people; they've proved that they are efficient, I don't favor the SPD, it's not in my line; this government has gathered quite a lot of experience, as things stand, after we've lost a war, we can be quite satisfied with Adenauer; because the CDU has pursued a wiser policy up till now; because the present government has a clear-cut program, and you can't say that of the SPD; it's quite experienced by now, after all, to do things the right way is always difficult; I believe that the CDU/FDP know more about foreign policy; they stand more firmly to their demands and handle things in a more objective way than the SPD; etc.

<u>The CDU has prestige in the eyes of the Western Powers</u>:	6	9

I prefer the present government, they enjoy a better reputation in the Western countries; the present government is backed up by all European countries; because the SPD wouldn't be backed up by the Western powers, or the Americans, for that, and that would mean a loss of prestige in the eyes of a great power like Russia; because it is more strongly supported by the great powers; they have good connections with foreign countries, that's why they will be more useful to us than the SPD; because it will cooperate more successfully and will get along better with the Americans than any socialist government ever would; because it is in favor of siding with the West and strengthens Western influence; because the CDU is backed up by the Americans; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
The SPD is less moderate and diplomatic: Because Adenauer acts with greater prudence and steers clear of unnecessary dangers; as things stand, more can be achieved through diplomatic channels, the SPD is too aggressive. Ollenhauer hasn't got the flair for diplomacy, I don't know how to put it to put it more clearly; the SPD might adopt an even more radical course, and that might turn out unfavorably for us, they may do much harm by vetoing so many proposals; I can't imagine that somebody like Herr Ollenhauer can negotiate as skillfully as Dr. Adenauer does; I don't have any confidence in the SPD, they are so noisy, I can't help laughing when I imagine this clumsy Ollenhauer would replace Adenauer, politics especially foreign policy, demand a lot of brains, it's strange, but in my eyes the SPD members look rather ridiculous on the platform of high politics; the SPD might act with too much severity; because the SPD would be even less willing to compromise than the Adenauer government; etc.	%	%
The SPD is too vulnerable to Communist ideology: When dealing with Russia, the SPD would be more vulnerable as the Russians always claim they are socialists, too, they may say that they both are after the same thing, after all, they could claim no such thing in the case of the CDU and FDP, these parties are all out for the West and the Russians are well aware of that fact; the program of the SPD is in many points rather similar to the program of the Communists, thus it would be difficult to keep individual interests apart, often they would have to go along on some project with the Russians and later on they would be completely subdued; judging from the measures Adenauer has taken up till now we can expect the present government to be more successful in the fight against Communism, a new SPD government would always look upon the Communist party as sort of a co-partner in Marxism; the SPD is always inclined to sympathize with the East, and our present government certainly does not feel that way; I have a feeling that the SPD is conspiring with the East to a certain extent, at least its attitude is often such that it supports Eastern policy rather than to cooperate with the West; the SPD leans rather strongly toward Russia, they sympathise too strongly with the Communists; I feel the SPD would be more likely to cooperate with the Communists and the SED, the present government wouldn't give in so easily to the East, they rather stick by the West; I'm not sure the SPD would be successful, we didn't fare badly under the present government up till now, after all, I don't think things would be more favorable under a SPD government as this party has too strong a pink hue for my taste; the SPD is red itself, a lot of Commies have infiltrated its ranks; the SPD is half red and lets the others get the better of it; the SPD preaches the same rot the others do, reds will always be reds, perhaps with one exception, a person for whom I feel all due respect: Luise Schroeder; because the present government isn't red; the Adenauer government is more determined than the SPD which is rather slack, besides it is tougher with the Communists than the SPD; etc.	4	17
Preference for CDU personalities: Adenauer is much respected abroad, he knows his business; Adenauer is the most efficient person we have; I believe Adenauer is the right man for us. I am very satisfied with the CDU; the SPD people shout and do nothing right. Adenauer is old, but makes more concessions and thinks more thoroughly; I am all for Adenauer and don't think that the SPD government could ever produce an equal personality; I am not much in favor of the SPD, I don't know much about the parties, but I don't like these SPD people. The CDU people are quite a different kind of people and I am sure they are better; etc.	3	6

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Historic distrust of SPD: SPD helped Hitler into power once, it might happen again; SPD hasn't achieved anything after 1919; SPD doesn't say YES now to anything, but they did when Hitler seised the power; SPD has never stood the test, they flirted with the Russians and are responsible for the deflation. The CDU hasn't made any such mistakes. At least I hope so; thinking of the First World War, I prefer the CDU, because the SPD made common cause with the Communists: something the CDU would never do - that is why I prefer the CDU; SPD has let us down once, in 1930. Also they don't represent the interests of the workers as much as they should do. CDU is more stable in some respects, they look at things more thoroughly; we had an SPD-government before, but they always spoilt everything. They would do it again;	2%	4%
CDU is a Christian party: CDU is Christan and not materialistic. The Soviets are materialists. God means nothing to them, and human being mean nothing to them. The SPD is the same; I have a good feeling toward the CDU, because I am Catholic; their conceptions and their ideas are Christian; the CDU represents the Christian cause much more than the SPD. The State does need religion; etc.	2	1
Present government stands for EDC and remilitarisation: SPD has never shown that they want to cooperate. For the sake of mere opposition they say NO and are against the EDC; the present government stands for remilitarization whilst the SPD doesn't; SPD is against a military, though we do need one, otherwise we would be too weak compared to the East; they keep up the relations with the West, much more than the SPD, and that is something we need; etc.	*	4
Others: The CDU has a better financial basis. Money people always get further, they have a different bearing which will impress the Russians. A government made up of workers isn't the right thing; They are the strongest party; if we have a coalition of parties it might be better. They do more. If it were only one party, they wouldn't care so much, in every respect; because they don't stand for a party doctrine but solely the strength of Germany; the CDU can stand more easily above everything than the SPD, who are tied to the workers who are part of the whole; etc.	2	4
No opinion/No answer:	2	2
	39%	74%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
● Some respondents gave more than one answer.

05042

IF "SPD-government":
"Why would an SPD-government pursue a more advantageous policy towards Russia?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
The SPD attends more to the interests of the workers: Because the SPD takes care of the workers' interests; because they represent the worker's point of view, they have a much better understanding for the Russians as people, over there all are workers; the SPD has a more thorough understanding of the workers; it's a workers' party and I hope that they will do more to better the circumstances of the workers; because the SPD is more concerned about the welfare of the workers, I take it they would pursue a more advantageous policy, I can't give solid reasons for this but people generally feel the SPD would try to do a better job; as I am a worker I have more confidence in the SPD than in the CDU; the SPD looks better after the interests of the working people and the aged; because the prospects of the SPD are better and its plans for the workers more promising; because they want to achieve unity and peace and order for the people; they fight more energetically for the interests of the people, Adenauer has quite a lot of money, he attends more to the interests of the capitalists under the disguise of Christian principles; etc.	4%	4%
The SPD advocates peaceful negotiations and a reunification more strongly: Because they keep saying that they would press for immediate peace negotiations with Russia, if they say so, they have to act up to it, mind you; the SPD favors an amicable settlement of problems, they are opposed to menacing the others with the military might of the West; the SPD is opposed to war, they want to settle existing differences amicably; once the SPD would come into office, any problems of foreign policy would be settled, they would try to come to an understanding with all nations; in the sphere of foreign policy, friendlier relations would be established; etc.	3	3
The SPD would be firmer and more vigorous: Because the SPD would be tougher in any dealings with the Russians; because this party is more opposed to Russia; alone because the CDU is backed by church groups its relationship to Eastern Germany is peculiar and different from the relationship that would exist between the SPD and Eastern Germany, when dealing with the Russians we need a government that dares to speak up, and the SPD would do just that; think of the Saar and the Oder/Neisse issues, the SPD is more active in their drive to get the lost territories back, it's almost come to be a national party though this may sound almost funny; Eastern propaganda would become ineffective in West Germany if a popular tax and economic policy would be adopted, in that way the SPD could show a firmer and more determined attitude toward the Russians; because they would act with greater severity; etc.	2	3
The SPD is opposed to remilitarization and the EDC treaty: Because they turn thumbs down on a military alliance with the West, and their social program is more in line with the plans the East wants to carry out; they don't have such a one-sided outlook on things, above all, they are opposed to the defense contribution; because they oppose rearmament plans; they are against war and for a unified Germany, if we don't accept the EDC treaty, the Russians are more likely to give in; the SPD would see to it that all clauses in the EDC treaty which displease us would be eliminated, thus the SPD would be more powerful and it would be more successful in winning the confidence of the East; etc.	1	1

(Cont'd on next page)

05043

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	Berlin
The SPD is more independent and purposeful: Because it probably won't be so easy for the Americans to stir up the SPD; because they don't want to tie themselves too closely to the West as they want to enter into negotiations with the Russians as soon as possible; because they won't let themselves be talked around so easily as does this handsome old boy who enjoys being celebrated everywhere and makes concessions in return; I believe the SPD will go about things in a more energetic way, they won't indulge in such endless empty talk as does the CDU; etc.	1%	1%
Others: Because there should exist certain similarities between the SPD and KPD, both are advocating the cause of the workers; because a better balance of power would be established; the SPD should at least be given a chance to show what it is worth; etc.	2	-
No opinion/No answer:	* 13%o	1 13%o

* Less than one half of one per cent.
o Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"If you look at the political situation in the world as a whole, which side has had more success lately: the Communist powers or the Western powers?"

IF "Western powers":

"In what respect have the Western powers had more success lately?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
<u>The West has checked the Russians, grows stronger:</u> They didn't yield to Russian demands in any case, they've checked the Russians; up till now they've managed to hold off the Russians, they've kept them from crossing the zonal borders; because they were able to put off a new war; up till now the Western powers have succeeded in maintaining peace, I think that's a great success; American policy has become more aggressive and active, it drives it home to the Russians that the Western powers are the more powerful of the two, that they can challenge the Russians any time and that they will hold their ground; of late, they've established a more powerful position; the Western powers go on to consolidate their positions in the Near and Middle East, lately even Spain has been integrated into this network as naval and air bases have been established there; their policy has become somewhat more determined, they've worked lately to strengsten West Germany for defense purposes; by isolating Russia through a union between the Americans, Spain, Greece and Turkey; etc.	9%	10%
<u>The Western powers have been successful in Korea:</u> They managed to hold their position in Korea in spite of the fact that they were outnumbered; that the Western powers brought about the exchange of prisoners and have negotiated an agreement in Korea; that they have at long last succeeded in reaching positive results in the truce talks in Korea; they've had success in Korea, for it looks as if a real truce would at last be concluded over there; that they have reached an agreement on the Korea issue; you can see that they've got the Communists to conclude a truce; etc.	7	15
<u>The West has gained thru increasing integration:</u> Because slowly the Western powers are fused into a solid body which faces the East; treaties have been concluded, such as the Coal and Steel convention, developed from the Schuman Plan, then those trade agreements between Western countries, all this has contributed to consolidate the community of Western nations; because they've followed a definite course from which they've never departed, in that way unanimity has been reached between many nations, they'd stand together defending themselves against a possible Russian attack; the Coal and Steel Pool, unions between European countries, these are important developments through which the Russian are kept in check, they haven't got anything to offset this trend; they've correctly sized up Russia and that's why they've formed a loose union to attend to their common interests; they've formed a European union and they want to prove that it will work; they try to bring about a United Europe, and everybody welcomes these efforts; etc.	7	9

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
The West has gained support by giving economic help, through improved living conditions: Because they have done more to help other countries by sending food to them and granting them financial aid; the Western powers have fed us, everybody is for the Western powers, they are good people, the Americans help us; because they give stronger economic support to other nations; they've drawn the smaller nations into their orbit through granting financial aid to them, it's above all those countries, Germany Austria, France, Poland, Korea and Turkey, that stick by the Western powers; the standard of living over here proves it, people in the East don't even have enough to eat, the number of Communists is going down steadily in the West as the standard of living improves; workers in the West live more comfortably than their opposite numbers in the East, improved living conditions in the West have immunized workers against Communism; people over there are having a hard time, though we may earn less over here, we can buy more with the marks we're paid, this is undoubtedly a success for Western policy as compared to the policy in the East; because of their generosity and their unlimited resources the Americans have had more success with all poor nations; etc.	6%	20%
The West has gained support through championing liberal democratic principles: Because the Communists keep trying to get what they are after through pressure and coercion, as to the other powers, it's more or less up to people whether or not they want to accept their guidance, the Western powers grant greater freedom to the individual and that means they'll be the more successful party in the long run; they've gained a greater influence on people through standing for freedom; the prestige of the Communists has been lowered through the way they treated our prisoners of war, under the Western powers people have greater freedom; in my eyes the mere fact that the West doesn't use rigorous methods to keep people down and allows them to express their opinions freely is a political success, Communist parties aren't banned in the West, I think it's an asset for the West that they don't resort to the methods the others use, the Americans have negotiated with Adenauer , the Russians just dictate to people and that's that; you can speak up here whenever you please and nobody will punish you for it, that's certainly a plus; they are more likely to win with humaneness than the Eastern powers with terrorism; at the most 10 per cent of the population of the whole world are for the Russians, all the others lean toward the West, this wasn't so in the past, through their terrorising methods the Russians have forfeited all sympathies they've had; in the West people enjoy freedom, while there's no freedom for people in the East; the policy of the East is an excruciating burden to the people, people over here don't fear the police, you can move about a free person; etc.	6	18
Communism has lost in prestige: The Communists have lost a lot of ground at recent elections; when listening to election returns from different countries you found that the Communists everywhere had got fewer votes than any of the other parties; the Communists seem to have got sort of stuck, their prestige has been lowered in the eyes of the world because of the goings-on behind the Iron Curtain; nearly all nations reject the communist doctrine; most people are on the side of the Western powers, in elections held throughout the world the Communists are suffering setbacks; because fewer people have Communist leanings than a year ago;	6	10

(Cont'd on next page)

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	West Berlin
Recent riots and strikes in the East Zone and in the satellite countries have exposed the weakness of the Communist powers:	5%	13%

It's become quite obvious recently, just think of the riots in East Berlin and in the East Zone, they proved that people are discontent and that the Communists are in a very precarious position; noticing that there's a big difference between East and West in all spheres of daily life, East Zone residents came to realise that they are in a sorry mess, that's why they revolted, and that can undoubtedly be put down as a success of the West; just think of the way demonstrating workers acted in Berlin, it was a reaction of the suppressed, it can be regarded as a success of the wiser world policy the West pursues; the revolt in the East Zone proves it, there's a rumour that in the Balkans, too, riots broke out; people have found out for themselves that the working classes can't expect any benefits from a Communist regime, recent riots in Czechoslovakia, in Poland and in the East Zone mean a success for the West; Communism has been thoroughly licked, the riots of workers in Berlin and in the East Zone have opened the eyes of the whole world; the latest developments in East Berlin and in the East Zone are the most convincing proof you can get, the people has rebelled against the reign of terror that's entrenched in the East Zone; recent incidents in East Berlin and in the East Zone have shown it; the many strikes in Czechoslovakia and Hungary prove that the workers don't want to have anything to do with the Eastern regime; the riots in East Berlin, for one thing, show that nobody wants to have any truck with the Russians any more; etc.

The prestige of the Western powers has increased:	3	4

The prestige of the Western powers has increased; it looks to me as if the Western powers commanded more followers and greater sympathies among the other nations than the Eastern powers; the whole world - except for a few stupidly stubborn countries - rejects Soviet influence and Bolshevist policy, they all align themselves with the West; well, I guess it's in any case more advantageous to side with the Western powers, this has even dawned on me, though I'm a woman that takes hardly any interest in politics, so I guess those who know the ropes will have realized this long ago and more clearly; well, that's obvious, they have greater influence, after all, than any efforts on the part of the Communists will ever amount to all over the world; etc.

The Communist powers have made concessions:	2	9

The Western powers have made the East give in, they are yielding everywhere, in Austria, too; ever since Eisenhower took office, the Russians have played low, they kept releasing German prisoners of war though they had claimed before that there weren't any POW's left in Russia; the Eastern powers gradually come round; in many instances Russia has yielded, the diplomatic representatives of foreign powers have been granted more rights in Moscow; some time last winter some press people visited Moscow, the Russians generally have been somewhat less dogged ever since Stalin died, they've released many people from jail, people whose only crime may have been slaughtering a hog illicitly or buying some margarine or shoes in the West, they've released those people only to avoid comparing too unfavorably with the West, they had to give in; Stalin's death has brought about an easing of the very tense situation in favor of the Western powers, the new situation has been cleverly exploited by the Western powers; etc.

(Cont'd on next page)

05047
04282

(Cont'd from preceding page)

	West Germany	Berlin
The Communists have suffered setbacks through the defection of satellite countries: The attitude of Yugoslavia, its shaking off Soviet shackles; Tito's visit to London; the Russians have suffered severe setbacks in some countries, take Yugoslavia, for instance; etc.	1%	3%
The stream of refugees proves that people reject Communism: Refugees come from the East to the West and are admitted by the Americans, that's a success for the West, no doubt; everybody feels attracted by the West; people generally rather trust their fate with the West, those refugees prove it, everybody wants to get away from the Russians; etc.	1	2
Others: Up till now the Americans have shown greater willingness to negotiate; I'm thinking of the over-all situation: everywhere nations strive for independence, in Asia and elsewhere, and nobody wants to give in; the Russians are meaner than the Germans, that's it; etc.	1	-
No opinion/No answer:	2	2
	56%@	115%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

powers show towards the policy of the new Russian government: the same as up till now or a different one?"

IF "Different attitude": "What should the Western powers do differently now?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
The Western powers should be more conciliatory and ready to negotiate: They should be more peaceable, not so aggressive; they should be a little more flexible, not so stubborn; they should be more yielding; they shouldn't be so challenging any more, they should be a little more yielding; they shouldn't shut the door on negotiations; more conciliatory, they shouldn't always threaten to use their atom bombs against the East, they shouldn't brag all the time about how strong they are; work towards peace, show themselves more conciliatory; they should try at all costs to get together and to reach some sort of an agreement; they should at last try to settle their differences through negotiations; they should try to enter into negotiations with the East; they shouldn't agitate so much should rather tell the truth; they shouldn't denounce the Russians and shouldn't magnify their faults; etc.	12%	6%
The Western powers should deal more firmly with the Russians: They should be much tougher with the Russians, up till now they've often been too lenient toward them; they should deal more firmly with the Russians, as things are now, they give them too much leeway; they should be more energetic and should put their foot down, in general, I mean, they shouldn't put up with so much from the Russians; they should proceed with the utmost severity and decision; they should go about things more vigorously, they won't get anywhere with this Eastern colossus by lodging formal complaints; they should put their foot down and present them with an ultimatum, and if that doesn't help, they should make their atom bomb test in the East; get tough with the Russians, prove to them that the West is not to be trifled with; they should show more back-bone, so that the Russians will understand that the West won't put up with everything, the humane and cultured ways of the West are taken to be signs for decadence, weakness and fear by the Russians; they should show a stronger hand as the Russians are likely to disregard agreements again; perhaps they should show a still firmer attitude, they should make it quite plain that they won't put up with any monkey business the Russians may be up to; they should take more severe measures; etc.	7	33
The Western powers should work toward the reunfication of Germany - they should demand free elections: They should make more serious efforts to reunite our country, they should more often invite the others to enter into negotiations; they should try to get into contact with the Russian government and should sit down at the conference table with the ministers so that Germany will be reunited at last; they should go all out to bring about free elections in Germany; etc.	1	6
The Western powers should push the Germany issue - they should attend to German interests: They should plead more energetically with their 'allies' in order to promote German interests; the Western powers should prove it to us that they really will stand up for us, then the Russians will adopt a different policy, I feel tht if they don't give Adenauer full powers to manage things his own way, then they should take a keener interest in our problems, the fate of 18 million people is at stake, after all; get tougher with the Russians, the Eastern provinces of Germany aren't part of Russia, after all; they might intensify their urging for a clear decision and might try to force the Russians to make concessions, it may be that Russia will come round because of internal friction; etc.	1	3

R E S T R I C T E D

West Germany | West Berlin

06049

The Western powers should go on to strengthen their military forces: 1% | 1

They should make a greater effort in military respect so that they won't be at a disadvantage with the Russians; if those people get impertinent, we need an army, if they should attack, gee, do we need somebody then!; the Western powers should support us even more strongly; they should supply arms and should set up an army; they should step up the armament drive; etc.

The Western powers should bide their time and wait for developments: 1 | 1

They should bide their time, just to show distrust may mean to aggravate the Russians unnecessarily; wait and see, as nobody knows yet whether the present Russian government will stay in power; they had better wait now how things will go with the new Russian government, it's been in office only for a few months yet; right now it's difficult to size up the situation correctly, it's better to sit back and not compromise oneself through internal strife; etc.

The Western powers should demand the settlement of the prisoners-of-war issue: 1 | 1

They should urge more strongly for a settlement of the POW issue; they should see to it that those poor prisoners and internees will be released, they should do more about it; etc.

The Western powers should work for freedom and better living conditions in the East Zone: 1 | 1

They should induce the Russians to take care that peace and order are maintained in the East Zone and that people are content; they should do more to make sure that the human rights actually are respected over there, and that life is bearable for people so that they can stay on in their homeland; they should win concessions for East Zone residents, they should request the Russians to grant freedom to people in the East and things like that; etc.

The Western powers should work toward a conclusion of a peace treaty for Germany: * | 2

A peace treaty should be concluded, with Austria, too; the Western powers should demand most determinedly that the Russians go along on concluding a peace treaty with Germany, so that peace and order will at last be restored; etc.

All parties should disarm - Germany should not be included in the defense system: * | 1

They should follow a different course, they should disarm, all of them, I mean; they shouldn't involve Germany, they shouldn't force it to defend itself in a hopeless position; the road to peace shouldn't finally be barred through rearmament; etc.

Others: 1 | *

It's difficult for me to tell what the right thing would be, I feel that they should go about some things in a different way; because this problem becomes more important every day there must be a decision some time; they should exploit the situation right now, when the riot in the East Zone has proved that people are discontent; they should be more flexible; the shouldn't blab out everything, they should make a virtue of taciturnity; etc.

No opinion/No answer: * | *

26% | 36%

* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

RESTRICTED